



250.

11.25.05.

From the Library of
Professor Samuel Miller
in Memory of
Judge Samuel Miller Breckinridge
Presented by
Samuel Miller Breckinridge Long
to the Library of
Princeton Theological Seminary

SCC
1485

\$2.50. 1822.

Sam: Miller.

A

VINDICATION
OF THE
DISSENTERS:
In ANSWER to
Dr. *William Nichols's* DEFENCE
OF THE
Doctrine and Discipline
OF THE
CHURCH of *ENGLAND.*

In Three PARTS.

Written first in *Latin*, and now Translated into *English*, with
large Additions.

By *JAMES PEIRCE.*

¹Αγ ἐν ἀναρρέῃ ἀσ' ὑμῶν τὰ σκάνδαλα καὶ τὰ περικύματα,
πολλῶ μελλον ἀναρρέησται τὸ κείμενον καὶ κατακείμενον.
ταύτην κρηπίδα πρώτην καταβάλλεται. ²Αν αὕτη ἐδρεζῇ ἐν
ὑμῖν οἱ κρηπῖδι, ἥπον τὰ ἄλλα ἐποικοδομεῖν θέ. Οεcum. in
Rom. xiv.

LONDON:

Printed for JOHN CLARK, at the Bible and
Crown in the Poultry, near Cheapside. 1717.

VINDICATION

BY THE

DALE VALLEY

IN ANSWER TO

DR. MURRAY'S TRUTHS & DEDUCTIONS

ON THE

DOGMA AND DISCIPLE

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND

IN THREE PARTS

WITH A HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, AND A

BY A MEMBER OF THE CHURCH

WITH A HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, AND A

POSTSCRIPT

BY JOHN CARY, M.D. B.P.S. B.C.



TO THE

*Most Reverend, Pious, and
Learned PASTORS, and
MINISTERS, of that part
of Christ's Church which is in
Scotland.*

REVEREND BRETHREN,



ANY weighty reasons move me to dedicate this my *Defence*, such as it is, to you, and to make choice of you, as the Arbitrators to whom I would especially appeal. For what better Judges can I desire in this Controversy, than those who are fam'd both for Christian discipline, and true piety? Which noble virtues (I say it

The DEDICATION.

without flattery) are no where more conspicuous than in your assemblies. The ardent zeal for God's worship and pure religion, for which you have been renown'd of old, has been so far from being extinguis'h'd; that it has been inflam'd and brighten'd by those horrible and very long persecutions, out of which above twenty years ago it pleas'd our most merciful God and Father to deliver you. Being mindful of this great benefit, you diligently discharge the important trust committed to you. The good Lord grant you may always go on to do so with the like, and even greater care, diligence, and success. What pious person can forbear respecting and reverencing Christ's vine-yard happily planted among you; where it is not, as in many other parts, miserably trampled under foot, but wonderfully defended by his mighty and gracious hand, and abounds in all the fruits of righteousness; wherein impiety, which elsewhere rages without

The DEDICATION.

out controul, is strictly curb'd and restrain'd? Nor are there wanting among our Churchmen persons of candor and reputation, who highly honour you upon this account.*

I HAVE the rather embrac'd this first opportunity that has offer'd, that I might testify the sincere affection not of my own heart only, but of the *Dissenters* in general towards you.

AND there is the more reason for this, because we are lately more strictly united to one another; and we, who before made two kingdoms, tho' the inhabitants of the same island, are now cemented into one people living under one and the same authority. Now nature it self has taught mankind, that 'tis the duty of fellow subjects to promote

* See Dr. Edwards's Sermon upon the Union.

The DEDICATION.

love and a good correspondence between one another. To whom therefore should persons rather leave the arbitration of their differences, than to their fellow subjects? or, who can be expected to understand, or more impartially to determine their quarrels? Had our Adversaries been thus minded, there would have been no need for their giving our Brethren abroad the trouble of this *Appeal*.

BUT among the Reform'd Divines, to whom this *Appeal* is made by Dr. *Nichols*, a Presbyter and Defender of the Church of *England*, your name is never once mention'd. * Wherefore since I could not appeal to you in the body of the Book, having resolv'd to acquiesce in the Judges he was pleas'd to chuse; I thought it would be but decent, by this *Dedication*,

* That he may seem to bring 'em in, he has chang'd apud Anglos, in the Latin Edition, p. 116 into in Great Britain, in the Translation, p. 143.

The DEDICATION.

cation, to testify the value we have for your judgment, and to request you to give it in our Controversy. Nor can Dr. *Nichols* be displeas'd, that I have taken you to be Judges between us; since he himself chose the Foreign Divines of his own head, and without asking our consent in the matter. Nor do I say this as tho' I would decline the judgment of our Brethren abroad, nothing less; but only that I may consult both your, and their reputation, which he has injur'd. For by appealing to our Brethren abroad only, he either despises you, as no good friends to the Reform'd Religion; or, at least, does not own you as Brethren, and upright Judges: or, if he does, he must be understood to mean that he desires no such Judges in this cause. Herein he has follow'd the example of his Predecessors, who, with the like design of slurring your reputation, took care that no deputies should be sent from SCOTLAND to

The DEDICATION.

the famous *Synod* of DORT. But what ground is there for these ill natur'd suspicions? What are you, My BRETHREN, or what have you done, that our Adversaries should be more afraid of your arbitration, than of the Foreign Divines? Are you Presbyterians? So are our Brethren abroad also. Have you rejected the Popish ceremonies? They have rejected them in like manner. Why then are the Divines in SCOTLAND the only ones, to whose arbitration they appear so averse?

'Tis past doubt with me, that the contempt, which the Doctor and his Associates would cast upon you, will fall upon themselves. Nor is it any wonder, if they, who are sensible of the badness of their cause, shew themselves desirous of such Judges, as are most remote from the matters, concerning which they are to give their judgment: for they know very well, it will be hard for them thoroughly

The DEDICATION.

thoroughly to search into them ; and so they may be the more like to favour them in their determination. They are satisfy'd, you are so fully appriz'd of every thing relating to the Doctrine, Discipline and Worship of the Church the Doctor undertakes to defend, as that it will not be possible to impose upon you concerning them ; and that you are men of such integrity and resolution, as leave no room to them to hope you will be sway'd by any respect of persons to judge in their favour. And what ? are you the only Divines of the Presbyterian persuasion, whom they think too firm to be wrought upon by their fawning, or persuaded to give your vote for the condemning us, whose judgment in the controverted points is so agreeable to your own ? I am sure, when they pretend to think otherwise of the Foreign Divines, they treat them as persons very fickle, and not consistent with themselves. But if they should hereafter appear not to have been

The DEDICATION.

been mistaken; you may be assur'd of gaining as much reputation, as they will lose. Nevertheless we doubt not in the least, all these jealousies, our Adversaries would raise concerning our Brethren, are groundless and unjust: and we are persuaded, they will never dissent from you in their judgment of a cause, which ought to be decided with the utmost fairness and impartiality. But bear patiently, MY B R E T H R E N, the indignity offer'd you; and the less you see there is of respect, and civility in their treatment, the more chearfully accept our friendship,

HER Majesty, who has accomplish'd the long desir'd union of the two kingdoms, has often and earnestly exhorted all her united subjects to be united also in affections. But since this is not much relish'd by the Episcopal party, even those of them who pretend to moderation, if we may form a conjecture from our Author; what remains, but that we, who
are

The DEDICATION.

are knit to you in the same faith, worship, form of government, discipline, designs, and brotherly love, should experience your mutual affection and assistance?

WE have known this a long while, that you set light by mitres, magnificence, and civil honors in religious matters. Freely then and impartially, as becomes the Divines of SCOTLAND, give your judgment in our Controversy; and since you best understand the state of it, begin, and set a good example to the rest of our Brethren.

BUT if we seem any where to have been too liberal in our concessions to our Adversaries, as without doubt we have err'd there, if any where; you will please to impute it partly to human frailty, and partly to our being carry'd away (as men sometimes are) by a too vehement desire of peace; and therefore will the more easily overlook it.

FOR.

The DEDICATION.

FURTHER, I can't but acquaint you, that whenever we attempt any thing displeasing to the friends of the Hierarchy, they presently by their perverse interpretations represent it as a crime against the King's Majesty ; just as they serv'd your famous Mr. *Knox*, in his exile at *Frankfort*, when they carry'd their cause against him, by accusing him of high treason against the Emperor. Thus in the latter end of the last Century they most bitterly inveigh'd against us, as transgressors of the laws, and despisers of the King's power in spirituals, only because we were contriving how to set on foot a general correspondence among the Dissenters : altho' the *Quakers* have for many years practis'd the same, without any one's forbidding them. Hence you will easily perceive, the ill usage and cavils of our Adversaries have been the reason, why the order of our Churches has not been more agreeable to that which is in use with you, and in other Reform'd countries.

B U T

The DEDICATION.

BUT the more melancholy and afflicted you observe the condition of the Church of Christ in this part of our dear country to be, the more earnestly do you help it both by your counsels and prayers. For as the Christian law obliges us to rejoice with you, who rejoice; so it obliges you to weep with us, who weep. We likewise promise always to make it our request, that our good God would make you, in all respects, prosperous and flourishing; your country in the abundance of all things; your Universities in renown for arts and sciences; your Church in faith, piety, a pure worship, and vigorous discipline; that he would guide you all by his most Holy Spirit, and succeed all your labours; finally, that he would defend you in that happy condition, wherein he has plac'd you, giving a large increase to it, and making it to endure through all generations.

The DEDICATION.

ALL which blessings are more heartily wish'd you by none, than by,

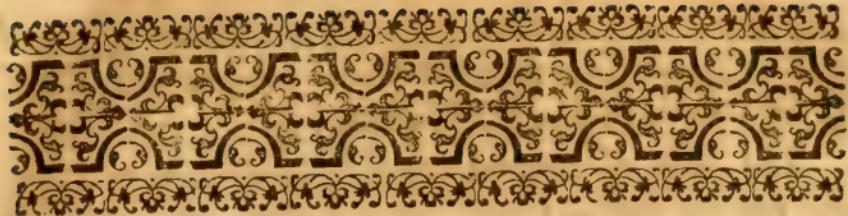
REVEREND BRETHRËN,

Your great admirer,

and most affectionate,

tho' unworthy, Brother,

James Peirce.



THE P R E F A C E.

THE Dissenters took it ill, when Dr. Nichols's Book was first published, that they were falsely represented and accused to their Brethren abroad. For my own part, when I reflected on the correspondence there had been a little before between Oxford and Geneva, I could not help suspecting, there was some design reviv'd of trying practices upon some Foreigners abroad; whom our Adversaries thought they might best influence in a certain method, that they might procure a testimony from them against us, and then publish it to the world. And I have since been confirm'd in my suspicion. However we were not so satisfied in the treatment we used to meet with at home, as not to be well pleas'd with an opportunity of laying our cause before more equal and impartial Judges abroad. Our behaviour for a long time has been witness, we are not fond of debating this Controversy, except when our own defence, and the importunate clamours of our Adversaries, have made it necessary. We

The PREFACE.

We have too easily hoped, the avoiding a formal debate might be a means to calm mens tempers, and dispose them to peace and union.

The way of managing this Controversy which the Doctor took, by writing in Latin, was likely to contribute little to the souring peoples tempers at home, and might yet be of considerable advantage; provided our Brethren in Foreign Churches, upon an Appeal from both sides, would undertake to be Mediators between us. And I dare almost promise for the Dissenters, that they shall stand to their award. As to myself, were our Reformation carried as far, as I am confident they would think necessary, I should fall in with it in a Lay capacity, whether I could come up to the terms requir'd of a Minister or not. For to say the truth, the Church of England has so quite forfeited me with impositions, that I am utterly averse to them.

When an Answer to the Doctor was thought necessary, the task of making it fell upon me, much against my inclination, who, as my friends know, endeavour'd all I could to decline it. However, when it came out, I had the happiness to give good satisfaction universally to my Brethren at home; and to such of the learned abroad as saw it, and even to some among them who were thought most likely to favour our Adversaries. Nay, I was assur'd of its gaining a much greater commendation among the Churchmen, than I expected. And I could name as considerable persons as any in the Church, who own'd 'twas a full Answer to the Doctor. I could not but think the Doctor himself had the same apprehensions, when I heard he had resolv'd to make no reply; which many beside my self concluded he would

The PREFACE.

would certainly have done, if he could, for the same reason for which he publish'd his Defence, contrary to the advice of some of his friends.

I thought my self safe therefore from any farther trouble, and was well pleas'd with the Foreign Divines having both our Appeals before them. Several persuaded me to translate my Vindication, which I constantly refus'd; nay, when an offer was made me of easing me of the trouble, by another person's translating it, I would by no means consent, being desirous the Controversy should go no further.

I therefore little expected a Translation would ever be publish'd of the Doctor's Book; and could not, when it came out, but have the curiosity of dipping a little here and there into it, and perusing the Preface. I was surprized to find a book recommended to the Dissenters, as proper to convince them; without the least notice taken, that an Answer had been made to it. I took it for granted, the Translator and Prefacer both (if they were not the same person) were satisfied the Answer was sufficient, because they said nothing to disparage it; which no body will suspect to be owing to their moderation, good temper, or modesty.

I soon return'd the Book, not thinking my self oblig'd to take notice of what all the world would probably despise, as being already confuted. Nor could the desire of several move me at that time to set about a Translation. But finding that the Doctor's piece was much recommended to English readers, and that it was become the general opinion of my friends, that the putting my Vindication into English might be of service, I yielded to the drudgery I was not very fond of.

The PREFACE.

I knew the work would be easier to me than any other person, and I might use that liberty which another could not. Besides, I was willing to make some additions to the Historical Part, that I might the more expose that most odious of all abominations, Persecution, which hangs like a millstone about the neck of our Adversaries cause. This I have largely done in the darkest time of the history of our sufferings, the reign of Queen Elizabeth. And tho' this has so swell'd the First Part; yet I flatter my self, the entertainment it will give the reader, will be a sufficient apology for me; and if not, I can use no other.

In the Second Part I have left out all that was said about those Doctrinal Controversies, wherein Nonconformity is not really concern'd.

The Last Part is generally a strict translation, little being added, or left out. It contains all the heads relating to Discipline and Worship, which being in a manner the whole of the Controversy, I think it will help a person to a full view of it. Some things here are indeed out of the way of common English readers; but I have inserted them, because I would have my work a compleat Answer to whatever may be met with in the English books of our Adversaries.

The remainder of this Preface shall be spent upon that which is prefix'd to the Translation of the Doctor's Defence; not because I apprehend it contains any thing material in it, but only to prevent any very weak readers being imposed on by it. 'Tis indeed such a solemn piece of impertinence, that one may safely conclude, it was writ by much such another Divine of the Church of England, as the Translator

The PREFACE.

lator ; unless he were, as is most probable, the very same.

After he has given his judgment of the Book, which the reader will not much regard, who intends to judge for himself upon the perusal, he with a very grave and magisterial air, according to the fashion of the party, beseeches the Dissenters to consider the arguments on both sides, with that seriousness and impartiality, which the importance of the cause requires. And yet one may almost vouch for him, his own consideration rises little higher than Dr. Nichols's piece, and he has taken what he says upon trust too ; as one may see by his copying after the false quotations of his Author, which he would certainly have corrected, if he had examin'd the writings refer'd to. But can any thing be more ridiculous, than to desire the Dissenters to consider (whereby he implies, they have not consider'd, and can't answer) what they have actually already confuted ?

He desires we would let truth determine us against interest, favour, affection, and all other prejudices whatsoever. And one would think he might have seen, that unless it did so, we should not be Dissenters. His capacity must be very small, if he can't perceive on which side these things would turn the scale. A stranger would imagine, when he reads such admonitions, we had all the Bishoprics, Deaneries, Prebends, and fat Benefices in the kingdom in our hands. Could we make our consciences pliable to our interest, we should certainly take the same course he does. And interest would, if hearken'd to, as well work upon our People, as upon us who are Ministers. And this argument our

The PREFACE.

'Adversaries upon occasion can tell how to use, when they dissuade our people from putting themselves to a double charge, by maintaining a Dissenting Minister, while the law obliges them to maintain the Parish Priest. And by whose favour and affection would he have us not to be determin'd? Is it that of the government? Does he not know, his dear friends, who understood the influence these things have upon mens minds, have taken care we should be in no capacity of receiving any favour from them? Does he mean the favour of the people? What favour does he think we expect at their hands, besides what they have lately shown by insulting our persons, rifling our houses, and sacrilegiously plundering our temples? I suppose the Clergy, to whose influence these things are owing, were willing to convince us, favour and affection ought not to determine us to be Dissenters. He may please to be inform'd, we seek not the favour and affection of men, but of God only, by our separation. Prejudices, and the capricious humour he talks of afterward, our Adversaries are as liable to, as our selves; but in the general, they who act manifestly against their temporal interest, and professedly keep to the Scripture as their only rule, may be thought as little under such an influence, as any other men. I now request him, next time he is pleas'd to give his judgment in our Controversy, to abate a little of this assuming air; and to suppose, that he and his friends are not the only men in the world, that are mortified to interest, favour, affection, and all other prejudices whatsoever; but that his neighbours may with as good a grace, at least, pretend to this character.

The PREFACE.

If I had authority to adjure you, *says he in the next Paragraph*, Whether you did really believe, that there are such errors either in the Doctrine or Discipline of the Church of *England*, as are inconsistent with salvation : I am persuaded that your consciences, after sufficient pains taken to be rightly inform'd, would answer in the negative. *What need of all this solemnity ? Did we ever deny a possibility of salvation in the Church of England ? That uncharitable way of judging mens states we leave to the Church of Rome, and their Brethren the High Church in England. We bless God, we have nothing to do with it. What need we then be adjur'd, to what we never deny'd ? Well, but now see his inference.* But if there are not such dangerous errors, then there are not sufficient grounds for a separation. *And is not this a fit person, think we, to admonish the Dissenters of all Denominations ? I will not adjure him, because the oaths of a certain sort of men have much lost their credit since the Revolution : but I put it to him ; whether he is not of the same mind with many of his Brethren, that there is a possibility of salvation in the Church of Rome ? If there is, according to his fancy, there are not sufficient grounds for a separation from it. Or if he sticks on that hand : I put it to him ; whether he believes there is a possibility of salvation in the Church of Scotland ? If there is, there are not sufficient grounds for a separation, and he must condemn his dear Episcopal Brethren on the other side Tweed. In short, if there is any sense in what he says, he must be a Papist in Italy, or a Presbyter in in Scotland. I thought sinful terms of communion had*

The P R E F A C E.

been a sufficient ground for separation, even tho' there might be a possibility of salvation for those who ignorantly comply'd with them. However I will add, that I think a prodigious degree of weakness and ignorance, or a very bitter subsequent repentance, must be necessary, to make mens fixing the terms of communion according to the heart's desire of a Popish Prince consistent with salvation.

In the next Paragraph he says : There are such strict obligations in the Gospel of Christ to unity (I mean Uniformity) in the worship of God ; that a good man would think himself bound to join with the establish'd Church in any Christian country, wherever he should happen to sojourn or travel, except in cases of such dangerous errors aforesaid. *This is a fresh instance of his great penetration.* There's an obligation to unity ; but not one word in the Gospel of Christ to oblige us to Uniformity in humane devices. Who told him, that unity and Uniformity are one and the same thing ? If they are, then there should be an Uniformity, not in an establish'd National Church only, of which not the least mention is made in the Gospel ; but in the whole Catholic Church, the unity of which is so often spoken of. So that according to this argument, the Church of England has acted contrary to the obligations of the Gospel of Christ, by making her worship not uniform with other parts of the Catholic Church. He will oblige us, by telling us where those places, he refers to in the Gospel of Christ, are, that require the Uniformity of an establish'd Church. We know not where to look for them, except in the *Act of Uniformity*, which we hope is not become Gospel by being put into the Common Prayer Book.

The PREFACE.

He says, he knows we will defend our selves by the examples of many celebrated persons of old, who thought it their duty to separate from the Church of England. But he is mistaken again. We reverence those good men, whom his ancestors persecuted; but we no further follow them, than as we see they follow'd Christ. We dont approve the separation, because they practised it; but we approve of their practice, because we see it warranted by Scripture. In short, we call no man master, or father, on earth; our avow'd only rule is the Scripture; by that alone we will be convinc'd, by that alone we walk, as by that alone we shall be judg'd. He will now answer this argument, which he need not, since it is none of ours, but his own. However let us hear him: But then there were greater numbers on the Church's side, as considerable, &c. Were it so, yet we think they did evil, and we are not to follow a multitude therein. Several of great reputation among the Dissenters have been reconcil'd to the Church: And he might have added, that several of them carried the wounds, they thereby made in their consciences, to their graves. But these things all tend only to shew, that we cannot make any good mens principles or practices a rule for us, since they differ so much from one another, and that we must therefore consider things as they are in themselves. Several others have been withheld from conforming, not so much out of scruple at the doctrines and usages of the Church, as the conscience of obligations they lay under from the Covenant, Engagement, and other oaths, which had pass'd upon them to the contrary; which obligations die with the particular men that were bound by

The PREFACE.

them. The Engagement stuck with none, that I know of. The renouncing the Covenant was an insuperable objection to many. But I hardly think any person ever declar'd, he had no other objection against the terms of Conformity. Nor is the business of the Covenant so light a matter, as he would make of it. For if the renouncing the Covenant was an unlawful term of Conformity, (as 'tis with me past doubt it was, in the terms they were requir'd to do it) then all Ministers were bound in conscience to have refus'd it; and consequently, they who impos'd it were Schismatical; and they who refus'd it were the only rightful and Catholic Pastors of the Church, according to the principles commonly laid down by our Adversaries. Now if the Churchmen were Schismatics at the beginning of the breach; 'tis not the death of the Catholics, that can clear them from any further guilt of Schism. They who are once Schismatics, must continue so till their repentance and reconciliation. I shall not take this Gentleman's word, for what he says many of them, towards their latter end, exhorted their intimate friends and acquaintance to. I dare say he was not their Confessor. Tho' if it be true, and they were not dating at the time, it signifies little to us, who judge by quite another rule.

We know what mean arts have been practis'd upon some particular persons abroad, and what false representations have been made to them to persuade them to censure us. We fear not the judgment of any, who will now hear what's said on both sides. And I can assure him, upon my own certain knowledge, that several of our Brethren abroad, upon reading the Doctor's Defence of the Church

The PREFACE.

Church of England, and my Vindication of the Dissenters, have approv'd our practice, and incourag'd us in it.

The reader will find an answer to the next Paragraph in the body of the Book. And therefore I shall here content myself, with only telling the Writer of the Preface, the eyes of the nation are too open not to see, that the little religion left in it lies mostly among us, notwithstanding their vast superiority in numbers. And 'tis a sign the best edification is there to be had, where men edify most. We are willing, the impartial should here judge.

This Gentleman is pleas'd to tell us : There is no ----- truth in that common pretence, that men of different sects of religion may, notwithstanding, live very sociably and friendly with one another. Take a right High Church bigot indeed, and the thing is impossible. If men have so little sense and manners, as to be condemning all those to the pit of hell that are not of their mind, and must needs bring in their peculiarities in religion upon all occasions, and impose them as healths upon every company, there's no living sociably and friendly with such ; nor can I see the Dissenters have any great reason to desire their conversation. But what difficulty is there really in the thing it self, for sober modest men, that differ from one another in some matters, to converse freely together about other things ; nay, and to talk friendly with one another concerning the points in controversy between them ? For my own part, I can't find any backwardness to allow another man as much liberty of differing from me, as I expect to be allow'd me of differing from

The PREFACE. .

from him. 'Tis therefore the easiest thing in the world for me to converse with sensible and civil people of all persuasions ; and I have met with those, who I am persuaded found no more difficulty in it, than my self. The contrary to this, he says, is notorious by the woful experience of the present, and former ages. He may see an instance of the contrary in Polycarp, and Pope Anicetus, mention'd in the Epistle of Irenæus to Pope Victor, who indeed seem'd to have been of this Gentleman's mind, but was very much blam'd for it. And who does not prefer the temper of Cyprian, who was for allowing every man to follow his own opinion without any breach of friendship and communion, to that of Pope Stephen, who renounc'd communion with all that differ'd from him ? And really I can't see but that he must take the liberty of accusing the Apostle of a grand impertinence, in giving Christians advice to live sociably and friendly together, notwithstanding their differing about meats, and drinks, and days. For he may as well tell him, as us, that the thing is impossible. And tho' some men, says he, have art and dexterity enough to carry a fair and plausible outside ; yet the very countenances of others speak that animosity which they harbour in their breasts : This is like enough to be true of furious bigots, but others need no art or dexterity to enable them to be easie and free in conversing with persons of a different opinion. and as for children and servants, they never fail to own that strong disaffection, which they contract from what they commonly hear said against the contrary party.

The PREFACE.

party. The truth is, not only the servants, but the children of High Church are brought up to rudeness and ill manners. They are taught to be inveterate and abusive to Dissenters. For my own part I can say, what I believe most among us can say for themselves; that tho' I endeavour to make my children sensible of the reasonableness of our dissent from the Church of England; yet I strictly charge them never to begin discourses of that nature with any of another mind. And this I caution them against as a piece of ill breeding; for so it manifestly is. I wish High Church, whose children are easily to be distinguish'd, would imitate us herein. But what will be infer from all this fine argument? because men of different opinions can't live sociably together, therefore they should be all of one opinion? Very well, with all my heart, provided he and his party will come over to us. But I suppose this is started to stir up men to advance the glorious work of persecution, that all may be brought to one opinion, in order to their living sociably together. If the true reason of mens animosities against one another be observ'd, 'twill be easy to find a much better way to put an end to them. When one sect of men is suffer'd to oppress another, this naturally raises animosities in both. The oppressed are inrag'd, upon the account of the oppression they groan under: the oppressors are mov'd at the impatience of those they trample upon, and hate them, because they believe they would be glad to shake off their ungodly yoke. Now let every man enjoy his natural rights and liberties, and no one sect be suffer'd to domineer over another; and difference in religion will be no bin-

The PREFACE.

hindrance to mens living friendly and sociably, as we see 'tis not at this day in Holland.

He tells us : He can bear with the warmth of the first Dissenters-----but finds it harder to excuse the moderns, who have seen those consequences [of their zeal] to be dreadful, and yet still continue to say the same things. *Good Sir, dont trouble your self : we neither ask, nor value your excuse. We are well assur'd, those bad consequences lie not at our doors, but your own : and we fear not to give an account of our practice as Dissenters, that will justify us in the sight of God, and all reasonable and impartial men.* And pray turn this upon your own side : The first imposers might not see the consequences of their impositions ; but who can excuse the moderns, who see them, and will not, as they easily may, remove the cause of them ?

Certain it is, that so long as the public worship of God is among us, there must be some modes and forms attending it : *What then? are there not modes and forms enough appointed in the Scripture? Is there any necessity, that they who are for more, must require all others to an Uniformity with themselves?* and wise men have ever held it most safe and warrantable, to keep to such as were in use in the first and purest times. These wise men are himself and his party, the ingrossers of all wisdom. 'Tis pity their neighbours can have no share with them. But pray, which do you reckon the first and purest times ? Is the fourth Century purer than the first, or the twelfth and thirteenth purer than both ? For whatever improvements have been made in humane arts and sciences by later inventions ; yet in religion, which always suffers

The PREFACE.

by innovations, antiquity is most venerable, and of sacred authority. This observation is worth all the Preface. Religion therefore, as describ'd in the Scriptures, without any of the innovations of after times, is to be prefer'd; and this is all we contend for. Keep to this rule, and our Controversy will be soon over. But the antiquity Dr. N. alledges, and the Church of England goes upon, is quite another thing, and takes in the innovations and improvements of many ages.

This is what the Church of England always laid claim to, both in Doctrine and Discipline. But her claim has always been disallow'd by the Dissenters. And as he adds, so do I too: How justly, let the following Treatise determine.

And now he comes to applaud the Doctor: The ability, says he, of the Author, for a work of this nature, is well known to the world, by his learned and elaborate Comment on the whole Service Book of the Church of England. I have had the curiosity to look a little into that Piece also; wherein are many of the same collections he had made for this Defence. So that I am apt to think, the reader may here meet with a confutation of the most he has there alledg'd, in behalf of the Church of England, in any of the points of controversy. As to the Doctor, he was, no doubt, a very ingenious man, and had gain'd no small reputation in the world by his writings. But whether he consulted his own credit, and did not mistake his own talent, when he undertook our Controversy, must be left to the judgment of the reader. I have always esteem'd it a vain thing to attempt to decide it by any, but Scripture arguments. Should we allow our Adversaries

The PREFACE.

ries had all the Fathers on their side, in every thing they contend for, our cause is nevertheless secure. This way of arguing does but needlessly lengthen out disputes; which might be much shrtten'd, if men would be content to keep wholly to the Scriptures.

But when men will argue from Fathers, they ought to do it with great fairness; much care should be used to represent their true sense and design: whereas this is almost perpetually neglected in our Controversy; and a base abuse is put upon us, and the Fathers at the same time. As to the Doctor in particular I will say nothing, now he is dead, more than what I did in the Book, in the time of his life. There are many misrepresentations of other Authors here confuted, tho' they are not named; and the Doctor was sometimes, I believe, led into mistakes, by taking things upon trust from such writers as he had an extraordinary value for.

And he had his thoughts very much upon this piece, as appears from the many corrections he had made in the margin of the Latin edition. 'Tis pity the Translation had not been made from the Doctor's corrected copy. There are abundance of faults, which I had taken notice of, continued in the Translation; which one would hardly expect, if it had been made from a book carefully corrected by the Author. These corrections seem to be only some marginal references, added between Page 25, and 33.

He had a design to publish it in English, and had translated the greatest part of it; but not living to finish the whole, it is now compleated in his own method, by a Divine of the Church of England. 'Tis not unlikely, the Doctor might have

The PREFACE.

have some design of translating it, before he saw it answer'd. But I hardly think he wculd be so disingenuous, as to continue that design afterwards, when he had resolv'd upon making no reply. Nor can I believe he had gone far in his Translation. Being desirous to search a little into this matter, I thought of this way to do it : I consider'd, the Doctor made use of several Books, which were not very common, and which the Translator might probably not have. The Doctor's own Translation wouldest, I was satisfied, run exactly in the language of the English Authors he had turn'd into Latin ; which 'twas probable the Translator's might not. I therefore resolv'd to compare the Translation with such of the Authors themselves, as I had by me. The first I light upon was the Doctor's citation out of Bp. Hooper, p. 178, 179 ; which I was sure was made from the Latin, and not taken from his own English words. I then look'd back to p. 158, and compar'd the two passages of Gilby with Bancroft's Dangerous Positions, p. 56, from whence they are cited ; and the same still appear'd. I still went further back, and compar'd the pretended words of Barrow, set down p. 37, with the original in Sir George Paul's Life of Whitgift, p. 67 ; and found they were a translation. I went yet further back to p. 28, and compar'd the words there cited with the Admonition : and here I found the Translator had the English book before him. I then try'd whether the Admonition was cited in the latter part of the Book with the like exactness, and compar'd it with the quotation we meet with, p. 246 : and there I found the Translator had not the Admonition. So that

between

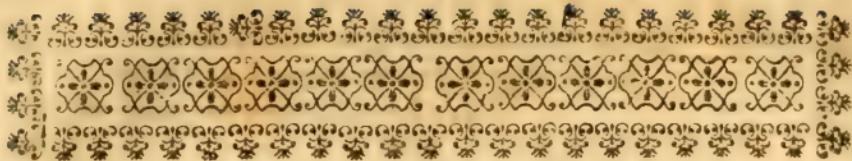
The PREFACE.

between 30 and 40 pages, at most, are here reckon'd the greatest part of the Book.

I will not contest with the Writer of the Preface, what commendation the Book deserves. If it be the compleatest of any of its bulk that is extant, as he seems to think ; if it contains the sum or chief of those arguments, that can be brought for the cause it defends ; I think the cause it self must be a very bad one, which needs so much misrepresentation and fallacious arguing to disguise it. And this confirms me in my persuasion, that the other, which I defend, has so much of truth and goodness in it, as will secure it, that the Gates of Hell shall never prevail against it ; that it shall never be so vanquish'd, as not to revive again, and triumph over the malice of its enemies ; that it shall be own'd and applauded, when human inventions in the worship of God shall be utterly abolish'd.



CON:



CONTENTS.

PART I.

Containing the history of Nonconformity.

T HE Dissenters join with Doctor Nichols in appealing to Foreign Divines.	Page 1
His motives to undertake the defence of the Church, and the Author's reasons for writing this answer.	3
MCCCLX. Wicklief's opinion: wherein the Dissenters agree with him.	4
His followers persecuted.	6
MDIX. King Henry VIII. coming to the crown, continues the persecution.	ibid
MDXXXIII. Cranmer attempts a Reformation.	7
MDXXXIV. The Pope's supremacy abolish'd, and the King's establish'd.	ibid
MDXLVII. King Edward VI his accession and Reformation:	10
Obstructed by the Bishops and Clergy.	12
Doctor Nichols's panegyric on the Church examin'd.	13
Reformation abroad vindicated.	14
Pretence of antiquity consider'd.	16
Mr. Calvin vindicated.	20
Bishop Hooper persecuted.	29
Many then of his mind.	32
Two sad instances of persecution.	33
MDLV. Troubles at Frankford, with reflections thereon.	35
	Re-

C O N T E N T S.

MDLVIII.	Reformation under Queen Elizabeth.	42
	<i>Hinder'd by 1. her extravagant authority.</i>	43
	2. <i>Her endeavour to please the Papists.</i>	48
	3. <i>Their subtil tricks.</i>	51
MDLXII.	<i>A Convocation reviews the Articles. Earnest struggles therein for reformation.</i>	53
MDLXIV.	<i>Bishops without law require subscription.</i>	55
	<i>The Queen stirs up the Bishops to persecute.</i>	56
	<i>The course they took.</i>	57
	<i>Sampson deprived.</i>	58
	<i>His and Humfrys's submissive Letter.</i>	ibid.
MDLXV.	<i>Whitgift and other Cambridge Doctors Letter against persecution.</i>	60
	<i>Correspondence between the Foreign Divines and the English on both sides.</i>	ibid.
	<i>Persecution in London.</i>	61
MDLXVI.	<i>A Declaration of the Ministers of London, and its defence.</i>	ibid.
	<i>Churches shut up for want of Preachers.</i>	62
	<i>Parker weary of persecuting.</i>	63
	<i>Letter from the general Assembly in Scotland to the Bishops defended.</i>	ibid.
MDLXVII.	<i>A religious Assembly disturb'd.</i>	ibid.
	<i>Forgeries of Cummin and Heath.</i>	65
	<i>Controversy about Christ's descent into hell.</i>	ibid.
MDLXXI.	<i>The Articles confirm'd by Parliament.</i>	ibid.
	<i>Ministers turn'd out.</i>	66
	<i>Beza and Martyr's judgment concerning Conformity.</i>	67
	<i>Midwives allow'd to baptize.</i>	69
	<i>Cartwright vindicated against Dr. Nichols and Sir G. Paul.</i>	71
	<i>Grindal stirs up persecution.</i>	78
	<i>Whitgift's judgment and humanity.</i>	79
	<i>The two Archbishops persecute.</i>	80
	<i>The troubles of Mr. Deering,</i>	ibid.
	<i>And Mr. Johnson.</i>	82
MDLXXII.	<i>Admonition to the Parliament defended :</i>	83
	<i>Begets a new Quarrel between Cartwright and Whitgift.</i>	86
	<i>Attempts in Parliament for Reformation.</i>	87
	<i>Account of the state of religion.</i>	88

C O N T E N T S.

MDLXXIII.	<i>Ministers brought before the Council and Eccles. Commission ; and imprison'd.</i>	88
	<i>Mr. Deering vindicated,</i>	89
	<i>And Cartwright, and the Puritan Classes.</i>	90
MDLXXVI	<i>An account of Propheſyings.</i>	92
	<i>Q. Eliz. and Archbp. Parker enemies, but Grindal a friend to them.</i>	93
	<i>Grindal's Letter concerning them.</i>	94
	<i>His trouble and ſubmiſſion.</i>	95
	<i>Troubles of Gawton.</i>	96
	<i>And Greenham.</i>	97
	<i>Aylmer, Bp. of London, perſecutes : his temper.</i>	ibid.
MDLXXXIII.	<i>Archbp. Whitgiff a furious Perſecuter.</i>	100
MDLXXXIV.	<i>Sets up an inquiſition.</i>	ibid.
	<i>Forbids Cartwright's anſwering the Rhemifts.</i>	101
	<i>Giffard's troubles.</i>	103
	<i>Attempts in Parliament cuſtinely oppoſ'd by Archb. Whitgiff.</i>	104
	<i>The Minifters preſent a Petition, and reaſons for not ſubſcribiſing, to the Convocation :</i>	105
	<i>Stiſſed in the Bifhops house.</i>	106
	<i>Minifters urged to a ſtricter ſubſcription than the Law requir'd.</i>	ibid.
	<i>The diſorders of thoſe times.</i>	107
	<i>Cruel dealing with Minifters.</i>	108
MDLXXXVI.	<i>Babington's plot againſt the Queen and Puritans.</i>	115
	<i>Minifters preſent a Latin petition to the Convocation.</i>	116
MDLXXXVII.	<i>The Commons attempt a reformation :</i>	ibid.
	<i>Hinder'd by the Bifhops.</i>	117
	<i>Bp. Burnet's judgment of ſome things diſliked by them.</i>	ibid.
	<i>Martin Mar-prelate's writings diſapprov'd by the Puritans.</i>	118
	<i>Dr. N's invidious turn given to the Puritans words.</i>	119
	<i>Leicester, Walsingham, and Knollis vindicated.</i>	120
	<i>Charaſter of Heylyn's writings.</i>	122
MDXC.	<i>Whitgiff's tyranny, and Cartwright's ſufferings.</i>	123

C O N T E N T S.

	K. James's Letter in his and Udal's behalf.	127
	Udal's tryal.	129
	Travers silenced.	139
	The story of Hacket. Puritans not concern'd with him.	140
	Some account of Rob. Brown.	143
	A Law against Conventicles.	ibid.
	Brownists persecuted.	144
	The Execution of Thacker, Copping, Barrow, Greenwood,	145
	Penry,	148
	And Dennys.	151
MDCIL.	Puritans present the Petition with 1000 hands to K. James.	152
	His Account of the Hampton Court Conference :	ibid.
	Different from Barlow's.	154
	Bp. Rudd's Speech in Convocation about the Cross.	158
	Reflections upon it.	163
MDCIV.	Persecution in England and Scotland.	164
	K. James's inconstancy.	165
	The Episcoparians zealous to obtrude their Hierarchy and ceremonies.	166
	Grown worse since.	167
	Account of the Scots Bishops.	168
	Archbp. Bancroft's fly proceedings.	169
MDCVII.	Mr. Parker's troubles for his treatise of the Cross.	170
	Dealings with the Scots, particularly the two Melvins.	171
	Bancroft's hypocrisy and cruelty.	173
MDCIX.	Father Paul's account of Chelsea College.	175
	Liberty for sports on the Lord's day.	ibid.
	Mr. Calderwood's Altare Damascen.	ibid.
	And troubles.	176
MDCXXV.	Troubles in K. Charles's reign.	ibid.
	Leighton's troubles.	177
MDCXXXIII.	Disputes about the Lord's day, and predestination.	181
MDCXL.	Disputes about the prerogative. The Clergies fault therin.	185
		Their

C O N T E N T S.

	Their innovations. <i>Articles against Bp. Wren.</i>	189
	Bastwick, Burton, and Prynne's troubles.	190
MDCXLI.	The Irish Massacre.	194
	Marq. of Antrim clear'd by K. Charles the Second.	195
	Burges vindicated.	198
	Ld. Digby's Speech concerning the Prelates.	199
	Effects of the Civil War.	201
MDCXLIII.	Solemn League and Covenant.	203
	Episcopal Ministers ejected.	204
	Westminster Assembly.	205
	Rise of the Independents.	206
	Mr. Cotton vindicated.	ibid.
	Acts of the Assembly.	208
	Why the Presbyterian government is most readily received in cities.	211
	Case of Episcopal and Presbyterian Ministers at this time.	212
MDCXLVIII.	Presbyterians had no hand in the King's death.	215
	Concerning the Heresies of the Interregnum.	217
	Presbyterians attempt K. Charles the Second's restoration.	219
MDCLX.	King Charles the Second voted home.	220
	His dissembling with the Ministers.	ibid.
MDCLXII.	An account of the Church of England's golden days.	221
	Savoy conference.	223
	The Convocation has little regard to peace.	230
	Act of Uniformity.	231
	Presbyterian Assemblies: A barbarous Law against them.	235
MDCLXV.	The plague. Oxford Oath.	236
MDCLXXI.	The King's indulgence accepted by Dissenters.	240
	A bill passes the Commons in favour of Dissenters.	242
	Bishops advise the King to persecute.	ibid.
MDCLXXIII.	The Clergy endeavour to ridicule the Dissenters.	243
	Controversy between Sherlock and Owen.	245
	Jenky and Grove.	247
MDCLXXVIII.	The Popish Plot discover'd, and the Parliament dissolved.	ibid.
MDCLXXX.	Another called.	ibid.
	A sham Presbyterian Plot.	ibid.
	Mr. Rich. Thompson censur'd by Parl.	ibid.

C O N T E N T S.

	The bill of Exclusion oppos'd by the Church.	249
MDCLXXXII.	Commons declare against persecution.	251
	The persecution very severe.	252
	Vincent condemn'd.	ibid.
MDCLXXXIII.	Rye-house Plot.	253
	Mr. Carstairs's sufferings.	255
	The London Cases.	258
	Mr. De Laune suffers for answering one of them.	259
	Treatment of the French Refugees.	260
MDCLXXXV.	K. James comes to the Crown.	261
	Monmouth's rebellion.	ibid.
MDCLXXXVII.	The King's Declaration for liberty of Conscience.	264
	The Dissenters behaviour vindicated.	ibid.
MDCLXXXVIII.	The Parliament give the Crown to K. William and Q. Mary.	271
	The Dissenters address them.	ibid.
	The Act of Toleration.	272.
	A Comprehension binder'd by the quarrels of the Convocation:	273
	And not by the Dissenters.	ibid.
	Sir H. Edwin defended in carrying the Mace to a Meeting, when Lord Mayor of London.	276
	The Answer to Mr. Burscough defended.	279
MDCCI.	Q. Anne succeeds,	281
	Dr. Calamy's Abridgement:	ibid.
	Begets a Controversy between him and Hoadly and Ollyffe.	282
	Concerning Occasional Communion.	283
	A Caution to our Arbitrators.	285

C O N T E N T S.

P A R T II.

Concerning the Doctrine of the Church of *England.*

INTRODUCTION.

<i>Dissenters need no colour for their Separation.</i>	p. 3
<i>Reflections on the writers upon this controversy :</i>	ibid.
<i>And on the Doctor's encomium upon the Church.</i>	4

C H A P. I. Of Popery charg'd on the Church of *England*

<i>General observations concerning this accusation.</i>	6
---	---

<i>Puritan writers vindicated in urging it.</i>	8
---	---

<i>Dissenters favour'd not Papists.</i>	10
---	----

<i>The weakness of Dr. Nichols's pleas from the Papists putting the Bishops to death.</i>	11
---	----

<i>The gunpowder plot.</i>	12
----------------------------	----

<i>K. James's proceedings.</i>	13
--------------------------------	----

<i>The forgeries of Cummin and Heath.</i>	ibid.
---	-------

<i>The Clergies subscriptions.</i>	14
------------------------------------	----

<i>The Dissenters opinion of symbolizing with Papists.</i>	ibid.
--	-------

<i>Their practice vindicated :</i>	15
------------------------------------	----

<i>By the example of Hezekiah.</i>	16
------------------------------------	----

<i>Some Bishops and Presbyters popishly affected.</i>	18
---	----

<i>Dr. N's excuse for them frivolous.</i>	23
---	----

C H A P. XIII. Concerning Nonresistance.

<i>Nonresistance the doctrine of the Clergy,</i>	25
--	----

<i>And Convocation,</i>	26
-------------------------	----

<i>Deserted at the Revolution.</i>	27
------------------------------------	----

<i>Dissenters vindicated in accepting K. James's liberty.</i>	28
---	----

<i>Dr. N's apologies for the Clergy examin'd.</i>	ibid.
---	-------

<i>Reasons why Dissenters sided with some Courtiers in disgrace.</i>	30
--	----

<i>The power of the magistrate, how from God, and how from the people.</i>	31
--	----

<i>The original contract defended.</i>	32
--	----

<i>The Clergy encouraged tyranny. Not excus'd in preaching Non- resistance, by the time,</i>	34
--	----

<i>Or the Parliament's requiring them to subscribe it, or their ignorance of the laws.</i>	35
--	----

CONTENTS.

PART III.

Concerning Discipline, and Modes of Worship.

CHAP. I. Of the government of Bishops.

<i>The opinions of both sides.</i>	39
<i>The Episcopal order not instituted by Christ.</i>	41
<i>The Apostles not Bishops.</i>	44
<i>Of St. James's being Bishop of Jerusalem,</i>	47
<i>And Stephen's being his Deacon.</i>	49
<i>Epaphroditus no Bishop. What Ἀπόστολος signifies.</i>	Dr.
<i>Whitby's opinion examin'd.</i>	50
<i>Jerom's notion of an Apostle.</i>	53
<i>Titus not Bishop of Crete :</i>	55
<i>Nor Timothy of Ephesus.</i>	58
<i>Arguments from antiquity without Scripture insufficient.</i>	61
<i>Testimonies of the antients consider'd.</i>	63
<i>Dr. N's Defence of the Bishops civil honours and offices examin'd.</i>	78
<i>These condemn'd by the antients,</i>	80
<i>By Tindal, Cranmer,</i>	82
<i>Latimer, Hooper,</i>	83
<i>And many others.</i>	85
<i>Dr. N. mistaken about the extent of antient Churches.</i>	ibid.
<i>Jerom no defender of Episcopacy.</i>	90

CHAP. II. Of Deans and Chapters.

<i>Their jurisdiction intrenches upon the pretended rights of Bishops.</i>	91
<i>These dignities why held by some Puritans.</i>	ibid.
<i>Not justified by antiquity.</i>	92
<i>Other reasons for them examin'd.</i>	93
<i>Their rise. Calvin's judgment of them.</i>	96

CHAP. III. Of Singing and Music in Churches.

<i>Dissenters no enemies to vocal music.</i>	97
<i>What the virtue of instrumental music is. Why used in the Temple,</i>	98
<i>And not in the Christian Church.</i>	99
<i>Antiphonal singing, when first used;</i>	101
<i>Disliked by some of the antients,</i>	103
<i>And the English ecclesiastical commissioners.</i>	104
<i>Organs</i>	

C O N T E N T S.

<i>Organs when first used in the Church :</i>	104
<i>Why retain'd in some foreign Churches.</i>	107
<i>Condemn'd by the Homilies : Oppos'd in Convocation :</i>	108
<i>Condemn'd by some Papists.</i>	109
 C H A P. IV. Of the public Liturgy.	
<i>The Dissenters opinion.</i>	110
<i>Their way of praying vindicated.</i>	112
<i>Advantages of it compar'd with those of the Liturgy.</i>	115
<i>No pattern of a Liturgy in the primitive Church.</i>	118
<i>The Doctor's opinion of the Apostolic age consider'd.</i>	119
<i>Testimonies from the antients examin'd.</i>	122
<i>Whence the English Liturgy is taken.</i>	138
<i>The Liturgies of Basil, &c. spurious.</i>	ibid.
<i>Difference between the English Liturgy and the prayers of the ancients.</i>	139
<i>Testimonies of the antients using free prayer.</i>	140
 C H A P. V. Of the sign of the Cross in Baptism.	
<i>The opinion of Conformists and Nonconformists concerning it.</i>	146
<i>The antiquity of it examin'd.</i>	149
<i>The Doctor's plea for continuing it unreasonable.</i>	154
<i>Some confessedly superstitious about it.</i>	155
<i>The present use differs from the antient.</i>	157
<i>Whether sacramental.</i>	158
 C H A P. VI. Of Godfathers and Godmothers.	
<i>State of the controversy.</i>	161
<i>The sense of the antients.</i>	162
<i>The Doctor's arguments answer'd.</i>	165
<i>The objections of Dissenters vindicated.</i>	166
<i>Arguments from state examples answer'd.</i>	167
<i>Reflections upon St. Austin's fancy.</i>	169
 C H A P. VII. Of Confirmation.	
<i>The judgment of Dissenters.</i>	171
<i>Confirmation not warranted by Scripture.</i>	172
<i>When and how used by the antients.</i>	175
<i>Concerning the Minister of Confirmation.</i>	185
<i>Whether used as a sacrament.</i>	187

C O N T E N T S.

CHAP. VIII. Of the Surplice, and other Ecclesiastical Habits.

<i>The Dissenters judgment.</i>	188
<i>Of the usefulness of these garments.</i>	191
<i>No distinction between a sacred and profane garb.</i>	ibid.
<i>Why the Dissenters use a Cloak.</i>	192
<i>Scripture arguments for the Surplice examin'd,</i>	ibid.
<i>Those from the custom of nations,</i>	193
<i>And from antiquity.</i>	194
<i>Not antiquitely used.</i>	197
<i>What it signifies.</i>	198

CHAP. IX. Of the Ring in Marriage.

<i>What our controversy here is.</i>	199
<i>Testimonies of Tertullian and Austin examin'd.</i>	200
<i>The sense of those words, With my body I thee worship.</i>	201

CHAP. X. Of Kneeling at the Sacrament.

<i>State of the controversy.</i>	201
<i>Example of Christ and his Apostles.</i>	202
<i>Whether Church rulers may require kneeling.</i>	ibid.
<i>The difference between Christ's sitting and ours.</i>	203
<i>Communicants may be more than twelve.</i>	204
<i>Sitting not an indecent posture.</i>	205
<i>What posture best resembles a feast.</i>	207
<i>Charge of symbolizing with Socinians retorted.</i>	208
<i>Kneeling not requisite in token of humility.</i>	209
<i>The practice of the antients.</i>	ibid.

CHAP. XI. Of the observation of Holidays.

<i>The Dissenters opinion.</i>	213
<i>The Doctor's arguments from Scripture refuted.</i>	217
<i>No such Holidays in the three first ages.</i>	219
<i>Of the number of Festivals.</i>	220
<i>Rise of the feast of Annunciation, Nativity,</i>	221
<i>Circumcision,</i>	224
<i>Purification, Resurrection,</i>	225
<i>Ascension, Whitsunday, the Apostles,</i>	226
<i>Christ, the Martyrs,</i>	227
<i>John Baptist,</i>	228
<i>Stephen, Conversion of St. Paul; Mark, Luke, Michael.</i>	Mi- 229 Th ^h

C O N T E N T S.

<i>The Fastes, particularly the Eves,</i>	250
<i>Lent,</i>	233
<i>Ember weeks,</i>	241
<i>Rogation days.</i>	242
<i>Whether these days are not contrary to the fourth Command- ment.</i>	ibid.
C H A P. XII. Of Bowing at the Name of Jesus.	
<i>The Dissenters opinion.</i>	243
<i>The Churchmens practice formerly, and now, different.</i>	ibid.
<i>The argument answer'd from civil respect,</i>	244
<i>From the worship due to Christ.</i>	ibid.
<i>This custom not charg'd with idolatry :</i>	245
<i>By whom used.</i>	ibid.
<i>The meaning of Philip. ii. 10.</i>	246
<i>Of worshiping toward the altar.</i>	247
C H A P. XIII. Of reading Apocryphal books in the Church.	
<i>The state of the question.</i>	249
<i>Difference between the Articles and the Homilies.</i>	ibid.
<i>The ill effect of reading them publicly.</i>	250
<i>The sense of the antients.</i>	251
<i>A frivolous excuse, that they are not read on Sundays.</i>	254
<i>Whether they exclude a part of Canonical Scripture.</i>	255
<i>Whether Bell and the Dragon is a pious allegory.</i>	257
<i>The history of Susannah counted fabulons by Jerom ;</i>	288
<i>Not quoted by Clement.</i>	ibid.
C H A P. XIV. Of the Church's Homilies, and Ministers Sermons.	
<i>Homilies now seldom read, and why.</i>	260
<i>Dr. N. unreasonably condemns all earnestness in preaching.</i>	261
<i>The Churchmen inconstant, sometimes commanding us, sometimes our predecessors.</i>	263
<i>We honour Mr. Baxter, and our own Divines.</i>	264
C H A P. XV. Of the Faults found with the English Liturgy.	
<i>The frequent repetition of the Lord's Prayer.</i>	266
<i>The Prayer, to be deliver'd from fornication, and all other deadly sin.</i>	267
<i>The Office of burial.</i>	ibid.
<i>The Confession too short and general.</i>	269
	Tee

C O N T E N T S.

The alternate reciting the Psalms.

270

Repeating the Creed.

ibid.

The Litany.

ibid.

C H A P. XVI. Of the Discipline of the Church of England.

The great want of discipline acknowledg'd.

271

What divisions hinder discipline.

272

*The defects of discipline with reference to Ministers,
And Parishioners.*

274

*Concerning Archdeacons,
And Archbishops.*

277

A Specimen of the Church's laws :

279

Mild toward the Papists, severe upon the Puritans.

281

Of Excommunication,

282

And commutation of Penance.

283

The C O N C L U S I O N.



A V I N-



A
VINDICATION
OF THE
DISSENTER S:
OR, AN
A P P E A L
TO
FOREIGN DIVINES, PROFESSORS,
and all other LEARNED MEN of
the Reform'd Religion.

P A R T I.

Reverend and Dear BRETHREN,



N reading Dr. *Nichols*'s book, I could not but often wonder, our Episcoparians should, at length, appeal to you. And when I consider how very differently they have been accustom'd for a long time to treat Foreigners, I cannot forbear congratulating you this new friendship. We wish it may prove lasting, not being apprehensive of any ill consequence from such Arbitrators. We have always desir'd that Aristocratical form of Church Government, which

C you

you have deservedly made choice of, as most consonant to the holy Scriptures: we have earnestly pleaded for the abrogation of those rites and ceremonies, which you have of your own accord laid aside: and we are well assur'd of your approbation of those articles of faith, which the Dissenters have always testified a regard to; but which our Conformists (tho' they subscrib'd to them) have miserably rack'd and tortur'd, to make them favour the Arminian and Jesuitical scheme, in spight of the sense of the composers of them, and the plain sense of the words in which they are express'd. You therefore, Brethren, must first quit your old sentiments, before you can honestly censure us. However we can't but take it a little amiss of these gentlemen, that they should hypocritically endeavour to beguile and impose upon our Brethren abroad. 'Tis well known, they who chuse Arbitrators pretend, they are willing to refer the whole matter in controversy to their arbitration. But we are well assur'd, our Adversaries are determin'd to abide by their old resolution, which they have been long accustom'd to expres in the words of our antient noble Barons, *Nolumus leges Angliae mutari: We will admit of no alteration in the English laws.** And tho' some few excellent persons in the Establishment, may be desirous of having our controversy determin'd by your judgment; yet they will never be able to persuade their brethren to refer the matter to you. Dr. Nichols freely acknowledges, *It has been in vain, when they have try'd to bring their party to a healing temper.*† And the reason is, because the High Church always opposes the advice and counsel of the Low, who are much the fewest in number. And truly I can't see, that any great matters can be expected from Arbitrators. For if they will vouchsafe to give a verdict according to the hearts desire of the Conformists, they will look upon it as decisive of the controversy; but if they should chance to determine any thing in our favour, they will right or wrong contemn their judgment, and insult the Arbitrators. But for our parts, we promise to stand to the choice they have made, only upon this one condition, that we be understood to reserve the same power of judging of the arbitration, which we are very sure our Adversaries will never part with. And I am much mistaken, if we have not stronger

* See Dr. Nich. p. 121. † See pag. 133.

stronger reasons than they to insist upon this. For, are not those things accounted *indifferent* by our Adversaries, which we esteem grievously sinful? Let any man then judge between us. What should hinder the abolishing such things, which, if tolerable, are however useless? If the peace of the Church, and brotherly agreement may be promoted by such an alteration, what hurt could there be in it? But as to us, every one must see, 'tis not in our power to hearken to any Arbitrators, who would persuade us to worship God in a way our consciences disapprove; and we are satisfied our Brethren abroad will never put us upon it. However, since Dr. *Nichols*, under the mask of friendship, has endeavour'd to expose us to the hatred and censure of our Foreign Brethren, equity and justice require they should hear what we have to say in our own Defence.

Dr. *Nichols* is pleas'd to say, *That which prevail'd with him, in particular, to set about this work, was the earnest persuasions of some very worthy persons**; nor can it be any great wonder, if some such should have put him upon writing; however, many are apt to think, he was forward enough himself in the undertaking. This I am well assur'd, a very eminent Bishop deceas'd, and a learned Dr. in Divinity, still alive, had his Book put into their hands to peruse, before 'twas printed, and both of them earnestly dissuaded him from printing it, but could not prevail. But for my own part, I can truly say, I was earnestly solicited to the work, which I was utterly averse to, and endeavoured all I could to persuade several, who put me upon it, to undertake it themselves, knowing they were much better qualified for such an undertaking. However, finding they wanted either leisure or inclination, I at length yielded to their request, although I was very sensible under what disadvantages I undertook the work; and more particularly because I knew long disuse had render'd me more unfit to write in the learned language, with the politeness and elegancy, which suited both the cause I was to defend, and the reputation and character of the persons to whom I was to address my self. But this was my stedfast resolution from the first, that how much soever I should fall short of Dr. *Nichols* (the Latin Secretary to the Society for the Propagation

pagation of the *Gospel*) in elegancy of stile, I would abundantly make amends for in the exactness and faithfulness of my accounts of matters. And since truth is not to be discern'd by the fineness of the language, but by the weight and strength of the arguments which are urg'd; our Brethren are earnestly desired rather to regard the force of the arguments than the manner in which they are express'd.

DR. Nichols has prefix'd an *Historical Introduction* to his *Defence*. I shall first correct the mistakes he runs into in that part; and then try the strength of those arguments, whereby he endeavours to defend his cause: and, upon the whole, any of our brethren abroad may be able to form a truer notion of that Church, which some are pleas'd so highly to extol, and give a more exact and just judgment about our Controversy.

IF any regard is to be paid to the judgment of *Wicklief*,* whom our Author highly and deservedly commends, 'twould be but decent in our Adversaries to treat us with more moderation; since 'tis certain he agreed with us, in the chief matters in dispute between us and the Conformists, as these following Testimonies will abundantly prove.

Of the Degrees, and Offices of Ministers.

“ THE holy doctors were of opinion, that 'tis superfluous in the sacrament of Orders to allow more than two degrees, *viz.* Deacons or Levites, and Presbyters or Bishops; for these two degrees were thought sufficient under the old law, which more abounded with sacraments. In *Paul's* time, two orders of Clergy-men were thought enough for the Church, *viz.* Priests and Deacons: the other degrees are the inventions of imperious pride. †

“ CIVIL government should not be committed to the clergy. ‡

“ 'Twould be good for the Church, if there were neither Pope, nor domineering Prelate; and that the Church were freed from their traditions, as it will be after the day of judgment. †

“ CON-

* *Pag. 2.* † *Fascic. rer. expet. & fug. Tom. I. 269.* *Thom. Wald in Fuller, 182: Catal. Test. Tom. 2. p. 810.* ‡ *Catal. Test. ibid.* † *Fascic. p. 270.*

“ CONFIRMATION, the giving orders, and the consecration of places are reserv’d to the Pope and Bishops, for the sake of temporal gain and honour.*

That the Holy Scriptures is the only Rule of Faith, and Worship.

“ LET a Christian hearken to reason and Scripture, and not such extravagant, and groundless fables concerning the power of the Prelates. †

“ ALL human traditions, which are not taught in the Gospel, are superfluous and wicked.— ’Tis not lawful to use, learn, or teach any other law, than that of Christ; and whoever uses any law, that does not lead directly to happiness, exposes himself by such use to damnation.— ’Tis not lawful for a Christian, after the full publication of the law of Christ, to devise himself any other laws for the government of the Church. ‖

“ THAT wise men leave that as impertinent, which is not plainly express’d in Scripture.— That he flighted the authority of General Councils. ‡

Of Rites, and Ceremonies.

“ HE wholly rejected all human rites, and new shadows or traditions. — He thought Cathedrals, and all that pomp of the Pope’s worship, together with the various degrees of the Clergy, ought to be abolish’d.*

“ THAT all beautiful building of churches is blameworthy, and favours of hypocrisy. †

“ WOULD be very much for the advantage of the Church, that the building of Cathedrals, and stately churches, and the several religious Orders, should be laid aside, as they will be done in the day of judgment. ‖

“ THAT Chrisme, and other such ceremonies, are not to be us’d in baptism. ‡

“ IF the ceremonies of the old law were to cease under the law of grace, because of their burdensomeness and number; how much more should such traditions of men

* Artic. against John Wicklief in the Counc. of Const. Ses. 8. Art. 28. See Fuller also. † Fast. p. 274. ‖ Ibid p. 276. ‡ Wald in Full. • Catal. Test. ‡ Wald. in Full. ‖ Fast. p. 270. † Wald in Full.

“ men, as are devis’d without any Scripture foundation,
 “ cease in the time of that law of grace?—Circumcision,
 “ and the ceremonies of the old law, are not to be ob-
 “ serv’d by Christians, much more the modern ceremo-
 “ nies, introduc’d contrary to both the old and new law.*

Of Vigils, and Forms of Prayer.

“ THAT to bind men to set and prescript forms of
 “ Prayer, doth derogate from that liberty God hath given
 “ them.—That men are not bound to the observation of
 “ Vigils or Canonical Hours. †

“ WOULD be an advantage to the Church, to
 “ be restor’d to her antient liberty; and that all the
 “ solemnities of additional Masses, and the prayers for Ca-
 “ nonical Hours might be laid aside. ‖

Of Predestination.

“ HE defin’d the Church to consist only of persons
 “ predestinated. ‡

THE followers of *Wicklief* were always vex’d with
 a most grievous and cruel persecution. And 'tis easy to ob-
 serve, the things they were troubled for, were such
 wherein they perfectly agreed with us: such as their speak-
 ing against Holidays, the observation of Lent, Plurali-
 ties, the singing Service, &c. as may be seen in Mr. *Fox's*
Martyrology.

THE persecution ceas’d not in King *Henry* the VIII’s
 time, who was an implacable enemy to the Reformation,
 and wrote sharply against *Luther*, wherein he so pleas’d the
 Pope, that he bestow’d upon him the title of *Defender*
 of the *Faith*. But being a most lascivious prince, and
 weary of his wife, he studied how to put her away, that
 he might marry one whom he better liked, and grievously
 resented the hindrance he met with, from the Pope, in his
 design. And when he was wearied out with the intrigues
 and delays of the Papal court, he resolved at the instiga-
 tion of *Cranmer* (afterward A.B. of *Canterbury*) to shake
 off the yoke, and to get the Pope’s power vested in his own
 person. After this, by the help of his own Bishops, ap-
 pointed

pointed judges in his affair, he, without any difficulty, got rid of his wives, just as he pleas'd. We can never enough adore that infinite wisdom, which overrul'd his wicked disposition, and turn'd it to the advantage of religion, and the destruction of Papal tyranny among us. Nor can the Papists have any great cause to upbraid the Reformation with his character, when they consider, to what a monster of an Emperor their head is indebted for the title of *Universal Bishop*. However, King *Henry* continu'd a deadly enemy both to the Reformation and the Papal tyranny; and they, who avow'd either of these, suffer'd death in his reign.

Cranmer being made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, gladly embrac'd all opportunities of promoting the Reformation; and his interest in the King's favour might have been more serviceable, had it not been for the intolerably superstitious and obstinate temper of the King, the craftiness of *Gardiner*, Bp. of *Winchester*, and his own timorousness. Had not *Cranmer* been chargeable with timorousness, he would not have had a hand in putting martyrs to death. Dr. *Fuller* tells us, the Archbishop argued with *Lambert*, though civilly, shrewdly against the truth, and his own private judgment.* But I must own, I think Mr. *Strype* clears him of that, and shews that at that time he himself believ'd the doctrine of Transubstantiation.† But 'tis easy to observe much of this temper appearing in that account, which he gives of him. However this is certain, that the state of religion was very deplorable during his reign, as appears by the *Six Articles*, establishing *Transubstantiation*, *Communion under one Kind*, the *Celibacy of the Clergy*, *Vows of Chastity*, *Private Masses*, and *Auricular Confession*.

OUR author next gives an account of the taking away of the *Pope's Supremacy*.|| To which I would add, that King *Henry* always studied how he might inlarge his authority, and increase his treasure; and upon these motives, chiefly, dissolv'd the religious houses, and put an end to the Papal tyranny among us. And if the temper of the man be consider'd, 'tis no great wonder, he shou'd endeavour to possess himself of that power and authority, which he took away from the Pope. But 'tis necessary to look a little farther into this, that we may the

better understand the supremacy of our Kings; which is a matter of great moment in our Controversy, however slightly and superficially the Dr. afterwards treats of it, p. 347, In the 37th year of his reign, a law was made which declares: "That Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical persons have no manner of jurisdiction ecclesiastical, but by and under the King's Majesty, the only undoubted supreme head of the Church of *England*, to whom, by Holy Scripture, power and authority is given to hear and determine all manner of causes whatsoever, and to correct all sin and vice whatsoever."

HENCE sprang those offices of Chancellors, Commissaries, and the like, who were never heard of in that primitive Church, about which our Adversaries make such a continual stir. For King *Henry* being resolv'd to shew his subjects, what authority he intended to assume, and that he might try their obedience, committed the most important ecclesiastical judgment to Laymen. Our Adversaries continually tell us, that Christ committed the government of the Church only to the Bishops. Let them then shew us, how, consistantly with that notion, they can allow the power of excommunication and absolution to belong to such officers as are not Bishops, but perfect Laymen; and who proceed, not by the direction of the Bishops in what they do, but act upon their own heads, and oftentimes against the will of the Bishops.* The King therefore, according to our *English* laws (which in some respects they would have to be unchangeable, like those of the *Medes* and *Perians*) is the only fountain of all ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction; nor have the Clergy, of whatsoever order or degree, any other power than what they have deriv'd from him: and the Bishops rule the churches, ordain and administer Sacraments as his ministers. Whence also Bishops are chosen by the King, and consecrated upon his command. He may ordain if he please, or appoint whom he will, Presbyters or Laymen, to perform that office; and can, whenever he has a mind, resume that power, which he delegated to any of them. If any object, the King's power is bounded by the laws of the land: I answer, 'tis true; nor do I pretend

* See *Bp. Croft's Naked Truth*, p. 61. *Bp. Burnet's Life of Bp. Bedel*, p. 88, 89.

tend he can do any thing, but with the consent of his Parliament, who alone can set limits to him in these things. Whence in the reign of King *William*, not only Presbyters, but Bishops, and among them the Archbishop of *Canterbury* himself, were, by an Act of Parliament, depriv'd of their functions. This power seems to have been given to our Kings, from the beginning of the Reformation, with the approbation and advice of Archbishop *Cranmer*. That he was himself of this opinion, appears by a manuscript of his, still preserv'd, and by the account given of his proceedings.

THE same ecclesiastical power of our Kings was confirm'd in the reigns of King *Edward the VI.* Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James the I.* and King *Charles the II.* excepting that in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, the title of *Supreme Head* was chang'd to that of *Supreme Governour*. Nay farther, all Clergymen of whatever order, before the late happy Revolution, were oblig'd to swear to the truth hereof. For thus run the words of the *Oath of Supremacy*: "I, A. B. do utterly testify and declare in my con-
" science, that the King's Majesty is the only supreme
" governour of this realm, and of all other his Highness's
" dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual and
" ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal. —— And
" therefore I promise from henceforth I shall bear faith
" and true allegiance to the King's Highness, his heirs
" and lawful successors, and to my power shall assist and
" defend all jurisdictions, priviledges, preheminences
" granted, or belonging to the King's Highness, his heirs
" and successours, or united and annexed to the imperial
" crown of this realm. So help me God &c. Whether our Parliaments have rightly determin'd in these matters, let every one judge as he sees cause: I would only make this one remark by the by; that our adversaries can have no great cause of objecting against us a want of authority. For if the King's Majesty be (both according to the laws of the land, and the oath which they used formerly to take) the only fountain of all ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction within his dominions, and can delegate ecclesiastical authority to whom he pleases; it would be very strange, if that should not be valid authority and jurisdiction, which we use in our Congregations, by his permission and approbation.

THAT book of *The Institution of a Christian Man*, which our Author so highly commends,* is intirely on our side, in acknowledging only two orders of Ministers instituted by Christ; nor can it in any other respect be interpreted to the disadvantage of it. It was at first compo'd, or at least approv'd by those men, who, in the reign of King *Edward*, drew up the Articles of religion. If therefore there were any considerable difference in the doctrines contain'd in those two writings, in the latter they must certainly be thought to give their judgment more freely, because in the reign of King *Edward*; and more exactly too, because it was upon farther deliberation.

KING *Henry* was succeeded by his son, King *Edward* the VI. a prince of a most excellent and pious disposition, who, being but ten years old at his father's decease, was free from his prejudices, obstinacy, and superstition, and was more forward to hearken to *Archbishop Cranmer*, and the duke of *Somerset*, who put him upon advancing religion. Under his reign therefore the Reformation made a more considerable progress, than it had done before. The gross ignorance of the parochial Clergy put our Reformers not only upon drawing up *Homilies*, (as the Dr. acknowledges †) but *Forms of Prayer* also; they being sensible the Clergy were incapable of composing themselves either prayers, or sermons. And as they intended, by little and little, and without any disturbance, to wean the people from their superstition; they so order'd the matter, as that they might seem to have translated the antient forms into their mother tongue, rather than to have wholly laid them aside. And so at length came out the *English Common Prayer*, taken out of the *Mass Book*: abundance of the Popish superstitions were indeed left out; but, if we will speak the truth, several were continued. This will not seem strange, if we consider, that the first discoveries in searching for the truth, and the first essays in any noble work, are usually most imperfect. Thus the first edition of the Common Prayer retain'd Anointing, the very frequent use of the sign of the Cross, the commanding the soul to the divine mercy in the burial Office, the Popish Garments, and

and some other such things. But yet every one must acknowledge, that imperfect alteration of the publick worship, was a very considerable advantage to religion. Nor do I find, the Dissenters use to blame these excellent persons, for the pains they took in composing Homilies and forms of Prayer, for the help of the then miserably ignorant nation. Our Reformers were far from thinking their own work absolutely perfect: and we are told by one, they left in their preface to the Book, a passage, signifying, "They had gone as far as they could in re-forming the Church, considering the times they liv'd in, and hoped they that came after them would, as they might, do more."* I have not had an opportunity of examining the truth of this passage; but however am satisfied, they esteem'd their work capable of improvement, because they actually, in the same reign, set forth another edition of the Book, much more free from superstition than the former. However it still retain'd the Popish Vestments; the sign of the Crois in baptism; and that manner of Prayer, which they receiv'd from the Papists, and must seem odd to those, who compare it with the Liturgies of the Foreign Churches. 'Tis not unlikely they would have alter'd these things, if they had had another opportunity of doing it. And indeed, Bishop Burnet tells us, *Crammer* and *Ridley* design'd to have procur'd an act, to abolish the Popish Garments.

THE Conformists differ very much in their sentiments about our first Reformers. Dr. Heylyn, Mr. A. Wood, and those of their stamp, reckon them to have *defac'd* rather than *reform'd* religion; others unmeasurably extol their work, as the most compleat and every way perfect, being compos'd by such excellent and pious martyrs and confessors; lastly, others (with whom the Dissenters agree) go a middle way, and think, as God is to be greatly prais'd for raising up such persons, so they have deserv'd much commendation, not only that they happily advanc'd the Reformation so far as they did, but that they had an inclination and desire of carrying it on much farther. They think too, if there are several things amiss, and that needed alteration of such as came after them, great allowances should be made for the darknes of the times

times in which they liv'd, and the common infirmity of mankind, (who are all liable to mistake) and the many difficulties and discouragements they met with from the Papists, and such as were popishly affected, or wretchedly indifferent about the matter. 'Tis certain, they who openly declar'd themselves for Popery were very turbulent at that time, and stir'd up a rebellion in several parts of the nation; others who were in disguise acted more covertly, endeavouring to get as much as they could of the old superstition retain'd, hoping, by this means, to keep open a backdoor for the return of the rest. The unhappy influence of their counsels appear'd too plainly in the fall of the noble duke of *Somerset*, a most hearty friend to the Reformation, and who deserv'd a much better fate. Nor can it be wonder'd, if such persons could embarrass the affairs of religion in King *Edward*'s time, since they could do it in Queen *Elizabeth*'s, as I shall have occasion to shew from Bishop *Burnet*.

THE opposition and indifference our pious King *Edward* met with, was a great discouragement to him. Sir *John Ellyot*, a worthy gentleman in the Parliament, *An. 3 Car. I.* said: "That he had seen in a diary of King *Edward the VI.* that the Bishops at that time, some for floath, some for age, some for ignorance, some for luxury, and some for Popery, were unfit for discipline and government." * Mr. *Strype* has likewise publish'd a letter of *Peter Martyr's* to *Bucer*, wherein he writes: "That Archbishop *Cranmer* told him, it was resolv'd in a conference of the Bishops, that many things should be alter'd. But what, says he, they particularly were, he did not declare, nor dar'd I ask him. But what Sir *John Cheke* told me, does not a little comfort me, that if the Bishops would not alter the things that needed alteration, the King would do it himself, and interpose his own authority at the meeting of the Parliament." † And truly I can see no reason to question the truth of what is related in the History of the troubles of *Frankfort*: "That *Cranmer*, Bishop of *Canterbury*, had drawn up a Book of prayer an hundred times more perfect than this that we now have; the same could not take place, for that he was matched with such a wicked Clergy

“Clergy and Convocation.”* Which passage Mr. Strype speaks of, as pretended to be the words of Bullinger, and handed about, as such, by the discontented exiles at Frankfort; † whereas it was really the report of one of Cox’s side, and he reported it upon his own knowledge, and not upon the testimony of Bullinger, as is plain to him who looks into the book it self.

I pass over what he says of the Articles, and the reflections he makes upon the doctrine of the Calvinists, it not belonging to our Controversy as Dissenters; though I am well assur’d the Dr. did not serve his purpose, by mentioning those things in the manner he has done, as some of the Foreign Divines let him know in their letters to him.

LET us now come to the Drs. panegyric upon his Church: *And now, says he, our Church shone forth with a lustre superior to any other branch of the reformation.* || But the Dr. should remember he is too much a party concern’d to be a judge in this cause. And since he has chosen our Brethren abroad to be Arbitrators between us, ’tis but decent to leave it to them to give judgment between us. *The Papists look’d upon us with a greater degree of envy, than upon the rest of the Protestants.* The expression is here better qualified than in the Latin edition, wherein he represents the Papists as envying the Church of England alone. But the case is plain, that they envy all Protestants their liberty, and seek to deprive them of it. And if the Dr. thought, they envied them the perfection of their model, he seems to have been much mistaken. They have used to deride them for retaining so much of Popery as they have done, and have triumph’d therein (and truly I think justly) as a vindication of several of those things, which they have laid aside. *And all other Reform’d Churches admir’d us.* And without doubt so did the Church of England them. All the Reform’d Churches then, as dear sisters, heartily lov’d one another. And if the Episcoparians, since Archbishop Laud’s time, have accustom’d themselves to despise the form of government in the Foreign Churches; they have no great reason, on the other hand, to flatter themselves, that their own is in any great reputation with our Brethren

thren abroad. But our Author subjoins the reason of their admiration; asserting 'twas, *Because our Reformation was not carry'd on, as in other places, by the mad zeal and tumults of the people, when oftentimes seditious men, under the pretence of piety, gave disturbance to the state.* But our Reformation was quietly advanc'd by the wise counsels of both Houses of Parliament and Convocation; who maturely consider'd how they might restore that purity to religion, which the primitive ages enjoy'd; how they might free it from that heap of ceremonies with which Popery had loaded it, and yet not, by stripping it of every graceful rite, to leave it too poor and lean.* Harken now, our learned Judges! Behold now the vile original of your Reformation! See what a poor and lean thing you have made of your religion, by stripping it of every graceful rite! Can you be at a loss for a verdict? Don't you see plainly, you have nothing else to do, but to condemn that poor lean religion, which is strip'd of every graceful rite, sprung from the mad zeal and tumults of the people, and the deceitful pretences of seditious men: I say, that you should condemn that religion, though it be your own, that you may with a good grace give judgment on our Adversaries side? Good Sir, Is this your mannerly way of pleading the cause of your Church of *England*? What? Do you yourself first appoint the Foreign Divines Arbitrators in our Controversy, and then plainly and scurrilously abuse them, and their religion, and that before they have given judgment? The Papists indeed commonly upbraid us, that our *English* Reformation sprung from King Henry's breeches: but what true Protestant, nay who but a rank Papist, ever open'd his vile mouth before, to utter such things against the Foreign Churches? Such vile calumnies are only fit to come out of the mouth of a malicious, superstitious, and lying Jesuit: but are utterly unworthy of a Presbyter of the Church of *England*. But where, I pray, did the people break out into this mad zeal? In what quarter of the world are we to discover these ungodly tumults? What seditious men do you talk of? What stirs did they raise? And what were their feign'd pretences? If the states of our realm set themselves to reform

reform religion among us, that must be esteem'd an instance of our happiness, rather than the perfection and purity of our Reformation. And if in other places they not only declin'd, but endeavour'd all they could to hinder that blessed work, will this rare advocate of the Church of *England* venture to blame the people, for attempting it by themselves? What an impudent, foolish, and wicked people then must the followers of *Wicklief* have been, who ventur'd upon a reformation, without either House of Parliament or Convocation to lead them! * How much more pious and wise were the people, who in the reign of *Henry the VIII.* waited the Parliament's and Convocation's leisure, contenting themselves in the mean time with a superstitious and idolatrous worship! What a vile and ungodly generation were the primitive Christians, according to this man's notions; that receiv'd a new religion, without the encouragement of any of the states? How much more prudent were they, who embrac'd Christianity in the fourth age of the Church, at the command of publick authority! I would fain know, why the common people are to take no care to save their souls? What hurt is there in it, if the common people endeavour to worship God without superstition, and in that way which is pleasing to him? Certainly the ancient Christian writers did not use to despise the people after this fashion. *Cyprian*, whom our Adversaries frequently commend, was of quite another mind: "I resolv'd, says "he, from my first being Bishop, that I would do nothing "of my own head, without your [i. e. the *Presbyters* "and *Deacons*] advice, and the consent of the people." ¶ And elsewhere thus: "Nor let the people flatter them- "selves, as though they could be innocent, who commu- "nicate with a wicked Priest, and give their consent to "the unjust and unlawful administration of their go- "vernour." || And having cited *Hos.* ix. 4. and *Num.* xvi. 26. he immediately adds: "Wherefore the people, in "obedience to God's commands, and the fear of God, "must separate themselves from a wicked ruler, and not "concern themselves in the religious acts of a sacrile- "gous priest;" (and if the *Popish Priests* are not such, "there are none in the world) "since the people especially "have

* See *Dr. Nichols*, p. 2. † *Epist.* 14. p. 33. ¶ *Epist.* 68. p. 171.

“ have the power lodg’d in them of chusing such Priests as are deserving, and refusing such as are not.” But our Adversaries will perhaps reject this holy Father’s authority in this case, as they do when they please, and appeal to more antient testimonies. By all means: I am sensible what antiquity they must have recourse to. I acknowledge this doctrine of theirs, of despising the common people, is deriv’d to them from the most antient times, even from their venerable predecessors. For this Discourse of the Doctor’s is exactly of a piece with that of the Scribes and Pharisees: *Have any of the rulers believ’d on him? but this people, [this rabble rout] which knows not the law, is cursed.** Oh but, says the Dr. *Both Houses of Parliament and Convocation maturely consider’d how they might restore that purity of religion, which the primitive ages enjoy’d.* Very well: and what did they maturely consider abroad, but how that purity might be restor’d to religion, which it enjoy’d in its first institution? Without all doubt, if purity must be determin’d by antiquity, the more antient any thing, the purer it is; and therefore the Reformers, in foreign parts, were best advis’d, who took the Holy Scriptures for their only rule and guide in the work of reformation. But farther I would remark, that our Author’s assertion is utterly false. The Conformists retain many usages, of which there are not the least footsteps in the antient writers. Nor does Dr. Nichols deny this afterwards, when he comes to treat of particulars. On the other hand; there were many things in use among the primitive Christians, which they have rejected. Whence Dr. Whitby taxes them with *hypocrisy* in making such a pretence.† Finally, I desire our Arbitrators would take notice that religion is reckon’d by the Dr. a *poor and lean thing*, when ’tis stripp’d of, what he calls, its *graceful rites*. I confess, I could not but wonder, how such an expression could drop from him. Our Adversaries use to talk of their rites, as *indifferent* things. And when from the words of our Saviour, *In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines, [viz. about worship] the commandments of men, Matth. xv.* we clearly demonstrate, that it is unlawful to worship God with any rites, however indifferent in themselves, if they are not prescrib’d by God; they used to shelter themselves under this poor evasion, that the

Scribes

Scribes and Pharisees prescrib'd their rites as necessary; whereas the Church of *England* prescribes not hers as necessary, but as indifferent, upon the taking away of which, religion it self immediately becomes a *poor and lean* thing. Whence it plainly appears, the precepts of the Pharisees, and our Gentlemen of the Hierarchy, are both built upon the same foundation, and deserve equal respect and obedience. And let not our Brethren wonder, we are stiff about these things. Experience convinces us, when men have brought into the worship of God, vain and trifling ceremonies of their own devising, they presently dote upon them as their own offspring, even to the neglect of the far greater and weightier *things of the law*. Thus we have seen drunkards, whoremongers, profane swearers and cursers, (who, in imitation of the *Jews*, have been continually crying, *The Church, the Church**) fondly carest by them; while sober and virtuous men have been grievously vex'd, and persecuted for their aversion to the *English* ceremonies.

But the Dr. goes on: *This extraordinary prudence of our Reformers was, upon many accounts, commended by all good men: but upon this more especially, because they thought fit to retain the discipline and ceremonies which were us'd most antiently in the Church, and to abrogate those only which were introduc'd under the Papal usurpation.* Several of the ceremonies, retain'd by our Adversaries, were never us'd in the antient Church. They are not able to alledge any tolerable antiquity for the Surplice, the Cross in Baptism, kneeling at the Sacrament, their Saints Days, and many other Holidays. I wish we were certainly appriz'd, what that antiquity is, which is so venerable in the esteem of our Adversaries. Sometimes it stretches it self to a monstrous extent, and reaches from the first beginning of the Church to almost our own times; at other times again it is so curtail'd, that you have hardly any number of years left to be dignified with the name of antient. When our Adversaries think 'tis for their purpose, it shall come down as far as the twelfth or thirteenth age of the Church: I am sure, our Author pretends no greater antiquity for the Feasts of *St. Mark* and *Luke*, p. 311. The fourth and fifth Centuries are very commonly taken in, as parts of this venerable antiquity: altho' our Adversaries cannot deny, that the

D

grossest

grossest superstition about the Martyrs, relicks, and innumerable ceremonies (complain'd of by *Augustine*)* grew up at that time in the Church. I cannot, upon this occasion, omit the words of the learned Mr. *Whiston*, in his excellent *Essay on the Revelation* : " Any plea from antiquity, which " yet reaches not earlier than the beginning of the corrupt " and Antichristian times, is of no value in the disputes " about religion ; but rather a sign and argument that " those doctrines and practices, which can be trac'd no " higher, are Antichristian and false, or at least such as " made way, by degrees, for what was most certainly of " that character.† " And in another Piece, which he publish'd soon after that, he speaks more fully thus : " Generally " we pay the greatest deference to those later Fathers of " the fourth and fifth Centuries, which liv'd not till near " the times of Antichrist, and at somewhat remote distan- " ces from our Saviour and his Apostles ; and so are more " properly to be accounted as the first and most valuable of " the modern writers, than among those who are of great " authority for their truly primitive antiquity. " || I confess this author has publish'd an odd judgment of some of the antient writers, but these two pieces were written and cited by me, before he fell into that opinion ; and there appears such good sense in the passages set down, that I could not be willing to leave them out. But what a different opinion have our Conformists of this matter ? Thus when Mr. *Daille* pass'd a complement upon the Church of *Eng-land*, declaring, " He judg'd the Confirmation she us'd, " was more prudently order'd, and better agreed with the " nature of the Christian religion, than what we find, by " the writers of the fourth and following ages, to have " been then practis'd in the Church : " What says the learned Bp. *Beveridge* in answer ? " Truly this is more than " the Church of *England* ever assum'd to her self.‡ "

But farther, as to the antiquity of our Adversaries ; sometimes they are so strait lac'd, that they will not allow that honour to the third Century, which, upon other occasions they are free to give to the fourth and fifth. Thus when we argue : They may as well bring in Infant Communion, as many other things in use among them, since

it

* Epist. ad Januar. † p. 202. || Accompl. of Script. Prophes. p. 33. ‡ Codi-
Can. Eccl. Primit. vind. in Proem.

it appears to have been practis'd at least from *Cyprian's* time, thro' many ages of the Church : they answer us : That *Cyprian* is not an author antient enough for such a custom to be brought in upon his authority. Nay, sometimes they must exclude the second Century from being any part of the antiquity they pretend to pay such a deference to. Why else have they laid aside the mixing water and wine in the cup in the Lord's Supper, which *Justin Martyr*, who flourish'd in the middle of the second Century, testifies was in use in his time ; and which *Cyprian*, in the next age, labours to prove to be absolutely necessary ? Nay, if they will be consistent with themselves, while they pretend to be directed by antiquity, in restoring purity to religion ; they must not allow themselves to take the very first Century into their antiquity. I forbear to mention the twofold Order mention'd in the Holy Scripture, and by *Clement of Rome*. I only desire to know where we shall find that purity, which *Clement*, who liv'd in the Apostles days, witness'd was in the Churches of his time ; that Bishops and Deacons were appointed with the consent of the whole Church ?*

But some perhaps may imagine I bear too hard upon the Dr. since he seems to confine the antiquity he regards, to the times that preceed the *Papal usurpation*. But I answer : The Doctor seeks to impose upon his readers : for if that be the only valuable antiquity in his esteem, to what purpose has he heap'd up, in his Book, such a multitude of testimonies of authors, who liv'd under the Papal usurpation ? Besides, I would fain know, how antient he reckons the *Papal usurpation* to have been ; and whether he thinks it sprung up in an instant, or by little and little ? If we suppose it was come to some maturity in the year 606. when the Emperor *Phocas* declar'd the Pope the *Universal Bishop* ; yet we must be strangely unacquainted with the Ecclesiastical History of the two foregoing Centuries, and particularly of the times of Pope *Leo I.* if we can believe there was no Papal usurpation before *Boniface III.* in the Days of *Phocas*.

But let us for once imagine that the *Papal usurpation* is only to be dated from the year 606. and that all the preceding ages are to be reckon'd venerable antiquity ; yet with

what face can men pretend the Church of *England* is govern'd by a regard even to this forry antiquity? Kneeling at the Sacrament, musical Instruments in the worship of God, and several other things in use among them, are the inventions of later and worse times than that beginning of Papal usurpation. But let it be granted (since our cause will afford our being liberal) that all the usages of the Church are warranted by the best and most antient of uninspir'd writers. What earnings can they make of such our concession? Can even such an antiquity be the rule of our faith, or worship? Nay does not that very antiquity commend to us the Holy Scriptures, as our only rule for both? Let *Cyprian* be judge in the case: "The custom
 " which has crept in among some, must not hinder truth
 " from prevailing; for custom, without truth, is but
 " the staleness of error. And that Christ only is to be
 " heard by us, the Father witnesseth from heaven, saying,
 " *This is my beloved Son, hear him.* Wherefore, if Christ
 " only is to be heard, we must not regard what another
 " person, before our time, has thought fit to be done; but
 " we are to consider what Christ has first done, who is
 " himself before all; for we are not to follow the custom
 " of men, but the truth of God."* Let us hear *Tertullian* likewise to the same purpose: "We cannot lawfully bring
 " in any thing at our own pleasure, nor chuse what any
 " one else has brought in after that rate. We have the
 " Apostles for our vouchers, who never chose to bring in
 " any thing according to their own fancy, but faithfully
 " deliver'd to the nations that discipline, which they them-
 " selves receiv'd from Christ?"† Well but, may some say, does not antiquity recommend that form of government which our Reformers retain'd? Certainly Chancellors, Commissaries, Deans, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, and the exorbitant power of Bishops, are not to be discover'd in any antiquity worth regarding. No, nor yet the Monarchical form of ecclesiastical government, if we judge by the remotest antiquity, as will be evidenc'd in its proper place.

Our Author, in the next place, falls hard upon Mr. *John Calvin*, || a bright ornament of the Reform'd religion, and the age in which he liv'd. Nor is it any wonder he should, by little stories and pitiful misrepresentations, endeavour

vour to blacken his pious memory ; for these Gentlemen have accustom'd themselves to treat every body, who will venture to vary a hair's breadth from them, after that manner. Whether Mr. *Calvin* set the Members of the Church of England *a quarrelling with one another*, according as he asserts, I will enquire presently, when I come to examine what is alledg'd concerning Bp. *Hooper*. Let us now follow the Doctor.

This learned man [Mr. John Calvin] seem'd to be griev'd, that the discipline whch he had set up at Geneva, could not be so much valued, when a Reform'd Episcopacy was establish'd in England, which would recommend it self to other Protestants beyond his form ; especially whereas his invention could only be excus'd from the particular necessities which the city of Geneva lay under, but our Episcopal government was warranted by the practice of all antiquity. But how could the Dr. know that *Calvin* was griev'd upon any such account ? *Calvin* says no such thing of himself, nor do any signs thereof appear. " How then comes this notable inquisitor (that I " may use his own words elsewhere) to know what " Mr. *Calvin* hid in the secret recesses of his heart ? This " can be known to God only, to whom all hearts are open ; " for any mortal to pretend to such knowledge, is an impi- " ous invasion of the divine prerogative." * " Tis pretty odd too, the Dr. should represent *Calvin* as griev'd to think, that the *English* Episcopal form of government would *recommend itself to other Protestants beyond his form*. This is an improvement of the *English* Translation, there being no such clause in the *Latin* edition. But why may not Mr. *Calvin* be allow'd to have as good an opinion of his form, as any of the friends of the Hierarchy have of theirs ? If this form of government was, as our Author pretends, Mr. *Calvin*'s invention ; he would, without doubt, have been as ready as others to perswade himself it would meet with approbation, till he saw plain evidence to the contrary. And had there been so much as one little hole or corner of the Reform'd world, beside the King of *England*'s dominions, that had ever shew'd itself enamour'd with our Episcopal form of government, as long as *Calvin* liv'd, this passage might seem to have been inserted with a better grace. But when Protestants every where prefer'd his

scheme, to that of our Reformers on this side the water, this grief, he would father upon *Calvin*, must seem unaccountable; and if ever he had any such grief, I must own he was not by far so great a man, as I used to take him to be.

Farther, our Author, in translating this passage, has put *his invention*, instead of *the novelty of his invention*; for which I blame him not; for had it been Mr. *Calvin's invention*, it must have been new. But I would fain know what new invention he would charge upon Mr. *Calvin*? Lay Chancellors, to whom the judgment of the weightiest matters is committed, are indeed a *new invention*, never heard of, I suppose, before the time of *Henry VIII*. But the Aristocratical form of Church government can in no other sense be call'd *new*, than that, in which the Testament of our Blessed Saviour, is so term'd. If *Jerom's* opinion of the identity of Bishops and Presbyters be reproach'd with novelty, not only must Mr. *Calvin*, and the rest of the Reformers abroad, but all our *English* Reformers too, fall under that guilt. For I am apt to think, 'twill not be easy to find one of them, who held Bishops were by divine appointment superior to Presbyters. And when they retain'd the Episcopal government, they never pretended to do it as a thing of necessity, by virtue of a divine command, but only as a matter of prudence.

But perhaps the Dr. had his eye to Lay Elders particularly, as the novel *invention* of Mr. *Calvin*. But not to alledge *Hilary* the Deacon, who, by very learned men is thought to mention them: *Cyprian* informs us, that in his time the affairs of the Church were order'd, not only with the advice of the Bishop and Presbyters, but of the People: nay even Mr. *Dodwel*,* the most zealous advocate for Episcopacy, proves there were some Presbyters in *Cyprian's* time, who were not Teachers or Preachers. And indeed I think it must be evident to any one, there were in the antient Church many Presbyters, who did not use to preach, or teach publickly in the assembly; and yet this distinction did not make any difference among them, as to their right of voting, or as to their interest in the government of the Church. But let that matter be as it will, the Church of *England* ought not, for shame, to upbraid Mr. *Calvin* with his

his Lay Elders, as long as they allow Lay Chancellors, Commissaries, and Officials. Nay the best of our Reformers seem to have quite another opinion than our Author of these Elders, and to have only wanted an opportunity to bring in the use of them here in *England*. *Cranmer*, and the rest of the Commissioners in K. *Edward* the Sixth's time, drew up a Body of Laws, which, if they had been ratified, would have bid fair for the bringing these Lay Elders, or somewhat equivalent, into use among us. To which purpose is this law of theirs : " After even-
" ing Prayers, on which all shall attend in their own pa-
" rish Churches, the principal Minister or Parson, and the
" Deacon, if they are present; or, in case of their absence, the
" Curate, and *the Elders*, shall consider how the money gi-
" ven for pious uses may be best laid out; and then let disci-
" pline be exercis'd : for they, whose sin has been public,
" and given offence to the whole Church, should be brought
" to a sense of it, and publickly undergo the punishment
" of it, that so the Church may be the better for their corre-
" ction. After that the Minister shall withdraw with some
" of *the Elders*, and consult, how all other persons, who
" are disorderly in their life and conversation, may be talk'd
" with ; first by some sober and good men in a brotherly
" manner, according to the direction of Christ in the Gos-
" pel ; and if they hearken to their advice, God is to be
" prais'd for it ; but if they go on in their wickedness, they
" are to be restrain'd by that severe punishment, which is
" in the Gospel prescrib'd for such obstinacy." * And since
this was their opinion, there is more reason to think they
were hindred, by *particular necessities*, from appointing
Lay Elders, than that Mr. *Calvin* was from setting up Epis-
copacy. And indeed I would fain know what where those
particular necessities, which the city of Geneva lay under,
which were the *only* things could excuse his *invention*? Our
Author is not consistent with himself, for he present-
ly tells us ; *Mr. Calvin manag'd the affairs of religion in his own country with an uncontrollable authority, whe'reby he became impatient of any contradiction in these matters*. What
particular necessities could hinder him, who *manag'd the affairs of religion with an uncontrollable authority*? If Mr. *Calvin* had so great an authority, what *necessity* could force him

to change the form of government among them? Could not our Author see, that those necessities, whatever they were, would rather have ingag'd him to have made as little alteration as possible, since they would render the setting up an intirely new form of government a much more difficult thing, than the retaining and mending of the old. I could never yet guess, what were those laws of necessity, which our Adversaries make such a perpetual noise about; and which (I am sorry to say) some have at length been found in *Geneva* willing to acknowledge. And indeed tho' they talk of them, in the general, yet they never care to mention them in particular. Mr. *Calvin* himself never pretended any such necessity for what he did. "Befides, says he, that our own conscience acquits us in the sight of God, the thing it self will answer for us in the sight of men. No body has yet appear'd, that could prove we had alter'd any one thing, which God has commanded; or that we have appointed any new thing contrary to his word; or that we have turn'd aside from the truth to follow any evil opinion. On the contrary, 'tis manifest we have reform'd our Church meerly by God's word, which is the only rule by which 'tis to be order'd and lawfully defend'd. 'Tis indeed an unpleasant work to alter what has been formerly in use, were it not that the order which God has once fix'd, must be esteem'd by us as sacred and inviolable; insomuch that if it has for a time been laid aside, it must of necessity (and whatever the consequences should prove) be restor'd again. No antiquity, no prescription of custom may be allow'd to be an obstacle in this case, that the government of the Church, which God has appointed, should not be perpetual, since the Lord himself has once fix'd it."* Nay, if Mr. *Calvin* had been so yielding to necessity, as our Author pretends, he must have took quite another course than he did; nor would there have been any occasion for him, and his two Collegues, to be commanded within two days to depart the city, for refusing to administer the Lord's Supper. † Mr. *Calvin* often withstood, not only the people, but the Senate, and some of his Brethren in the ministry; and being restor'd to the Church of *Geneva*, he desir'd nothing

so

* Letter to a certain Curate, p. 242; † Beza's Life of Calv.

so much, as that ecclesiastical laws, agreeable to the word of God, might be establish'd with the consent of the Senate.* And who can doubt, but that Mr. *Calvin* could have easily persuaded the Church of *Geneva* to restore Episcopacy? Certainly it must have been easier for him to obtain that, than it was to perswade them before to set up the Presbyterian form. In short 'tis false, that Mr. *Calvin* was constrain'd by any other necessity, than his own apprehension of a divine command, to abrogate Episcopacy and establish Presbytery in the city of *Geneva*. And I wish our Adversaries, instead of dunning us with the assertion of this necessity, would produce some credible witnesses, or clear arguments to prove it.

But our Author goes on : *And perhaps the mind of that otherwise very holy man was sower'd towards us, by some particular resentments with relation to himself.* For Mr. *Calvin*, who manag'd the affairs of religion in his own country with an uncontrollable authority, whereby he became impatient of any contradiction in these matters, therefore could not easily digest, that the assistance, which he had offer'd in carrying on the Reformation in England, was not accepted by *Archbishop Cranmer*. For that most judicious person did with very great wisdom think, that our English people would more easily bear the faults in the Church to be amended by their own *Bishops*, than by a *Foreign Divine*, especially by one who was by some thought too officiously to have offer'd his service therein. † Mind this now, ye *Foreign Divines*, and beware ye do not too officiously offer your service. If that was the mind of the Hierarchical Gentlemen in Mr. *Calvin*'s time, I'll secure you they are no changelings now ; nor will they ever endure to have any one single error of their Church amended according to your judgment. Nor does it signify, that they themselves ask your advice ; for they acted the same part of old with Mr. *Calvin*. By this you learn what sort of Arbitrators you are like to prove.

Our Author has indeed done very great injury to the memory of those great and good Men, Mr. *Calvin* and *Archbishop Cranmer*. In reading the works of Mr. *Calvin*, and particularly his Epistles, one every where discovers a great deal of candour and moderation. *Archbishop Cranmer* and our other Reformers were never ashamed to desire

the

the advice of Foreigners: they invited therefore those famous Divines, *Bucer* and *Martyr*, made them Professors in our Universities, and gave them handsome salaries. Nor did they consult only with them, but with several other Divines abroad, and particularly Mr. *Calvin*. Among his Epistles there is one of the Archbishop's to him, respectful enough, for ought I see.* But by Mr. *Calvin's* answer it appears the Archbishop wrote to him several times. † But neither the Archbishop, nor any one of our Reformers, ever said Mr. *Calvin* was too officious in offering his Service: this is the base device of some of our modern Churchmen. How kindly and respectfully Mr. *Calvin's* letters were receiv'd in *England*, appears by the account which he wrote to his friend; and it being a full detection of the falsehood of these mens pretences, I will translate the beginning of the Letter. “*Nicholas*, says he, is at length return'd from *England*,—— he tells me, he was so kindly receiv'd there, that I have good reason to congratulate my self in the pains I have taken: when he had deliver'd my Letters to the Duke of *Somerset*, and told him he had others for his Majesty, he of his own accord offer'd to deliver them to him, and accordingly went to court the next day. Unless I am greatly deceiv'd, my present was acceptable to His Majesty's Council, and very much rejoic'd the King himself. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* sent me word, that I could not do any thing more useful, than to write frequently to the King. This pleases me much better, than if I had a great sum of money bestow'd upon me.”|| Who now will believe, that the assistance which Mr. *Calvin* offer'd in carrying on the Reformation in *England*, was not accepted by *Archbishop Cranmer*? Nay, if Mr. *Calvin's* Letter to the *Protector* be compar'd with the alterations made in the second edition of the Liturgy in King *Edward's* time, it will plainly appear, our Reformers paid a great deference to his judgment. Praying for the dead at the Lord's Supper, Chrism, and extreme Unction, were very frankly blam'd by him in that Letter; and all these were left out in that second edition, according to his advice. And Dr. *Heylyn* declares, those alterations were made upon his instigation.

* p. 168, † See p. 61, ¶ Epist. ad *Farell*, p. 240.

stigation.* Nor does Dr. *Nichols* elsewhere himself deny it. For thus he speaks of the latter edition of the Liturgy in King *Edward's* time: "Four years afterwards, the "Book of Common Prayer underwent another review; "wherein some ceremonies and usages were laid aside, and "some new Prayers added, at the instance of Mr. *Calvin* "of *Geneva*, and *Bucer*, a Foreign Divine, who was in- "vited to be a Professor at Cambridge.†"

Mr. Calvin taking offence at these things, in his letters to some of his friends, made use of some very hard expressions with relation to the Church of England, and which did not so well become the mouth of a Divine.||

Mr. *Calvin* spake his mind freely, as became an honest man. And perhaps his harshest expressions are those mention'd elsewhere by the Doctor, that the English Liturgy contain'd many tolerable fopperies, which he also called the *relics of the dregs of Popery*. And certainly this was a very mild censure, in comparison of that scurrilous and abusive way, in which the Dr. as we have seen already, treats the Foreign Churches. These expressions of Mr. *Calvin* did not become the mouth of a Divine: but we must imagine, the Doctors reproaches were worthy of a Divine, and a Presbyter of the Church of England: That the poor lean religion, of Protestants abroad, strip'd of every graceful rite, was owing to the mad zeal and tumults of the seditions people, who under the pretence of piety gave great disturbance to the state. I wish these men, who make such a splutter about antiquity, would a little better guard against the ancient proverb: *Physician heal thyself*.

And in one to Martin *Bucer*, a very modest and peaceable man, who was then coming into England, he warns him against being the author or approver of middle counsels; by which words he plainly strikes at the moderation observ'd in the English Reformation. 'Tis evident, *Bucer* was actually in England when *Calvin* wrote that Letter to him; and the Translation here is in that respect worse than the original. Now since Dr. *Nichols* justly represents *Bucer* as of the same opinion with *Calvin* in doctrinals, p. 180. he must necessarily be understood here, as supposing that *Calvin* had a respect to ceremonies and Church government in this passage of his Letter. But herein the Doctor

con-

* Hist. of the Presbyt. pag. 12, 207. † Comment on the Book of Com. Prayer, Pref. p. 5. || p. 16.

contradicts Dr. *Heylyn*, who, from this very sentence, pretends that those two Reformers were not agreed in their doctrinal opinions. To whom Mr. *Hickman* gives this answer : “ *Bucer*, by his very best friends, had been “ charg’d at *Zurich*, *An. 1533*, for speaking too doubt-
“ fully in the doctrine of the Sacrament, thro’ a desire
“ to appease *Luther* : he then and there made such an
“ apology for himself, as was accepted. If, at his coming
“ over into *England*, he fell into the same fault, Mr.
“ *Calvin* did but the part of a Christian to admonish
“ him.” *

And that Mr. *Hickman* best understood *Calvin*’s mind is confirm’d by *Beza*, who says : “ That when *Bucer* was “ in *England*, *Calvin* honestly advis’d him to write and
“ speak more clearly concerning the Lord’s Supper ; and
“ at the same time gave the Duke of *Somerset* (who was
“ afterwards most unworthily put to death) such advice,
“ as, if it had been follow’d in that kingdom, would
“ probably have freed the *English* Churches from abun-
“ dance of calamities.” † Nay and *Calvin* himself, in
that Letter to *Bucer*, sufficiently clears his own mind.
“ In this matter, says he, I differ from you, that you
“ think those of the contrary opinion are wrong’d and
“ misrepresented. For while you can’t think they could
“ ever err so grossly, as to think Christ was present in
“ all places, you don’t consider what *Brentius*, among
“ others, has written ; that Christ, while he lay in the
“ manger, was glorious in Heaven, even with respect to
“ his body. What means that adorable *Sacrament*, *Luther*
“ talks of, but that an idol is to be set up in the temple
“ of God ? Concerning *place*, you seem to me to dis-
“ course too curiously. Others are offended at that ob-
“ scurity, which they think you craftily and industriously
“ use. I know thele are in the wrong : but I don’t see
“ what reason you have so much to avoid what we
“ profess, that when Christ is said to have ascended
“ into heaven, hereby is signified a distance of places.”
I would not suspect our Author as a friend to *these
middle counsels* : but supposing that *Calvin*, in those
words, had a regard to Church government and cere-
monies, what harm is there then in them ? *Those middle
counsels*

counsels, whoever was the author of them, have been far from doing service to the purity of religion, or peace of the Church. And if the Church of *England* had quitted those middle counsels at the Revolution, our Author himself tells us, *he could not find what hurt or prejudice 'twould have prov'd to the Church, tho' he had often consider'd the matter.* Which passage is in the *Latin* edition, tho' for the moderation of it, I suppose, 'tis left out in the *English*.

But let us proceed with our Author : *Dr. Hooper, a very learned and pious man, being buoy'd up by so great an authority as that of Mr. Calvin, when he was nominated to be Bishop of Gloucester, refus'd to put on the habit, which the Canons did prescribe to be worn by those of his own order. But Archbishop Cranmer, and Bishop Ridley, positively refus'd to ordain him, unless he would conform himself to the habits, which the laws of the Church requir'd, as well as the rest of the reform'd Bishops ; and this they resolutely persist in, notwithstanding a letter from the King was procur'd in his behalf.* *

But how does it appear, *Hooper was buoy'd up by Calvin's authority in refusing the habit of his order.* *Calvin* himself declares the contrary. “ *I have receiv'd, says he, the sad news, that Hooper is thrown into prison : I was afraid of it some time ago. Now I fear, lest the Bishops, coming off with the victory, should grow the more insolent : wherefore, as I commend his constancy in refusing Unction, so I had rather he had not so earnestly contended about the Cap and the Linnen Garment, (tho' I dont like these things my self) and so I lately advis'd him.* ” †

I desire the reader farther to remark, from the Doctor's own words, that the habits have, from the very infancy of our Reformation, been an offence to *very learned and pious men.* How then can they excuse themselves in imposing them ? If the fault lay in them, that their consciences were weak ; yet while they thus *sin against their Brethren, and wound their weak consciences, do they not sin against Christ ?* ||

And *Dr. Hooper, being as stiff on his side, was for some time imprison'd for his obstinacy.* And tho' *Mr. Calvin* wrote

* *Life of Calvin*, p. 16. † *Letter to Bulling*, p. 60. || 1 Cor. viii. 12.

wrote pressingly to the Protector on his behalf, he could not obtain his liberty, before he promis'd to be hereafter more conformable to the ecclesiastical laws.* And thus, by the Popish argument of persecution, was establish'd the Church's tyranny over the consciences of men : besides *Hooper* testified, he refus'd not the habit out of obstinacy, but merely because he judg'd it unlawful.

However a compliance was made so far, in honour of so very deserving a man, that he should wear the *Episcopal* habit only when he officiated in the Church, at other times making use of ordinary apparel. Indeed some persons will be apt to think that this dealing with *Hooper* was too severe, &c.

How that matter was adjusted, and with what bitterness the Bishops persecuted that good Man, is related by *Fox* in his *Latin Book of Martyrs*. The passage I shall translate, because *Fox*, out of his too great tenderness towards that party, has left it out of all the *English* editions. " Thus, says he, ended this Theological quarrel " in the victory of the Bishops, *Hooper* being forc'd to " recant ; or, to say the least, being constrain'd to appear once in public, attir'd after the manner of the " other Bishops. Which, unless he had done, there are " those who think the Bishops would have endeavour'd " to take away his life : for his Servant told me, the " Duke of *Suffolk* sent such word to *Hooper*, who was " not himself ignorant what they were doing. " † Horrid barbarity ! Who ever was thrown into prison before, or endanger'd his life, because he refus'd a Bishoprick ? The Bishops may perhaps be excus'd in some measure, that they would not consecrate *Hooper* contrary to law ; but there can be no kind of excuse for their imprisoning him, and conspiring to take away his life. Why should not they have yielded to *Hooper*'s desire of being excus'd from accepting the Bishoprick ? Was there any law to constrain a man to be a Bishop, whether he would or no ? Mr. *Hickman* did not, I think, without good ground imagine, there was another reason for the Bishop's stiffness, and particularly for *Ridley*'s, who was most rigid. For if *Ridley* made conscience of not ordaining *Hooper*, but in the prescrib'd habits ; why should he not have made

made as much conscience upon other occasions ? Why did he ordain *Bradford*, and, I think, some others, without the habits of their order ? 'Tis not improbable, that *Ridley*, tho' a good man, and a pious Martyr, might be a little envious at *Hooper*, for his being so very popular as he was, and might think, by forcing him to yield, he should cool the affections of the people to him ; as Bishop *Burnet* tells us his yielding had that effect. † And notwithstanding what our Author may say to the contrary, that severity of the Bishops was very displeasing to all good men, both abroad and at home. Nay *Ridley*, when at length he himself was cast into prison, repented of what he had done, as appears by his friendly letter to *Hooper* : and indeed he seems toward his latter end to have alter'd his opinion of these garments. For when *Brooks*, the Popish Bishop of *Glocester* in Queen *Mary*'s time, came to degrade him, he refus'd to put on the Surplice ; and while they were putting it on him, whether he would or no, " he vehemently inveighed against the " Romish Bishop and all that foolish apparel, calling him " Antichrist, and the apparel foolish and abominable, and " too fond for a Vice in a play. " † 'Tis to be observ'd, that among the most eminent of our Martyrs, *Cranmer* and *Ridley*, who had the greatest hand in this affair, fell the most grievously in the hour of temptation. *Cranmer*'s Recantation is known to every body. And Bishop *Ridley*, when he was at first put into the Tower, went to Mass there of his own accord ; but being better advis'd by *Bradford*, abstain'd afterwards. And if I might be allow'd to imitate Dr. *Nichols* in his reflection upon *Brown*, || I might say, that God perhaps design'd in these two persons to give us warning, what a dangerous thing 'tis to have fellowship with idolaters, either in their ceremonies, or their tyranny.

However by this timely severity thus much was effected, that the Church government, which then began to stand more loosely, was hereby more firmly settled ; no one afterwards, throughout the whole reign of King Edward, daring to violate the authority of ecclesiastical laws. So that Church government stands in a very loose and tottering condition in *England*, if any one presumes to omit a single ceremony. But since such

such trifling impertinences are the chief things about which their Church government is concern'd, who can wonder at its being so eagerly defended ?

The reader will be deceiv'd, if he concludes from the Doctor's words, that *Hooper* was the only man, who in King *Edward's* days refus'd the habits. *John Rogers*, a most excellent Man, and the first Martyr in Queen *Mary's* Days, is join'd with him by *Fuller*, who speaks of him and *Hooper*, as heads of the party. Dr. *Heylyn* also testifies, that he refus'd the habits. * Nay, he positively refus'd to wear the habits, unless the Popish Priests were injoin'd to wear upon their sleeves a Chalice with an Host. The same he asserts concerning *Philpot*, a very eminent Martyr ; and concerning one *Tyms*, a Deacon, who was likewise martyr'd in Queen *Mary's* Reign. Bishop *Latimer* derided the garments ; for when they pull'd of his Surplice at his degradation : Now, says he, *I can make no more Holy Water.* † In the Articles against Bishop *Farrar* in King *Edward's* Reign, 'twas objected, *Art. 49.* " He has made a vow that he would never " wear a Cap ; for he faith, 'tis comely wearing of a " Hat, and so he cometh in his long gown and hat into " the Cathedral Church, and to the best towns of his " Diocess, sitting in that sort in the King's great sessions " and in his Consistory, making himself a mock to the " people. " || Nor does he deny it, but says, " That " when he goes abroad in winter, he wears a Hat to " beat off rain and snow ; and in summer to shadow " him from the sun, without any vow of superstition or " offence to the People. ‡ " That Dr. *Taylor*, the Martyr, was no friend to the habits appears at his degradation. When the Popish vestments were put upon him, " he strutted about with his hands by his sides, saying, " How say you, my Lord, am I not a goodly fool ? " How say you, my masters, if I were in *Cheap*, should " I not have boys enough to laugh at these apish toys and " toying trumpery ? " * And when the Surplice was pull'd off : Now, says he, I am rid of a fool's coat. And at another time, when some one had sent him a round cap : I thank you, says he, for my Cap ; I am somewhat proud

* Histor. Reform. part I. p. 93. † Abridgment of Lincolnshire Ministers Book, p. 28. || Fox, vol. III. p. 204. ‡ p. 208. * Fox, p. 174.

proud of it, for 'tis one step from the Clergy in these days. That *Bradford* was against these habits I had occasion to mention before. And not only did *Ridley* seem to have chang'd his mind about them, but *Crammer* too; for when they were pulling off their trumpery at his degradation, he said to them: *All this needeth not; I had my self done with this years long ago.** The Professors of our two famous Universities, *Martyr* and *Bucer*, were both of them against the habits. Dr. *Heylyn* reflects upon *Martyr* for being offended at them, and never wearing them.† And the same is confirm'd by *Martyr*'s own words: "When I was at *Oxford*, says he, I would never use those white garments in the *Choir*, no tho' I was a Canon of the Church; I was satisfied in my own reasons for what I did." And in the same Letter he calls those holy garments, *mere relicks of Popery*. And that *Bucer* was displeas'd with several things in the *English Liturgy*, is attested by Dr. *Heylyn*, and by *Beza*. This latter, in his answer to *Baldwin*, speaking of *Bucer*, says: "It cannot be express'd, how bitterly he bewail'd it, that when the *Gospel* began to be spread in *Eng'and*, a greater regard was not had to discipline and purity of rites in constituting those Churches."|| And being ask'd, why he did not wear a *square Cap*; he answer'd, *Because his head was not square*. I might farther alledge many other Confessors, who fled abroad in Queen *Mary*'s days for the sake of their religion, and were of the same opinion about these things: but because it may be objected, that they carried not this opinion with them, but took it up first abroad, I shall chuse rather to refer them to the following times.

I cannot willingly leave this reign, without taking notice of two sad instances of persecution, which is the great wickedness I design all along in this Historical Part to expose: they are both to be met with in *Fox's Latin Book of Martyrs*; but are left out in his *English*, out of a tender regard, I suppose, to the reputation of the Martyrs.

In King *Edward*'s reign some were put to death for heresy; among the rest, one *Joan Bocher*, or *Joan of Kent*. Mr. *Strype* tells us, her heresy was, that "She

E

" be-

“ believ’d that the word was made flesh in the Virgin’s belly, but not that he took flesh of the Virgin.” * Now, says *Mr. Fox* : “ When the Protestant Bishops had resolv’d to put her to death, a friend of *Mr. John Rogers*, the Divinity Reader in *Paul’s Church*, came to him ; earnestly desiring him to use his interest with the Archbishop, that the poor woman’s life might be spar’d, and other means us’d to prevent the spreading of her opinion, which might be done in time ; urging too, that the while she liv’d, she infected few with her opinion, yet she might bring many to think well of it by suffering death for it : he pleaded therefore, that ’twas better she should be kept in some prison, without an opportunity of propagating her notion among weak people ; and so she would do no harm to others, and might live to repent herself. *Rogers*, on the other hand, pleaded, she ought to be put to death. Well then, says his friend, if you are resolv’d to put an end to her life, together with her opinion, chuse some other kind of death more agreeable to the gentleness and mercy prescrib’d in the Gospel, there being no need that such tormenting deaths should be taken up in imitation of the Papists. *Rogers* answer’d, that burning alive was no cruel death, but easy enough. His friend then hearing these words, which express’d so little regard to poor creatures sufferings, answer’d him with great vehemence, and striking *Rogers’s* hand, which he before held fast, said to him ; Well, it may perhaps so happen, that you your selves shall have your hands full of that mild burning. And so it came to pass, and *Rogers* was the first man who was burnt in Queen *Mary’s* time.

This *Rogers* was a Nonconformist, and a very excellent man, and dy’d nobly in the cause of Christ, but this barbarity of his deserves to be expos’d : and the rather, because God in his providence seems to have shewn his great displeasure against it. I am apt to think *Rogers’s* friend was no other than *Fox* himself.

As to the other instance, *Mr. Strype* tells us, that in the year 1552, “ Sept. 27. a Letter was sent from the Council to the Archbishop, to examine a sect newly sprung

“ sprung up in *Kent*. ” * He says it appears not what this sect was ; he supposes they might be the Family of Love, or *David George*’s sect. But these conjectures of his have no good foundation : I am persuaded, this sect was no other than some good honest Dissenters, who being griev’d to see so much of Popery still retain’d, attempted a farther reformation themselves, which would be a very displeasing thing to our Bishops, who expected all men should wait their leisure. Now this I ground upon a story, which Mr. *Fox* immediately subjoins to what I just now mention’d from him.

“ Much such another instance is reported concerning “ one *Humphry Middleton* (who was afterwards burnt “ in Queen *Mary*’s days) that when he, with some “ others, had been kept prisoners in the last year of King “ *Edward* by the Archbishop, and had been dreadfully “ teaz’d by him, and the rest in commission with him, “ and were now just upon being condemn’d, in open “ court, he said to him : *Well, reverend Sir, pass what sen- tence you think fit upon us ; but that you may not say you was not forewarn’d, I testify that your own turn will be next.* And accordingly it came to pass ; for a little “ while after King *Edward* died ; upon which they were “ set at liberty, and the Bishops cast into prison.” This *Middleton* was afterwards, in Queen *Mary*’s reign, burnt at *Canterbury* ; so that the commission, Mr. *Strype* mentions, agrees in time and place and all circumstances to this story. And this may the more confirm what I have before related from *Fox* ; that the Bishops would have attempted to take away *Hooper*’s life, if he had not conform’d to their humour.

Our Author next comes to the History of the Troubles at *Frankfort*, which I shall a little more fully relate, that the temper of the Gentlemen of the Hierarchy may the better appear in a true light,

When the most grievous persecution rag’d here in *Eng- land*, in the reign of Queen *Mary*, against the Protestants, many of them sav’d themselves by flying abroad ; and coming into various Protestant countries, they were every where kindly receiv’d of their Brethren ; but in no place were they more happily settled, than at *Frankfort* : the

gave them a Church, but upon condition they should not vary from the *French* Church, either in rites, or in doctrine, that so no offence might be taken. Hereupon, according to the conditions of the grant, they drew up a new Liturgy more agreeable to those of the Foreign Churches, leaving out all the trifling ceremonies that were in that of *England*. They chose Mr. *John Knox* for their Pastor, who was an eminent Divine, had been Chaplain to King *Edward*, and in good esteem in the court for his gift of preaching, and was sent into the North, as the King's Preacher, to spread the Gospel among them. He had refus'd to accept of a Bishoprick offer'd him, and Bishop *Ridley* could not but commend him as a man of much good learning, at the same time he was blaming him for finding so much fault, as he did, at *Frankfort* with the *English* Liturgy.* The *English* Congregation, being thus settled with a Pastor and a Liturgy, liv'd very quietly and happily, inviting their Brethren to come and partake of their happiness. But Dr. *Richard Cox*, who fled with some others out of *England*, soon broke in upon their happy settlement: for quickly after he came to *Frankfort*, he wickedly overthrew all the good order they had settled among them. Not content with the kind entertainment he met with, as a guest, and a Brother, come to sojourn with them, he set up himself to rule them in an arbitrary and tyrannical manner: insiting upon it, that their whole service must be order'd according to the *English* Liturgy. One, if not the chief, reason of his so great fondness for it was, that he had himself had a hand in composing it. But when the man's interest was small, and he despair'd of carrying his point by the votes of the Congregation, because his proposal was disagreeable to the greater part of them, as well as contrary to the conditions upon which the magistrates had granted them a Church; he attempted the compassing his designs by the basest fraud and treachery: and first he and his faction answer'd aloud after the Minister, contrary to the Church's determination. 'Tis to be observ'd, that, whereas in the *English* Liturgy the Minister and the people divide the Prayers between them, the one saying one part, and the other the other; the *English* exiles had laid aside this

* *Sirype's Life of Grindal*, p. 19, 20.

this usage in their Liturgy in conformity to the *French* Church, wherein the Minister's voice only is heard in uttering the Prayers. When Dr. Cox was admonish'd of this by the Elders of the Congregation, he, with the rest that came with him, made answer, That they would do as they had done in *England*, and that they would have the face of an *English* Church. All this was done by him, before he was allow'd a vote in any of the affairs of the Church. The Sunday following, one of his company got up suddenly into the pulpit, read the Litany, and Dr. Cox and his company answer'd aloud. *Knox*, as became a faithful Pastor, severely reprov'd these disorders in his sermon in the afternoon.

After much contention the Senate of *Frankfort* interpos'd their authority, and Mr. *John Glavberg*, by whose favour and assistance especially the *English* exiles had obtain'd such privileges, declar'd he would shut up the Church, unless the Reform'd order of the Congregation was observ'd. Dr. Cox, being thus disappointed, has recourse to another sort of treachery; and joining with the accuser of the brethren, charg'd Mr. *Knox* with high treason against the Emperour. The ground of this charge was, that Mr. *Knox* preaching a sermon (afterwards printed) in *England*, when he was no way subject to the Emperour, should say of him, That he was *no less an enemy to Christ, than ever was Nero*: which was most undoubtedly true; nor would any Reform'd Divine have scrupled to assert the same. *Peter Martyr* did not stick to call him *severissimam Dei virgam, God's most severe rod.** However, by this villainous treachery Dr. Cox gain'd his point; for *Frankfort*, being an Imperial City, could not safely harbour a person so obnoxious to the Emperour. The Senate therefore, tho' they abhor'd the base treachery of the accusers, yet were forc'd to order Mr. *Knox* to leave their city; and so Cox's faction got the whole power into their own hands: and these new tenants, having taken full possession, turn'd their old landlords out to range about in the wide world to find new quarters. Then did the *Conian* faction triumph in accomplishing their purposes by their crafty, but perfidious and wicked counsels: then did they insult their Brethren, over-

come by such arts, and now oppres'd with a second persecution. But *the triumphing of the wicked is short*. For having now got all in their own hands, and there being none left to oppose them in their impertinencies, they (as 'tis the way of that furious kind of men) fell a quarrelling with one another in a most dreadful manner: nor could that little schismatical Assembly, that was left at *Frankfort*, ever after be at rest; but by their perpetual quarrellings and contentions, made themselves ridiculous to all men, both Protestants and Papists.

And thus I have given a short, but fair account of these troubles, upon which I shall crave leave to make a few remarks.

1. The temper of this Dr. Cox, the ringleader of the faction at *Frankfort*, deserves to be taken notice of. That he was sufficiently superstitious, we may learn from a Letter of *Cassander's* to him. Dr. Cox, being made Bishop of *Ely* in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, had written to *Cassander*: the Letter is indeed lost; but however by *Cassander's* answer it appears, that one design of his letter was to beg his advise, in what form, especially, they should erect Crosses.* That *Cox* was like enough to write in such a manner to *Cassander*, appears to me from what is said of him in a Letter of Bishop *Jewel's* to *Peter Martyr*, wherein he writes thus: "The controversy about Crosses is now " grown very warm. You would hardly believe how mad " some, who seem'd wise men, are in a foolish matter. " Of this sort are none of your acquaintance but *Cox*. To " morrow a disputation is to be held upon it. Some Mem- " bers of Parliament are chosen to be arbitrators. The " disputants on that side are the Archbishop of *Canterbury* " and *Cox*; on the other side *Grindal* Bishop of *London*, " and myself. The event lies at the mercy of our arbit- " rators. However I can't but laugh, when I consider " with what solid and weighty arguments they will defend " their brave Cross. I will hereafter give you a full ac- " count, let it go which way it will: for at present 'tis " depending; yet as far as I can guess, I shall never more " write to you as a Bishop. For 'tis come to that pass, " that the silver and tin Crosses, which we had every " where broke down, must be set up again, or we must " leave our Bishopricks."† Whether *Cox* was so pious a
Divine

* See *Cassander's 20th Epist. p. 1110 of his Works*. Nich. p. 8. + Collec^t of Rec. at the end of *Bishop Burnet's Hist. of the Reform.* part III. p. 294.

Divine as Dr. *Nichols* represents him, is doubted by Dr. *Fuller*, a writer of his own side, who uses these words concerning him: “ I am sorry so much is charg’d on his “ memory, and so little can be said in his vindication; and “ would willingly impute it, not to his want of innocence, “ but ours of intelligence. It moves me much his accu-“ sation of covetousness, * dilapidating (or rather delig-“ nating his Bishoprick, cutting down the woods thereof) “ for which he fell into the Queen’s displeasure. But I am “ more offended at his taking (if true) the many Ms. “ from *Oxford*, under the pretence of a Visitation: ” † That was in the third year of the reign of King *Edward VI.* when Dr. *Cox* was Chancellor of the University, as Sir *John Harrington*, from whom *Fuller* has it, relates this matter. ‖

I must confess, since I wrote what I have now set down from others concerning Dr. *Cox*, I am somewhat more at a loss for his character than before; and I am apt to think he was a man of very little stedfastness. For during *Hooper’s* troubles, he seem’d to be much for moderation, and when *Bullinger* sent to him in *Hooper’s* behalf, he writes thus in his answer: “ I think all things in the Church ought to “ be pure and simple, remov’d at the greatest distance from “ the pomps and elements of this world. But, in this our “ Church, what can I do, in so low a station? I can only “ endeavour to persuade our Bishops, to be of the same “ mind with my self. This I wish truly, and I commit “ to God the care and conduct of his own work.” ‡ But no sooner was he got to *Frankfort*, but he appear’d quite another man, as we have seen before. And however fond he was of *Crosses*, when he wrote to *Cassander*; yet afterwards he was unwilling to officiate in the Queen’s Chapel, because of the superstition retain’d in it; and therefore wrote a Letter to her, in the beginning of which he uses this expression: “ I most humbly sue unto your godly “ zeal, prostrate, and with wet eyes, that ye will vouch-“ safe to peruse the considerations, which move, that I “ dare not minister in your Grace’s Chapel, the Lights and “ Cross remaining.” And he argues earnestly against them.

* Said to feed his servants with powder’d venison (shrewdly hurt) to save other meat. Sir J. Harrington in his Additions to B. G. † Church History, Book 9. p. 111. ‖ See Fuller. B. 7. p. 393. ‡ Burnet’s Hist. of the Reform pt. III. p. 202.

2. My next remark is : That whatever the *Coxian* faction did, they did contrary to all manner of right and equity. What reason could be given why the *English* exiles might not order their own worship, according as they thought fit? They were not then under the obligation of any laws of *England*, as Mr. *Calvin* well remarks in his Letter to them. " If the true religion, says he, had still continued in *England*, there would have been occasion to mend some things, and quite abolish many others. But now when these beginnings of Reformation are quite overthrown, and you are to set up a Church in in another country, and are intirely at your liberty to chuse that form, which appears to be most for the edification of the Church ; I can't imagine what those men mean, who are so delighted with the relicks of Popish dregs." And truly I can't see how it can be pretended, that the *English*, who were now abroad in a foreign country, should be look'd upon as under obligation to obey the laws of *England*. Besides, those *English* laws themselves, which enjoin'd the use of the Liturgy, were now repeal'd by Queen *Mary* and her Parliament. And our Churchmen have no manner of regard to the Acts pass'd in King *Edward*'s time, if they were repeal'd in Queen *Mary*'s, unless they were reviv'd by the Acts of Parliament pass'd in some following reigns ; as appears from the late controversy they have had among themselves, about the rights of Convocations.

3. Who can wonder that no method of ending our unhappy controversies could hitherto be found out, when he observes by what a fierce and turbulent spirit our Adversaries are acted ? These men, when in a state of exile, struggling with want and many miseries, and groaning under the rod of the Almighty, could not command their own temper ; but first of all persecute their Brethren, who differ'd from them, and drive them from their settlement. And when they had lost the opportunity of teasing and harassing them, lest they should seem to have chang'd their temper, they fall a scolding and fighting miserably with one another. And in this noble temper they hold on, for ought I see, to this very day. So that our present Archbishop frankly says : " I am fully persuaded, that nothing at this day preserves us from ruin and desolation, but that we have not power of our selves to do the Church a mischief ; and the Prince, who sees but too

" too much of our tempers, is too gracious to us, and has
" too great a concern for the Church's good, to suffer us
" to do it.*

4. I think those words of our Author deserve to be taken notice of: "Only the Church of Frankfort degenerated from her mother's spirit. For here they receiv'd, in lieu of the English Liturgy, a medly form of Prayer, made up of some of our Collects, and other Prayers out of the Geneva service; and which being stripp'd of all our rites and ceremonies, appear'd a very cold and flat way of worship. † See here the insolence of a zealot! He thinks he may make a jest of every thing, which differs from the custom of the Church of England. So fatal is it to be carry'd away with the spirit of a party! All Prayers deserve contempt, unless they are according to the usage of the English Liturgy. 'Tis not easy to express, in our language, the contempt which this passage carries in it in the Latin edition. He will not vouchsafe to give their Book the name of a Liturgy, but only a pretended Liturgy; which he represents as an hotchpotch of scraps of Prayers. But if an hotchpotch, or medly of scraps, deserves only the name of a pretended Liturgy; I can easily direct our Author, where he may find such an one, made up of an heap of short Prayers, that have more by half of Preface and Conclusion than Petition in them, and dispos'd without any tolerable order or method. And what reason could our Author have, to think the name of a Liturgy is to be reserv'd as sacred to the English Service Book? But that Liturgy of Frankfort, being stripp'd of all our rites and ceremonies, appear'd, as our Author says, a very cold and flat way of worship. To you all, Gentlemen, whom he has appointed Judges between us, to you, I say, I appeal: Whether a Liturgy, which retains all rites and ceremonies of a divine institution, and rejects only those of humane device, appears to you a very cold and flat way of worship? What an intolerable fondness for ceremonies do these men discover! One would think the old Iharisees were risen again from the dead. How could our Author pretend to prove this? Surely he thought he had to do with very easy Judges, who would take this, without any proof, upon his bare word, and thereupon condemn their own Liturgies, that they might pass the greater complement

plement upon his. However 'tis our comfort, that none but Papists and bigotted Churchmen, will talk after this rate. I cannot here but observe, how very differently this Author talks from one of their antient Bishops, I mean Bishop *Grindal*, who when he was proceeding against some Dissenters for using that service, and one of them told him, if he would *reprove that Book by the word of God they would leave it and give over*; honestly answer'd, *We cannot reprove it.** But if rites and ceremonies are of so great use in a Liturgy, why dont you improve your Liturgy by a larger store of them? Surely the Papists have much more reason to twit you with a *cold and flat way of worship*, for laying aside so many ceremonies; than you can have to reproach the *English* exiles in that manner, because they rejected some few. And there are many in the Church, who seem to agree with the Papists herein, while they profess an earnest desire of having a far greater number establish'd. How unreasonable was it for our Author to express such a resentment of *Calvin's* comparatively mild censure of the *English* Liturgy; since he himself, upon all occasions, treats the Liturgies of Foreigners with great scurrility and abusiveness?

5. I would farther animadvert upon what our Author says, concerning the government of these exiles: *For the government of the Church, instead of the antient Episcopacy, they set up Mr. Calvin's new way of Presbyters and Lay Elders.*† This he is pleas'd, in his *Latin* edition, to call *a certain monster of government*. Now I would fain know, What was the difference between the form of government fix'd upon by these exiles, and that which the *Coxian* faction settled in their Church at *Frankfort*? When they had perfidiously driven away *Mr. Knox*, whom did they appoint Bishop of their schismatical Assembly? I should be glad to hear his name, that we might know what a man he was, and be satisfied that *one monster* did not come in the room of another.

Queen *Mary* being dead, was succeeded by Queen *Elizabeth*, in whose reign religion was again reform'd. All good men conceiv'd great hopes, the Reformation in doctrine and worship would now very speedily be brought to

per-

perfection ; but they were deceiv'd. Three things seem to have concur'd in disappointing their expectations.

1. The great authority which the Queen assum'd about matters of religion.
2. The too earnest desire, which then prevail'd, of pleasing the Papists.
3. The subtil and crafty tricks of the Papists. I will consider these a little in their order.

1. The great and extravagant authority Queen *Elizabeth* assum'd, in matters of religion, was one chief cause why the Reformation made no greater advances in her reign. All our Divines, who truly hated Popery, labour'd earnestly in the beginning of her reign, that the Reformation begun in King *Edward's* time, might now be carry'd on much farther. But the Queen was of another mind ; and she manag'd all things as she pleas'd. But 'tw ill give least offence if I use here Churchmens words, rather than my own.

Mr. *George Cranmer*, in his Letter to Mr. *Hooker*, says :
" It may be remembred, that at first the greatest part of
" the learned in the land were either eagerly arietted, or
" favourably inclin'd that way [of the Nonconformists.]
" The books then written, for the most part, favour'd of
" the disciplinary stile : it sounded every where in pulpits,
" and in common phrase of mens speech : the contrary
" part began to fear they had taken a wrong course.*

Bishop *Burnet* likewise tells us : " It appears by the Letters of the Bishops to *Bullinger*, that they preserv'd the antient habits rather in compliance with the Queen's inclinations, than out of any liking they had to them : so far were they from liking them, that they plainly express'd their dislike of them. *Jewel*, in a Letter bearing date the 8th of February, 1566. wishes, *That the vestments, together with all the other remnants of Popery, might be thrown both out of their Churches, and out of the minds of the people* ; and laments the Queen's fixedness to them, so that she would suffer no change to be made. And in January of the same year, *Sands* writes to the same purpose : *Disputes are now on foot concerning the Popish vestments, whether they shoud be us'd or not; but God will put an end to these things.* *Horn*, Bishop of

* Prefix'd to the Ecclesiast. Polity.

“ of *Winchester*, went farther. For in a *Letter* dated the 16th of *July*, 1565. he writes of the *Act* concerning the *Habits* with great regret, and expresses some hopes that it might be repeal’d next *Session* of *Parliament*, if the *Popish* party did not hinder it; and he seems to stand in doubt, whether he himself should conform to it or not; upon which he asks *Bullinger’s* advice. And in many letters writ on that subject, ‘tis asserted, that both *Cranmer* and *Ridley* intended to procure an *Act* for abolishing the *Habits*; and that they only defended their lawfulness, but not their fitness; and therefore they blam’d private persons that refus’d to obey the laws. *Grindal*, in a *Letter* dated the 27th of *August*, 1566, writes, That all the *Bishops*, who had been beyond *Sea*, had, at their return, dealt with the *Queen* to let the matter of the *habits* fall: but she was so possess’d, that, though they had all endeavour’d to divert her from prosecuting that matter, she continued still inflexible. This had made them submit to the laws, and to wait for a fit opportunity to reverse them.— *Cox*, *Bishop of Ely*, in one of his *Letters*, laments the aversion they found in the *Parliament*, to all the propositions that were made for the reformation of abuses.*

To this I may add other passages. *Sands*, in a *Letter* to *Archbishop Parker*, shews that he esteem’d the *habits* a *yoke*. “ How the folks go, *says he*, I cannot well tell; but I assure you mine go so soberly and decently, as they offend no piece of the *Queen’s* injunctions. For if I be under the *yoke*, such as pertain to me shall draw in the same *yoke* with me.” † And *Pilkington* wrote earnestly against the imposing them. He urg’d, that it should be consider’d, “ How all *Reformed* countries had cast away *Popish* apparel with the *Pope*, and that we contend to keep it as a *holy relic*: that many *Ministers* would rather leave their *livings*, than be like to *Popish* Teachers of such superstitions: and the *realm* had a great scarcity of Teachers, and many places were left destitute of any: that it would give incurable offence to the favourers of *God’s truth* in other countries: that *St Paul* bid men use such apparel as became those that profess’d godliness: but if we forsake *Popery*, as wicked, how shall we say “ their

* Letters concerning his Trav. *Let. I. p. 42.* † *Strype’s Life of Park*, App. p. 26.

“ their apparel becomes Saints and professors of the Gospel?”* And when *Harding* had derided the Ministers, who refus’d the apparel, Bishop *Jewel* defends them: “ They say not, *says he*, that the apparel is holy or unholy: but they may truly say, the same apparel of your part hath been foully abus’d to filthy purposes: they may justly say, they would not gladly in any appearance shew themselves like to them, who have so untruly, and so long deceiv’d the world. And herein they are are not without sundry authorities and examples of godly Fathers.” † And accordingly he produces several himself in favour of their opinion. And when some matters, injoin’d by the Common Prayer Book, were charg’d upon the Bishops by *Bellinger*, and some other learned Foreigners of the Reformation, they reply’d in their Letters: “ That none of them were of the Parliament House at the passing of the Book: and that they had therefore no voice in making of the law. But that after it was pass’d, they, being chosen to be Bishops, must either content themselves to take their places, as things were, or else leave them to Papists and Lutherans: but in the mean space they promised not to urge their Brethren in these things; and when opportunity should serve, to seek reformation of them.” ‡ But they soon forgot their promise; for in the year 1564, several of them were concern’d in drawing up the *Advertisements*; the design of which was to trouble Ministers for these things: and tho’ they met with much opposition herein, they at last got them, upon much importunity, authoriz’d by the Queen. ‡

Hence our Adversaries may understand, of whom we have learn’d to call their ceremonies, *remnants of Popery*. And hence our Brethren abroad may perceive, how much the times are alter’d with us. Our first Reformers never ascrib’d any holiness or virtue to them; nor were they so fond of them as to think, with our Author, religion would be a *poor and lean* thing without them. I could add many other Divines to those mention’d by Bishop *Burnet*, who were very much of the same opinion; such as *Whitehead*, who is said to have refus’d the Archbischoprick

* Parker’s Life, p. 155. † Def. of the Apolog. p. 325. ‡ Life of Parker, p. 154. ‡ *Idem*, p. 158, 159, 160.

rick of Canterbury ; *Coverdale*, who would not accept *O ford*, or any other Bishoprick, because he dislik'd the habits ; *Alexander Newel*, Dean of *Paul's* ; “ Who being one of the Queen's Chaplains, and speaking less reverently, in a Sermon preach'd before her, of the sign of the Cross, was call'd to aloud by her out of her closet window, and commanded to retire from that ungodly digression, and return to his text.” * Our Churchmen therefore have no reason to boast, their ceremonies were appointed by the most pious and learned Divines, who made it their business to reduce all things to the standard of Scripture and antiquity. The controv-
erted ceremonies were establish'd much against their minds, and to their great sorrow, with a regard only to the pleasure of her Majesty, and not to antiquity.

Bishop *Burnet* has given us an account how the Queen came to be so obstinate in these matters ; which I shall the rather set down, because it really accounts for one great source of all our misery. “ The Queen had been bred up from her infancy with hatred of the Papacy, and a love to the Reformation ; but yet as her first impressions in her Father's reign were in favour of such old rites, as he had still retain'd ; so in her own nature she lov'd state, and some magnificence in religion, as well as in every thing else. She thought, that in her Brother's reign, they had strip'd it too much of external ornaments, and had made their doctrine too narrow in some points ; therefore she intended to have some things explain'd in more general terms, that so all parties might be comprehended by them. She inclin'd to keep up images in Churches, and to have the manner of Christ's presence in the Sacrament left in some general words, that those who believ'd the corporal Presence might not be driven away from the Church by too nice an explanation of it ; nor did she like the title of *Supreme Head*, she thought it import'd too great a power, and came too near that authority, which Christ only had over the Church. These were her own private thoughts. She consider'd, nothing could make her power great in the world abroad, so much as the uniting all her people together at home. Her Father's

“ and

“ and her Brother’s reign had been much distract’d by
“ the rebellions within *England*; and she had before her
“ eyes the instance of the coldness that the people had
“ expres’d to her Sister on all occasions, for the main-
“ taining or recovering the dominions beyond sea; there-
“ fore she was very desirous to find such a temper, in
“ which all might agree. She observ’d that in the chan-
“ ges formerly made, particularly in renouncing the Pa-
“ pacy, and making some alterations in worship, the
“ whole Clergy had concurr’d, and so she resolv’d to fol-
“ low and imitate these by easy steps. *

The more I consider her character, the more I wonder she befriended the Reformation so far as she did: for tho’ she was a very wise and politic Queen, and acted with the greatest judgment imaginable for the good of her subjects in all state matters; yet she had but a very moderate share of religion. Dr. *Heylyn* tell us, that in her Sister’s time, “ ’Tis certain she resorted to Mass, and seem’d not a little discontented, that she could not gain so much upon the Queen by her outward conformity, as to believe that she was catholicly affected.” † And Mr. *Strype* has inform’d us, that she declar’d to Archbishop *Parker*, that had it not been for a clause in the *Act of Uniformity*, which reserves to her a power “ To ordain and publish such farther rites and ceremonies, as should be most for the reverence of Christ’s holy mysteries and sacraments, she would not have agreed to divers orders of the Book: ” ‡ i. e. have pass’d the *Act of Uniformity*, or reform’d religion at all. He gives us a hint too, that she seldom us’d to hear sermons, except it was in Lent. § She was so inveterately set against Priests marriages, that she would never suffer any Act to be made in her time for the allowing them; and all the children of Priests in her reign were bastards in the eye of the law; and the Bishops themselves were forc’d to obtain particular Acts of Parliament to legitimate their children, that they might be capable of inheriting their estates after them. * Nay, she seems to have repented, she had gone so far with the Reformation, and to have threat-

* Hist. Reform. part II. p. 376. † Hist. Reform. p. 270. ‡ Parker’s Life, p. 309. § Idem, p. 201. * See p. 511.

threatned to have restored Popery, at least a good degree of it. Thus *Parker* relates the matter in a Letter to Secretary *Cecyl*: "The Queen's Highness exp'res'd to me "a repentance, that we were thus appointed in office, "wishing it had been otherwise: which inclinations being known at large to Queen *Mary*'s Clergy, they "laugh prettily to see how the Clergy of our time is "handled, and what equity of laws be ministred to our "sort: but by patience and silence we pass over, &c. and "leave all to God: in the mean time we have cause all "to be utterly discomfited and discouraged. Her Majesty moreover talk'd of other manner of injunctions, "that shall hereafter follow. I trust God shall stay her "heart." * What apprehensions he had of her meaning appears by what follows soon after in the Letter: "I should be sorry that the Clergy should have cause to "shew disobedience, with *oportet Deo obedire magis quam hominibus*, we must obey God rather than man. And "what instillers so ever there be, there be enough of this "contemptible flock, that will not shrink to offer their "blood for the defence of Christ's verity, if it be openly "impugn'd, or secretly suggill'd." And certainly since our *English* Reformation was settled according to the sovereign will and pleasure of a Queen, who had so little of religion or a true and hearty Protestant in her, we need not be surpriz'd, that it should be so very imperfect.

2. Another thing, which was a great hindrance to the progress of our *English* Reformation, was the great endeavour then us'd to please the Papists. And as superstitious people are commonly very stiff in their opinion, it must at best be a very imperfect Reformation which they will bear with. But our Reformation was carry'd on with such a design, both in King *Edward* and Queen *Elizabeth*'s reign.

Dr. *Heylyn* tells us of the Reformation in King *Edward*'s days: "That neither to lose time, nor press too "much at once upon the people, 'twas thought fit to "smooth the way to the intended Reformation, by sending out some preparatory injunctions — All which was "done to this intent, that the people in all places, being "pre-

“ prepar’d by little and little, might with more ease and
“ less opposition, admit the total alteration, in the face of
“ the Church, which was intended in due time to be in-
“ troduc’d. *

Who then can think we are injurious to the memory of our famous Martyrs? They, as well as we, wish’d for a perfect Reformation. That it could not be brought about in their time, prov’d a great trouble to them; as it has to us, and to all learned and good men in the world, if we except some modern Ecclesiastics. Dr. *Heylyn*, who was a bitter enemy to the design of any farther Reformation, speaking of the untimely death of King *Edward*, which was sadly regretted by all the friends of the Protestant religion, tells us: “ That he could not “ reckon it for an infelicity to the Church of Eng-
“ land. †

But let us hear what he says of the Reformation in Queen *Elizabeth*’s time. He tells us: “ That an A&t pa-
“ sed for recommending and imposing the Book of Com-
“ mon Prayer, and administration of Sacraments, ac-
“ cording to such alterations and corrections as were
“ made therein, by those who were appointed to revise
“ it. In the performance of which service, there was
“ great care taken for expunging all such passages in it,
“ as might give any scandal or offence to the Popish par-
“ ty. ——By which compliances the Book was made so
“ passable amongst the Papists, that for ten years they ge-
“ nerally repair’d to their parish Churches without doubt
“ or scruple; nay, the form and fashion of our devotions
“ did so far satisfy the Pope, then being, that he shew’d
“ himself willing to confirm it by his Papal power: and
“ *Parpalio* was instruc’ted to offer, in the name of his Ho-
“ lineſ, that the *English* Liturgy should be confirm’d.” ||
He informs us, that ſeveral things, which King *Edward*
had abolis'h'd, were retain'd by this Queen, as they had
been in her Father’s time; and that, “ For this ſhe re-
“ ceiv’d both thanks and honour from her very ene-
“ mies.” And he particularly mentions Dr. *Harding* as
one of those enemies, who treated her in that manner.
But our Adversaries, with Dr. *Heylyn*’s good leave, have
no great reason to triumph in the commendations and

applauses of the Papists, who use rather to insult and deride them for these things. Thus *Edward Weston*, a Popish writer, girds them : “ Other Protestants, that they “ may not seem desperately wicked, make use of our “ Missal and Breviary, culling out such things as they “ like best in them : and that their religion may appear “ with somewhat of a better grace, they have their Ca- “ nones, forsooth, and their Archdeacons ; and, according “ to the fashion of the Church of *Rome*, they have Caps “ and Hoods, and such like attire, which they say they “ found in the Synagogue of Antichrist : by which it “ appears the religion of Protestants is guilty of theft : — “ or, if they don’t like to be counted thieves, let them “ go on to ape us and Antichrist. These men, with all “ their slate, are a derision to those of their own side, “ as well as to ours.” * And then he adds this saying of one : “ The *English* drove the Pope out of the king- “ dom so hastily, that they forc’d him to leave his gar- “ ments behind him ; and now they put them on, and, “ like so many Players acting their parts, they dance in “ them in a way of triumph.” And when *Bonner* was told, that our Parliament had thought fit to continue some of the Popish superstitions, he is reported to have made this answer : *If they sup of our broth, they will soon eat of our beef.* I cannot here omit a passage I find in an old Pamphlet to this purpose : “ We find, that some of the learnedst of our *English* Papists (namely, *Martial, Bristow*, and he that penn’d that Petition for the Papists, which *D. Sutclif* and *M. Powel* have answer’d) have by this argument justify’d their Church and religion, *That we have borrow’d our ceremonies from them.* Yea, some of them, as *Harding, Martial, and he that wrote the Apologetical Epistle for our English Papists*, have profess’d, that this was to them an evident argument, that Queen *Elizabeth* did in her conscience well like of their religion ; because she liked and maintain’d their ceremonies. And the superstitious multitude do defend the blessing themselves with crossing “ their breasts and forehead, by our crossing of children “ in Baptism.” †

3. Our

3. Our Reformation was very much cramp'd by the subtil and crafty tricks of Papists, or such pretended Protestants, as had a great influence in the managing our affairs. So I have observed before out of Bishop *Burnet*, that Bishop *Horn* hoped to have the *Act* for the *Habits* repeal'd, if the Popish party did not hinder it. Dr. *Heylyn* and Bishop *Burnet* assure us, that Queen *Elizabeth* kept her Popish Sister's privy Council. And as to the Popish Clergy, there were few of them, who did not comply with the new Acts of Parliament in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time.

Our Author tells us: *There were not wanting several Ministers in the Church, who, for want of persons fit to be intrusted with the care of souls, after the turning out of the Popish Priests, were instituted into livings, who were fond of the Genevian discipline.** By which he would seem to intimate, that abundance of vacances were made in the Church, by the Papists giving up their livings. But this is not true, as will plainly appear by the following words of Bishop *Burnet*: "It was found that of 9400 beneficed men in *England*, there were no more, but fourteen Bishops, six Abbots, twelve Deans, twelve Archdeacons, fifteen Heads of Colleges, fifty Prebendaries, and eighty Rectors of parishes, that had left their Benefices upon the account of Religion: so compliant were the Papists generally. And indeed the Bishops after this time had the same apprehension of the danger, into which religion was brought by the jugglings of the greatest part of the Clergy, who retain'd their affections to the old superstition, that those in King *Edward*'s time had. So that if Queen *Elizabeth* had not liv'd so long as she did, 'till all that generation was dead, and a new set of men, better educated and principled, were grown up and put in their rooms; and if a Prince of another religion had succeeded before that time; they had probably turn'd about again to the old superstitions, as nimby as they had done before in Queen *Mary*'s days. That, which supported the superstitious party in King *Edward*'s time most, was, that many great Bishops did secretly favour and encourage them; therefore it was now resolv'd to look well to the filling of the vacant Sees."†

I would not be understood to deny, there was a great scarcity of Preachers, and persons fit to be put into Cures at that time. 'Tis certain the Popish Clergy, who continued in their livings, were very unfit for them; but since they were allow'd by the government to keep their livings, and so few of them had the honesty to quit them for the sake of their consciences, the want of incumbents could not be so great as is pretended. And indeed it must be an everlasting reproach to those times, that when they suffer'd a Clergy so popishly affected, and so unable, to teach the people; they should yet be so severe, as they were, in vexing, persecuting, and silencing honest and faithful Ministers, who would most gladly have discharg'd their office with a good conscience. What a sad account does Bishop *Sands* give of the state of the nation, in a Sermon before the Queen! " The mo-
" ther city of the realm is reasonably furnish'd with
" faithful Preachers; certain other cities, not many in
" number, are blessed too, tho' not in like sort. But the
" silly people of the land otherwhere, especially in the
" north parts, pine away and perish, for want of this sav-
" ing food; they are much decayed for want of pro-
" phesy. Many there are that hear not a sermon in seven
" years, I might say safely, in seventeen. Their blood
" will be requir'd at some bodies hands." * And tho'
the Bishop speaks of *London*, as tolerably supply'd; yet
Mr. *Strype* informs us, that even there the case was very
bad; that they were insufferable pluralists, and not above
one third part in the Archdeaconry of *London* Preachers. †
Many of the Clergy, who had been bitter persecutors in
Queen Mary's time, were continued in their livings, and
persecuted their neighbours in *Queen Elizabeth's* reign.
Now when men, so popishly affected, abounded among
the Clergy, and at court, and in general among all ranks
in the nation, they would not fail to use all their interest
to have as much as possible of the old superstition re-
tain'd. And unless that sort of men had been very much
afraid of the Queen; 'twould be rather a wonder the
Reformation was carried so far, than that it was not car-
ried farther.

Thus

Thus I have laid open to the reader the great causes of our misery, and the hindrance of the *English* Reformation. I shall now return to the Doctor.

He is not mistaken, in saying some of our side *attain'd some of the principal dignities* of the Church at that time.* I might here alledge, that sever'al, who had very lately been Papists, were in like manner advanc'd, and so it could be no great wonder if Protestants had the same favour. Indeed these men were famous for their learning, and good services in the Church; and were much in favour with the Bishops, who, as yet, retain'd their moderation, and were unwilling to persecute their Brethren. And that has been always the mind of the Dissenters; that, as long as they could, with a safe conscience, they were for continuing in the public Churches. But then those excellent and learned men, being as desirous of purity as peace, did not forbear to *find fault with, and condemn* several things in the constitution, and in their exhortations urg'd a reformation of them. Our Adversaries cry out upon them for this; and we, on the contrary, think they acted a very prudent and honest part in it. If any of them spake of these matters unadvisedly, and with too much bitterness; we pretend not to justify them, but leave them to the censure of our Adversaries. And tho' I never saw that Treatise of *Gilby's*, which our Author mentions; yet I dare engage to produce abundance of the Church writers, both antient and modern, who shall match him for bitterness, let him be as bitter as he will.

This year a Convocation was held, in which MDLXII. a vigorous attempt was made for a farther Reformation. In this Synod, *the review*, our Author mentions, *was made of the xxxix Articles.*† There were several noble proposals made, by some Members of both Houses, and earnest disputes there were about these matters. At last, "On February 13, these following Articles were "read, to be approv'd or rejected."

" 1. That all Sundays in the year, and the principal Feasts of Christ, be kept Holidays; and all other Holidays to be abrogated.

" 2. That in all parish Churches the Minister, in Common Prayer, turn his face towards the people, and there

“ distinctly read the divine service appointed, where all
“ people assembled may hear and be edified.

“ 3. That in ministring the sacrament of Baptism, the
“ ceremony of making the Cross in the child’s forehead
“ may be omitted, as tending to superstition.

“ 4. Forasmuch as divers communicants are not able to
“ kneel during the time of the communion, for age, sickness,
“ and sundry other infirmities ; and some also superstiti-
“ ously kneel and knock ; that order of kneeling may be left
“ to the discretion of the Ordinary, within his jurisdiction.

“ 5. That it be sufficient for the Minister, in time of say-
“ ing divine service, and ministring of the sacraments, to
“ use a Surplice ; and that no Minister say service, or mi-
“ nister the sacraments, but in a comely garment or habit.

“ 6. That the use of Organs be remov’d.” *

The sense of the 5th (the Bishop of *Sarum* thinks) is not clear, except we suppose the word, *once*, to have come after, *the Minister* ; so that it was propos’d, that it should be sufficient *once* to use the Surplice. † By the complexion of the Articles one would guess, that instead of *sufficient*, were to be read *not necessary*. And then, the Surplice being abolish’d, there was good reason for the last part of the Article. Mr. *Strype* tells us, those who were against these Articles carry’d it (though with great difficulty) against those that were for them. But the Bishop has honestly given us an account how they carry’d it. I think his words deserve to be taken notice of.

“ There arose, *says he*, great disputes concerning these propositions ; some approving, and others rejecting them : and it was propos’d by some, to refer the matter to the Archbishop and Bishops. Many protested, that they could in no manner consent to any one of them ; since they were contrary to the Book of Common Prayer, that was ratified by Act of Parliament : nor would they admit of any alteration of the orders, rules, rites, or regulations already settled by that Book. There were public disputations between learned men, some approving, and others condemning the propositions. Thirteen persons were named, as the disputants. In conclusion, the House was divided, and counted : forty three voted for the propositions, and thirty five against them,

“ and

“ and that no change should be made in the Book of
“ Common Prayer, then established. But when the proxies
“ were counted, those who were for the propositions
“ were in all fifty eight, and those who were against them
“ were fifty nine. So that they were agreed to by a ma-
“ jority of eight, of those who were present, and who
“ had heard the disputations; yet those were out voted
“ by a majority of one vote, by the proxy of an absent
“ person.” I must own, I like these things the worse,
for the sake of the means by which they were continued
among us. And he that can believe, the votes of nine
absent persons, who heard nothing of the debates about a
matter, are of more moment than those of eight who were
present at them; or can think that such a way of proceeding
is grounded upon Scripture, or any valuable antiquity,
may even believe what he pleases.

Let me here farther mention these two requests, or Petitions, of the lower House of Convocation. They are among many other, and are the 3d and 4th in number.

“ 3. That no private Baptism be ministred hereafter,
“ but only by those that be Ministers of the Church.

“ 4. That in public Baptism, the father of the infant
“ (if he possible may) be present: and that he, and the
“ Godfathers and Godmothers, shall openly profess and
“ recite the Articles of the christian faith, commonly
“ call’d *the Creed*; and desire that the infant may in that
“ faith be baptiz’d, and receiv’d into the Church of
“ Christ. And they shall not answer in the infant’s name,
“ to such questions as heretofore have been demanded of
“ them in that behalf.” * One part of the latter of these
is contradicte by the Convocation of 1603, which made
this wise Canon: “ No parent shall be urg’d to be present,
“ nor be admitted to answer as Godfather for his own
“ child.” † The other part would have made the Church’s
service much more intelligible, and less liable to exception
than ’tis at present.

Also the Articles were, as I said, *review’d* at this Synod; and the lower House had petition’d, that Ministers might be requir’d to subscribe them: || yet there was no law of the land to require subscription, till the year 1571, as *Fuller* assures us. And yet some of the more rigid

* *Strype’s Annals.* p. 301. † *Can.* 29. || *See Strype’s Ann.* p. 302.

Bishops insisted upon subscription, before it was commanded by Act of Parliament. Thus *Sampson* was turn'd out from being Dean of *Christ Church* in *Oxford*. And *John Fox*, the Martyrologist, was call'd to subscribe, but refus'd; and pulling out his *Greek Testament*, said; *I will subscribe this*: and when they requir'd more, he told them plainly, he would not; and that he had only a small Prebend in the Church of *Salisbury*, and if they would take that away, much good might it do them. But these persecutors themselves were ashame'd to deal severely with a man of his age and piety, and who had deserv'd so well of our nation by his historical writings. Towards him therefore they exercis'd an unusual forbearance, and permitted him to enjoy his Prebend. And when afterwards the Ministers were requir'd to subscribe the Articles, some of the Bishops were so very forward and officious, as to devise other Articles of their own head, and severely persecuted such Ministers who refus'd to subscribe them. It must be own'd, that some of the Bishops at that time were more gentle and moderate; but the farther we come into Queen *Elizabeth*'s reign, the more rigid and severe we generally find them. But though I have put these things here briefly together, because our Author skips from the Convocation, to the Parliament's passing the Articles; yet it will not be amiss to take a little more notice of some particulars, before we proceed to examine what he says.

It having pleas'd the Queen, to leave so many occasions of offence in the appointed service; it cannot be thought there would not be many, who would refuse to comply with the establish'd order. Abundance of Ministers us'd that liberty, which they apprehended was broke in upon by the state; and some were more vehement in their opposition than others. Queen *Elizabeth*, who seems to have been a Princess peculiarly tender of her authority, was greatly displeas'd that her commands were not more uniformly obey'd, and that Ministers appear'd in such different garbs in performing divine service. And this year she stir'd up her Bishops to persecute their Brethren. The Bishops, nay, and the Queen her self, would sometimes make heavy complaints of the scarcity of Preachers, and the mischiefs of ignorance in the people, which proceeded from thence. And yet now, when the scarcity of Preachers was greatest, means are us'd to stop their mouths. For this persecution fell almost only upon

on them. The Popish Clergy, who kept in at every change, and the Readers of Homilies, who were not Preachers, and knew but little of the matter, made no great difficulty of conformity. This render'd their proceedings the more inexcusable. The persecution began in *London*, and these six Bishops usually met (the four first of which were upon the ecclesiastical commission) *Parker*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*; *Grindal*, Bishop of *London*; *Cox*, Bishop of *Ely*; *Guest*, Bishop of *Rochester*; *Horn*, Bishop of *Winchester*; and *Bulningham*, Bishop of *Lincoln*. The Ministers being convented before them, were requir'd, "To promise and subscribe conformity to the habits; and likewise to the rites of the Common Prayer, the xxxix Articles, and the Queen's injunctions; or to be depriv'd within three months."* They likewise drew up a Book for Ministers to subscribe to; and all this at first, without the Queen's ratification of the Book, or any Act of Parliament to empower them to do as they did. And nothing could be more insolent than the Lay Chancellor's usage of the Ministers, in the presence of those reverend Commissioners mention'd before. "My masters, says he, and the Ministers of *London*, the Council's pleasure is, that strictly ye keep the unity of apparel, like this man, pointing to Mr. *Robert Cole* (canonically habited) as you see him; that is, a square Cap, a scholar's Gown, priest like, a Tippet, and in the Church a linen Surplice: and in violably observe the Rubric of the Common Prayer, and the Queen's Majesty's injunctions; and the Book of Convocation. Ye that will presently subscribe, write, volo. Those that will not subscribe, write, nolo. Be brief; make no words. And when some would have spoken, the answer was, *Peace, peace*. Apparitor, call the Churches: masters, answer presently, *Sub pena cuncti temptus*, and set your names."† I believe, none of our Adversaries will be able to find any Lay Elder to match this Lay Chancellor. The consequence of these proceedings was, that some yielded, others were suspended and depriv'd; and many of them, having wives and children, labour'd under great poverty; some betook themselves to secular occupations; some had favour shewn them, upon the request of noble and honourable persons; and some were

were afterwards put into prisons. And thus the poor men, just return'd home from a state of exile, for the sake of religion, are by their merciless Brethren oppress'd with a second persecution. These Commissioners sent up for Sampson, Dean of Christ-Church; and Humfrey, Head of Magdalen College in Oxford; and when they persisted in their refusal to comply, they were told by the Archbishop, that *they must depart their places*. I can't but add what here follows in Mr. Strype: "While they thus stood out, Horn, Bishop of Winchester, notwithstanding, presented Humfrey to a living in the Diocese of Sarum. But Jewel, the Bishop, would not admit him, and on this occasion wrote to the Archbishop a Letter about it: That in respect to his vain contention about apparel, he thought best to make a stay, till he understood his Grace's pleasure: and that, unless he should otherwise advise him by his Letter, he minded not in any wise to receive him: adding, that this long sufferance bred great offence. For Humfrey was conniv'd at for a good while, till at last he consented. But Sampson was depriv'd this year, and succeeded by Thomas Goodwin, D. D."* I can't but observe, how very different Bishop Jewel appear'd to be, from what he was at some other times; and indeed, the same observation may be made of Grindal and several others; that the longer they were in their offices, the more severe they became.

Sampson and Humfrey us'd all the peaceable and submissive methods they could, to prevent their being so severely dealt with. Mr. Strype has publish'd the submissive Letter they sent to the Bishops, who sat in commission: Wherein they "protest, before God, what a bitter grief it was to them, that there should be a dissention between them for so small a matter, as *woollen and linen*, " [as they stiled the Cap and Surplice.] "But that it comforted them, that it was but an agreeing discord, seeing they all, under Christ, profess'd the same Gospel, and the same faith; and that it was in things which were in their own nature indifferent; that each followed their own spirit and opinion, where there might be room for liberty of 'em; but there ought to be charity ever. —

" If

“ If there were any reckoning to be made of fellowship
“ in Christ, if there were any fellowfeeling and compassion,
“ of which they doubted not, they beseech'd them to per-
“ mit, nay, to promote that which *Paul* commended, and
“ *Augustine* yielded ; that every one might acquiesce in his
“ own confident persuasion ; and that the unity of the
“ faith might be kept in divers observances. That their
“ reasons for this address were many and great, *viz.* That
“ conscience was a tender thing, that ought not to be
“ touch'd or anger'd. That they were neither turbulent,
“ nor obstinate, nor willing to see the peace of the Church
“ disturb'd, or studied novelty, or refus'd to be convinc'd.
“ But they were taught by conscience, that things, in their
“ own nature indifferent, do not always seem indifferent
“ in the opinions of men, and are chang'd by times and
“ accidents. That this law concerning the restoring the
“ ceremonies of the *Roman Church*, is join'd with the
“ hazard of slavery, necessity and superstition. Which,
“ *say they*, does not seem so to you, and therefore you are
“ not to be condemn'd by us ; but because it does seem
“ so to us, we are not to be vexed by you. That their
“ consciences told them, that if they should recollect to
“ their memories former times, God and Christ, and the
“ faith of the primitive Church were on their side.—
“ That learned men in our own age lived and died with
“ them in this faith and opinion. That they, the Bishops
“ themselves, if they might have leave to appeal to their
“ consciences, were of the same opinion with them ; and
“ that they could wish, that all these stones of offence
“ were remov'd. They appeal'd to the purer Churches
“ of *Germany*, *France* and *Scotland*.—In fine, that them-
“ selves were not ignorant what a great scandal would
“ hence arise. That the adversaries would insult over them
“ in their afflictions, and would laugh in their sleeves at
“ the Bishops, when they saw them thus defending their
“ cause, and pursuing that which they would have : and
“ would be still more pleas'd with their own inventions,
“ after they should see them not only retain'd by them,
“ but by them obtruded upon their Brethren. Wherefore
“ they most humbly prayed, that a thing which was the
“ care and pleasure of Papists, and which the Bishops had
“ no great value for themselves ; and lastly, what they did
“ not out of any contempt of them, but out of hatred of

“ the

“ the common enemy, might not be their snare, or their “ crime.” * This humble, strong and moving Letter, together with some such applications to others, would not prevail in their behalf, to stop the Bishops proceedings against them. And so they were soon clapt into Prison.

The persecution of the Nonconformists still MDLXV. went on. And this year there being a design of issuing out a Proclamation, for injoining the wearing the habits, and forcing all the Members of the Universities thereto ; a Letter was writ by some of the chief of Cambridge to the Secretary of State, their Chancellor, to prevent it. They set forth : “ That there was a multitude of pious and learned men, who thought in their consciences, all using of such garments was unlawful for them. So that by the imposition thereof they must be compell’d to depart, and the University would then be left bare and destitute.” † Among the subscribers of this Letter was *John Whitgift*, one who afterwards prov’d a bitter persecuter. But notwithstanding this Letter, the matters in dispute were press’d upon them with great vehemence, and they were put to abundance of trouble ; as were Ministers in other parts of the kingdom.

About this time many Letters pass’d between the *English* Divines on both sides, and several learned Foreigners. Matters were falsely represented to them, and great arts were used on the Bishops side, to prevent such persons writing, who, they found, would not write in their behalf ; and what they thought made for them, they publish’d to the world in a way of triumph. The Foreigners were told, that unless they comply’d with the things injoin’d, they must let in the Papists to supply the Cures. Several Foreigners therefore dreading that, and hoping these things would soon be alter’d, spoke more favourably of them than they deserv’d, and persuaded the opposers of them to submit. But I cannot but remark, how partial those of the Bishops side always shew’d themselves, treating those only with respect who wrote in their behalf : and the same method continues to this day. Thus, while they applaud some of those abroad, who meddled in our controversy at that time, they cannot have a good word for *Calvin, Alasco, and*

* *Barker’s Life*, p. 162, 163. † *Parker’s Life*, p. 194.

and Zanchy : and *Beza* himself frequently falls under their censure. And if any spake against any of their impositions, they must be represented as not understanding the case in dispute. Thus Zanchy is treated by them. *

They proceeded this year in this manner with the *London Clergy* : Upon the Bishops citation, " sixty one of them promis'd Conformity : nine or ten were absent : thirty seven denied ; of which number, as the Arch-bishop acknowledg'd, were the best, and some Preachers. These were suspended, and put from all manner of Ministry ; with signification, that if they did not reconcile themselves within three months, then to be depriv'd. The Archbishop, says my author, did expect hereupon, that their behaviour would have been rough and clamorous ; but, otherwise than he looked for, they shewed reasonable quietness and modesty. He thought some would come in, when they should feel their wants. Some he doubted were moved in conscience, which he labour'd by some advertisements to pacify." † But however he appear'd resolv'd to proceed, whether he could pacify their consciences or not : so little regard did he pay to mens consciences.

Mr. *Strype* tells us, That the Book put forth MDLXVI: the year before, intituled : *A Declaration of the Ministers of the City of London*, soon receiv'd an Answer ; and seems to triumph in it, thinking it the Archbishop's. || But he should have taken notice too, that soon after came forth a confutation of that piece ; which I have now by me, bearing this title : *An Answer for the tyme to the Examination put in print, without the Authours Name, pretending to mayntayne the Apparell prescribed, against the Declaration of the Mynisters of London*. Printed 1566. This author answers his adversary paragraph by paragraph, and in my mind, with a great deal of judgment : and I cannot but wonder Mr. *Strype* should so applaud the *Examination*, which really appears slight enough. I will transcribe one passage from the Answer, because it shews what the temper of the *Examiner* was, and how he treated the Ministers ; how little reason he had to cite *Bucer* and *Martyr*, since he so widely differ'd from them ; and that the superstition about the habits

W³

* *Life of Grindal*, p. 106. † *Parker's Life*, p. 213. || *Annals*, p. 48.

was greater, than many car'd then to own ; which was a good reason too, why these things should be the more stiffly oppos'd. Thus then he : " We desire the reder to " waye this man's writing with the Epistels of *Bucer* and " *Martir*, annexid to the end. And to judg whether the " same spirit be in them both. They bear with the things " tollerable for a tyme, wishing the utter abolishing of " them. This man defendith them as good orders, pro- " fitable to edifie, and therefore mete to be retayned still. " They esteeme the resisters as godlie bretherne, he con- " demnith them as schisimatikes, bellie-gods, decevers, flat- " terers, fooles, such as have been unlearnedlie brought up " in prophan occupations : puffed up in arrogancie of " themselves, chargeable to vanities of assertions : of whom " it is feared that they make posthast to be Anabaptists " and Libertines : gone out from us, but belike never of " us : differing not much from Donatists, shrinking and " refusing Ministers of *London* : disturbars : factious will- " full entanglers, and encomberers of the consciences of " their herers, girders, nippers, scoffers, biters, snappers " at superiors, having the spirit of irony, like to *Audiani*, " smelling of Donatistrie, or of Papistrie, Rogatianes, " Circumcellians, and Pelagians." If that Treatise be Archbishop *Parker's*, he is a man of a far worse spirit than I took him to be. I question, whether the Popish writers can furnish out such reviling language, as is here gather'd out of him. I will venture any one to compare those two authors, the *Examiner* and *Answerer* together ; and I dare say the latter, by any impartial judge, will be allow'd to discover much more good sense and learning, as well as much more civility, in his language than the former.

Many Churches now in *London* were shut up, for want of Ministers, in the room of those who were silenc'd. And this the Archbishop, in a Letter to the Secretary, says, " Was no more than he foresaw before he began ; and " that when the Queen put him upon doing what he " had done, he told her ; that these precise folks, [so " scoffingly he calls them] would offer their goods and " bodies to prison, rather than they would relent.*

The

The Archbishop however pretended to be weary of his troublesome work ; but one would guess the true reason of his pretence was, that he might draw in the Queen's Council, who were backward, to aid him in it.

Now whereas our Adversaries boast much of one or two Foreigners, who dissuaded our opposing these ceremonies so earnestly ; we on our part may boast of the authority of an whole Church, the Church of *Scotland*, who was nearer to us, and better understood our case. The General Assembly this year interpos'd, in a Letter they wrote to the Bishops, earnestly requesting them to forbear to insist upon such trifles. They urge them with the danger of biting and devouring one another ; the reasonableness of their dealing with us, as they would be dealt with themselves ; who would not be willing their own consciences should be forc'd : " Our Brethren, say " they, that of conscience refuse that unprofitable appa- " rel, do neither damn yours, nor molest you that use " such vain trifles : if you shall do the like to them, we " doubt not but therein ye shall please God, &c. " Mr. *Strype* would represent them as misinformed, because they spoke of many thousands both godly and learned, who refus'd the habits : for, says he, as yet the Church was not so well replenish'd. But this is his mistake of their meaning, who speak not of the *English* Ministers, but of Protestants in general : " All, say they, that have " knowledge, are not alike persuaded : your consciences " reclaim not at wearing of such garments ; but many " thousands, both godly and learned, are otherwise per- " suaded, whose consciences are continually stricken with " those sentences : What hath Christ Jesus to do with " *Belial* ? What fellowship is there betwixt light and " darkness ? " This year the Parliament also in the lower House made an attempt to reform some things ; but that was a work displeasing to the Queen, and so it came to nothing.*

This year also the Dissenters were sorely persecuted. By the examination of some of them we learn their case. † In the reign of Queen *Mary*, there was a little company at *London*, who, being desirous of keeping themselves free from

from the *Romish* superstitions, avoided the public service, and used to meet together to worship God, in the manner appointed in his word. They were in great danger often-times, and sometimes they were taken, and several of them were put to death. They expected to be eas'd of persecution when Queen *Elizabeth* came to the crown, and Protestant Bishops were placed in the Church : but when they saw the Popish ceremonies retain'd, and godly Ministers silenc'd for not subscribing, and a mercenary generation of men kept in, who a little before had been violent Papists, and many of them instrumental in shedding the blood of Christ's Martyrs ; they were not easie to attend upon such a Ministry. *Coverdale*, who had been Bishop of *Exeter*, and hated the superstitions, the government thought fit to continue ; and therefore he was conniv'd at, and us'd to preach up and down in the city. To him these people applied themselves, desiring to know where they might hear him ; but he, thro' fear of giving disgust to the government, did not care to acquaint them before hand where he was to preach. When they found themselves thus depriv'd of the word of God, and were put into the Bishop's Courts for not coming to Church, they resolv'd to have a Congregation of their own privately ; and to this end they hir'd the *Plumbers Hall*, as tho' it had been for a wedding, but the chief use of it was for religious worship. About an hundred of them met there, and used the *Geneva service*. Here they were disturb'd by the Sheriffs, and fourteen or fifteen of them taken, and sent to the Compter. Seven or eight of them were brought the next day before the Lord Mayor, Bishop *Grindal*, Dean *Goodman*, Mr. *Wattes*, and other Commissioners. The Bishop fell hard upon them, and charg'd them with lying, for hiring the house under pretence of a wedding, but would not stay to hear their defence : the Bishop charg'd them with condemning the whole state of the Church, reform'd in King *Edward's* days ; which was, *says he*, well reform'd according to the word of God ; yea, and many good men have shed their blood for the same, which your doings condemn. Such poor stuff has been commonly in the mouths of our Adversaries, who learnt it from the Papists, who continually urg'd the Protestants not to reject the religion of their fathers. What signifies it who approv'd of a thing, if it has not its warrant from God's word ? What hurt is there

there in condemning any fallible men, if differing from their opinion must be call'd condemning them? At this rate it had been unlawful for the Bishops to have attempted a farther Reformation, which yet they always deny'd. As to the other pretence: If the Martyrs in Queen *Mary's* reign had shed their blood only in defence of the matters oppos'd by us, they had been unworthy of the character of Martyrs: They sufier'd only for those things, wherein they agreed with us. But to go on: The poor people were urg'd with the testimonies of *Beza* and *Bullinger*, to which they gave their answers: but the chief argument urg'd against them was, the authority of the Prince. And tho' these men answer'd with some brisknes, and perhaps sometimes a little rudeness; yet whoever will read the account, will see, their judges treated them far worse, using taunting language, and asking ensnaring questions, and screwing their answers to the worst sense. These poor men were threaten'd to have their freedom of the city taken from them, beside other punishment, unlesf they would conform. They were all, at least all but one, remanded to prison, and there twenty four of them, beside seven women, were kept above a year.*

In this year Mr. *Strype* places the story of *Cummin*, a *Dominican*, his preaching among the Nonconformists: which is so notorious, palpable, and silly a forgery (as has been abundantly prov'd †) that it is an intolerable shame for men of sense and reputation to mention it. But it happen'd to be a lie on the right side, and therefore must by all means be maintain'd. Just such another is the story of one *Thomas Heath*, plac'd in the next year.

This year another great controversy arose, which afterwards was the occasion of much persecution; it was about *Christ's descent into Hell*; and there were several of our Bishops, who were for ruining those, who would not hold that *Christ* went into the hell of the damn'd.

We are now come to the year, wherein the XXXIX Articles were confirm'd by Act of Parliament; concerning which Dr. *Nichols* has these words: *By this Act all Ministers, of every quality, being oblig'd to subscribe to these Articles, thereby obliging themselves to conform to the*

rites of the Church, and submit to Episcopal government ; several Puritanical Ministers chose rather to be depriv'd of their preferments, than to approve those rites, and that form of government in the Church, which in their sermons they had so loudly inveigh'd against. Some of them, more fierce than the rest, began presently to set up separate Meetings. By this means, these very learned men, and otherwise well deserving upon account of our common religion, out of a nice punctilio of honour, or to gratifie a peevish humour, did not stick to disturb the peace of the Church in the most egregious manner, and to sow the seeds of perpetual distraction among us. * But who can forbear wondering at these unreasonable men, who blame us that we can't follow their example, and appear in as many shapes, as different times and seasons may require ? We know well enough their art of approving those things, which in their sermons they had a little before loudly inveigh'd against. Thus without standing upon any nice punctilio of honour, they resisted King James II. and taught others to do so too ; altho' they had pretended in their sermons a little before, that no man could resist him, but upon the peril of eternal damnation. We own, we are of another principle, and judge of good and evil, not by Acts of Parliament, but by the laws of Christ. And the things which, with a good conscience, we assert are evil, we always esteem so, 'till the contrary is prov'd to us by arguments fetch'd from the Holy Scriptures, and not from the laws of the land. But I would fain know, how the Episcopal party of that time can be said to have had any regard to the peace of the Church ; while they prefer'd their ceremonies to it, and not only silenc'd, but grievously, and sometimes even unto death, punish'd Ministers, whom they acknowledge to have been learned men, and well deserving, upon the account of our common religion ? Besides, as it appears from what I have said already, the beginning of this separation was before this Act of Parliament, when the forward Bishops requir'd subscription, without being impower'd by the law of the land.

But against this separation our Author, in the next place, produces the authority of Beza, whom upon good reason we highly esteem : but yet we declare, we pay not

not that deference to the judgment of any men, however learned and pious, as to suffer ourselves to be determin'd by it, in spite of the dictates of our own consciences. And indeed how should we come to any conclusion at all, if we were to judge after this rate ? For if *Beza* had been against us, there were other learned men who were on our side. But if the matter be thoroughly examin'd, our Adversaries will have no great reason to boast of *Beza*'s authority. He liv'd at a great distance, and did not know the temper of the Queen, or our Adversaries ; and therefore flatter'd himself with hopes, that a farther Reformation of religion would soon be made : and if, thro' his earnest desire of peace among us, any thing drop'd from him unadvisedly, allowance should be made for the goodness of his design. I am sure, if our Adversaries pay any regard to his authority, they must lay aside those things which we contend about, since he utterly disapprov'd them. That he thought meanly of our Reformation may appear from his own words : " When you say the Reformation in *England* was manag'd according to the advice and desire of *Bucer*, you very much wrong that good man—— Whence shall we better learn what *Bucer* most approv'd, and would have order'd, if he might, than from the Church at *Strasburg* ? — In the rites of that Church, where shall we meet with those odious stipulations, of which you boast, or Exorcism, or the sign of the Cross, or *Chrisim* ? " * If then *Beza* esteem'd the stipulations, prescrib'd in Baptism in our Common Prayer, to be odious ; if he thought *Bucer* wrong'd, when they were fater'd upon him ; how could he be consistent with himself in advising us to use them ? Can we think *things odious* are to be us'd in the worship of God, even when they are commanded by the civil magistrate ? But while he was too eagerly desirous of peace, he gave such advice, as possibly he would not, upon a fuller examination of the case. Thus *Peter Martyr* advis'd *Hooper* to submit to wearing the habits ; and yet afterwards was at least very doubtful what advice to give, if he did not give the quite contrary. " As to the habits, which are to be used, as holy, in public administrations,

“ Mr. Bullinger thinks, since they carry in them a resemblance of the Mass, and are mere relicks of Popery, you ought not to use them, lest your example should encourage that which is the cause of offence. As to my self, tho’ I always dislike the use of those ornaments ; yet, because I saw there was an immediate danger, lest you should be silenced, and there might be some hope, that as altars and Images are laid aside, so these resemblances of the Mass might be taken away also, if you and some others, accepting of Bishopricks, us’d your best endeavours to this purpose; which might be very much hinder’d by the promotion of such, who might not barely be indifferent, whether these relicks of Popery were abolish’d, but might encourage and defend them : I was the more backward in perswading you to refuse the Bishoprick, rather than submit to the using these habits ; but when I consider’d, that we are to avoid all manner of scandals of this sort, I easily fell in with Bullinger’s opinion. This is all I can say at present ; do you, for your part, take care to do nothing against your conscience.” * But let us hear what Beza says, concerning our controversy : “ Certainly, as to our selves, we would not take the function of the Ministry on this condition ; no, tho’ it was offer’d, much less seek it. Yet those, to whom the Lord this way hath open’d an entrance to propagate the glory of his kingdom, we exhort ; that they hold out strongly in the fear of the Lord, yet on this condition added : that they may holily and religiously discharge their intire Ministry ; and moreover, according to their office, propound and urge such matters, as tend to put these things into a better state. [But neither of these were the Ministers ever allow’d to do.] For otherwise, if this liberty be taken from them, [as it certainly and plainly was] and they are commanded after this manner to wink at a manifest abuse, so as even to approve of what, ’tis evident, wants to be amended ; what else may we advise, than that they chuse rather to live privately, than to cherish an evil against their

“ con-

* Letter to a Friend in Engl.

“ conscience, which, in a short time, will necessarily
“ draw with it the whole ruine of the Churches ? ” *
All impartial judges must grant these expressions of that
learned man are too mild and gentle ; for certainly when
such an evil is breaking in, as threatens the *whole ruine of*
the Churches, it must be the duty of Ministers, not sneak-
ingly to withdraw themselves, but to appear couragiouly
against it. A little farther in his Letter he has these words :
“ Altho’ we think, that civil and politic order is by no
“ means to be disapprov’d, whereby not only the orders
“ of citizens, but of offices are distinguish’d ; yet we
“ think every distinction is not to be approv’d. For what
“ if Ministers be commanded to wear such habits as Buf-
“ foons, or Stage players use ? Would it not be a manifest
“ mockery of the ecclesiastical function ? But in this case
“ we seem to be guilty of a worse evil ; because not only
“ hath the Lord render’d that priestly habit ridiculous to
“ many Papists themselves, but it appears polluted and
“ defiled with innumerable superstitions.” Hence there-
fore, as well as by several other passages of that Letter, it
appears, *Beza* was against our subscribing to those things,
which he thought we might bear with. But the state of
our controversy has been very much alter’d since that
time : no subscription was then requir’d by law, as it was
afterward. Farther, he calls the sign of the Cross, *a most*
execrable superstition : the putting of questions to infants
when baptiz’d, he says, is *needless and foolish* : kneeling
at the Sacrament he reckons among those *defilements*, which
ought to be *purg’d away* : Baptism administered by Mid-
wives, he says, is *intolerable* : and he declares, that *Minis-*
ters should earnestly reprove the retaining such an abuse ;
but by no means allow such false Baptism : and yet Archi-
bishop *Parker*, at that time, allow’d of it . Midwifery
being a spiritual imployment, the giving a licence for it
belong’d to him. Mr. *Strype* has given us the oath he
prescrib’d for such ; in which are these words : “ Alto,
“ that in the ministration of the sacrament of Baptism,
“ in the time of necessity, I will use apt and the ac-
“ custom’d words of the same Sacrament, that is to say,
“ these words following, or to the like effect : *I christen*
“ *thee in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy*

“ *Ghost* : and none other profane words. And that in
 “ such time of necessity, in baptizing any infant born,
 “ and pouring water upon the head of the same infant,
 “ I will use pure and clean water, and not any rose or
 “ damask water, or water made of any confection or
 “ mixture : and that I will certify the Curate of the pa-
 “ rish Church of every such baptizing.” * And yet
Grindal and *Horn* had the conscience to write *Bullinger*
 and *Walter* word, “ That they did by no means allow,
 “ that women might or ought to baptize children.” †
 Which I would have observ’d, as an instance of those
 unfair representations they made of the state of our af-
 fairs, in order to procure Letters against us from the Fo-
 reign Divines.

But let us hear *Beza*’s judgment of our Ecclesiastical Courts. This account of them, he tells us, had been given him : “ That excommunications and absolutions, “ in some Episcopal Courts in *England*, are executed, “ not according to the sentence of the Presbytery, (be- “ cause there is none there) nor according to the word “ of God ; but by the authority of some Lawyers, and “ such others ; yea sometimes, of some one man, and “ indeed for mere money causes, or matters civil ; and “ other things of that nature, as was wont to be done in “ Popery.” These things seem’d incredible to that learned man, which yet every one in *England* knows to be the practice continued among us to this very day. Of these things, if true, he thus gives his judgment : “ Tru- “ ly we think, that, by such judgments, a man is not “ any more bound before God, than by Papal excom- “ munications : and as much we wish this torturing “ mens consciences, and foul profanation of ecclesiastical “ and purely spiritual jurisdiction, were the very first op- “ portunity abolish’d by the Queen’s authority, as the “ corruptions of doctrine ; and that Presbyteries and “ Deaconries were set up, according to the Word of “ God, and the Canons of the pure Church. Which, “ unless it be done, we fear in truth, lest this be the be- “ ginning of many calamities ; which, however, I pray “ God avert. For it is certain, the Son of God will one
 “ day

* *Annals*, p. 502. † *Burn. Hist. Ref. Part III. Collect. Rec.* p. 343.

“ day severely revenge from heaven such manifest abuses,
 “ whereby consciences are disturb’d, unless some remedy
 “ be used. In the mean time, we think, what is not
 “ rightly done, is rightly born with, by those, who can-
 “ not alter the thing itself; but yet only thus far, that
 “ they approve not the thing itself, and use patience as a
 “ remedy against an unjust oppression. But if they be
 “ prest so far, as to be compell’d not only to bear this
 “ course, but to approve of this excommunication, as
 “ lawful, and by suing for unlawful absolution, mani-
 “ festly to assent to that abuse; we advise them rather
 “ to bear any thing, than act against their consciences.”

All these moderate and healing counsels of that good man were owing very much to his hopes, that a farther Reformation would be made by the Queen and her Bish-
ops; but he was sadly disappointed; and since that time, all things have grown worse and worse. But by the pas-
sages I have set down it appears, our Adversaries have no occasion to triumph, upon the account of that Letter.

Our Author next falls hard upon Mr. Cartwright. *But tho’ the separation was hinder’d then, it was begun some few years afterwards by Mr. Thomas Cartwright, a Divine of the University of Cambridge; being led on to these precipitate proceedings by a particular resentment of his own, which was occasion’d by the Queen’s commending Dr. Preston’s way of disputing before Cartwright’s, who was his Antagonist, in a public disputation before the Queen, when she came to see that University.* For that reverend person, by the sweetness of his voice, and the modesty of his behaviour, did extraordinarily please the Queen; while the other, by his natural haughtiness and roughness, seem’d to spoil the force of his arguments. This disgrace bore so hard upon his proud spirit, that he was resolv’d to leave the nation, and to take a journey to Geneva.*

When Dr. Fuller tells this story, he thus introduces it: *If my author may be believ’d.* † The author, he means, is the same Sir George Paul, cited by Dr. Nichols. He wrote rather a Panegyric upon Archbishop *Whitgift*, than a true account of his life: and because *Whitgift* was always a

bitter enemy to *Cartwright*, he endeavours to magnifie his hero by perpetually abusing his adversary. He says, " *Preston*, for his comely gesture, and pleasing pronunciation, was both liked, and rewarded by her Majesty ; but *Cartwright* receiv'd neither reward, nor commendation.— This, his no small grief, he utter'd unto divers of his intimate friends— That immediately after her Majesty's neglect of him, he began to wade into divers opinions, as that of the discipline, and to kick against her ecclesiastical government."

But Dr. *Fuller* here honestly adds : " But Mr. *Cartwright*'s followers (who lay the foundation of his disaffection to the discipline established, in his conscience, not carnal discontentment) credit not the relation : adding moreover, that the Queen did highly commend, tho' not reward him."

Now who most deserve credit, inveterate enemies, or friends ? Certainly, if we pay any regard to justice and equity, we must pass a more favourable sentence, than Sir *George Paul* does, upon *Cartwright* : for if his account were true, and *Cartwright* had no other cause of discontent ; Who can imagine, so very learned and good a man would plunge himself into so many troubles upon so slight an occasion ? Besides, 'tis not probable, that most politic Queen, who us'd her art to win the favour of the lowest of the people, would disoblige a learned man in the University, by denying him his deserv'd praise ; and especially at a time, when she was striving to ingratiate her self with the University in general. None of our Adversaries, who have any learning themselves, will deny, that *Cartwright* was a very learned man : nor does *Fuller* deny his being far superior to *Preston* in learning. But let us suppose, the Queen did not commend, nay, that she despis'd *Cartwright* ; Who can imagine he could be so exceedingly disturb'd upon such an account ? If he had been a Courtier indeed, there would be more of probability in the story ; but Academics, and especially such as have a natural haughtiness and roughness, dont use to make much account of the judgment of a woman, who should very much regard men for their comely behaviour ; which, *Fuller* assures us, was Queen *Elizabeth*'s manner. But if Mr. *Clark*, the writer of *Cartwright*'s life, is to be credited ; *Cartwright* did not go to Geneva at the time

pretended, nor 'till he was turn'd out of his Professorship : which shews this is a downright forgery. 'Tis certain, he was chosen the Lady *Margaret's* Professor, after the Queen had been at *Cambridge* : by which, as well as many things besides, it appears, how great a respect the University had for him : and if his mind had been disturb'd by his pretended disgrace ; no doubt the honour the University did him, in chusing him Professor, before he took his journey to *Geneva*, would have sufficiently pacified him. And if 'twas true, that Queen *Elizabeth* had no great opinion of *Cartwright's* learning, when she was at *Cambridge*, 'tis very probable (as I shall elsewhere shew) she was of another mind afterwards. But Mr. *Strype* has confuted this story, whose words I shall transcribe : " Reports have commonly been spread, that the cause of *Cartwright's* setting himself so openly against the Hierarchy, as he did soon after, was from a disgust he took at this time ; as tho' the Queen shewed more countenance to the other disputants, than to him. But by the *Relation* of the Queen's reception at *Cambridge* (now in the hands of a learned member of that University) there appears no clear ground for any such discontent. For the Queen is there said to have approv'd them all ; only that *Preston* pleas'd her most, and was made her Scholar, with the settlement of a yearly honorary salary on him. " *

But let us go on with the Doctor, and see what Mr. *Cartwright* did at *Geneva* : *Being there some time, to inform himself of the Calvinian doctrines, he soon after returns to England. And having then conceiv'd greater aversions to the English constitution, which before he had not the kindest thoughts of, he begins now openly to declaim against it.*

If he had not before the kindest thoughts of the English Constitution, they don't deserve much credit, who pretend he was led into the measures he took, by a particular resentment of his own. But of what doctrines could he be inform'd at *Geneva*, which he might not have been fully taught here at home ? The doctrine of the Church of *England*, at that time, did not vary an hair's breadth from that of *Geneva* : the Episcopal Clergy had then no

con-

controversy with the Divines of *Geneva*, about any doctrinal Articles : nor was there any such, between the friends of the Hierarchy and *Cartwright*, or any of the Puritans. I challenge them to produce any Episcopal approv'd writer, before Archbishop *Land*'s faction, who ever charg'd *Cartwright*, or any of the Puritans, with any error in doctrinal Matters. Let Bishop *Charleton* judge of this : " This uniformity, *says he*, of doctrine was held " in our Church, without disturbance, as long as those " worthy Bishops lived, who were employed in the Re- " formation : for albeit the *Puritans* disquieted our " Church about their conceived *discipline*, yet they ne- " ver moved any quarrel against the *doctrine* of our " Church ; which is well to be observed : for if they " had embraced any doctrine, which the Church of " *England* denied, they would assuredly have quarrell'd " about that, as well as they did about the *discipline*. " But it was then the open confession both of the Bish- " ops, and of the Puritans, that both parts embrac'd a " mutual consent in doctrine, only the difference was in " matter of Inconformity. Then hitherto there was no " Puritan doctrine known. " * In like manner speaks Dr. *Crackanthorp* : " You never saw in *England* a Pu- " ritan, that was an Heretic : there is no quarrel between " us and the Puritans concerning faith, or any doctrines " of faith : our Church and they contend about rites " and discipline, but we consent and agree in matters of " faith. " †

Mr. *Richard Hooker*, Bishop *Hall*, and a great many other Episcopal writers, are cited by Dr. *Edwards*, as all saying the same thing. Nay, Archbishop *Whitgift* was well inform'd in the same *Calvinian* doctrine with *Cartwright*, as appears by the *Lambeth Articles* ; and therefore we never find, that he twitted *Cartwright* with any doctrinal error of *Calvinism*. But on the contrary, I find these words of his cited from him : " To traduce *Calvin* " in pulpits, I can by no means like ; neither do I allow " the same towards *Augustine*, *Jerom*, and other learned " Fathers. " ‖

What

* Examination of the Appeal, p. 7, 8. † See Edw. Verit. Redux. p. 550;
¶ Ibid. p. 535.

What *Calvinian Divinity* could he then learn at *Geneva*? Nay, what could he learn there, that should put him upon doing any disservice to the Church of *England*? Who at *Geneva* was likely to exasperate him against the Church of *England*? *Calvin* was dead before this time. Who was there then at *Geneva* to instruct him, except it was *Beza*, who was the principal person both in their Church and University, after *Calvin's* death? And indeed there was always a very particular friendship between *Beza* and *Cartwright*, after they once became acquainted at *Geneva*: and *Beza* gave him this commendation, that he thought *the sun did not see a more learned man*. But what hurt could the Church receive from any instructions of *Beza*? For concerning him, our Author speaks thus honourably: *But that they might not run into the precipitate method of separation, they were hinder'd by a Letter of Mr. Theodorus Beza, that most eminent Divine of Geneva; who, as for his other eminent abilities, so particularly for this great act of charity, deserves commendation to all posterity.* The conversation therefore of such a man could never exasperate *Cartwright* against the Church. One would think, our Adversaries were about to tell us, that *Beza* wrote inconsiderately at first; and that afterwards, when *Cartwright* had better inform'd him of the state of our controversy, he chang'd his mind, and thereupon stirr'd him up to make a vigorous opposition against the Church.

He publicly casts out his reflections upon the order of Bishops, the Liturgy and the Surplice, in his sermons which he preach'd. Without all doubt, it was very commendable in *Cartwright*, that he found fault in his sermons with those things, which were amiss in our Reformation. And why should it not be as lawful to do so in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, as in that of King *Henry*, her Father? Unless the corruptions, that are crept into the worship of God, be laid open and expos'd in the sermons and writings of learned men, whence can we expect a removal of them? Some of the Foreign Divines advis'd the dissatisfied Ministers, at that time, to submit to the use of the habits; but not one of them ever attempted to perswade them to abstain from speaking against them: on the contrary, they exhorted them to use their utmost endeavours, publicly and privately, to get them abolish'd. And therefore I can see no reason, why *Cartwright*, or any

any other Ministers, should be blam'd for discharging a good conscience in that respect.

Dr. Whitgift, who was Master of the same College, answer'd from the pulpit his sermons constantly, as he preach'd them, with very great strength of argument. If he did, he preach'd with a great deal more strength of argument, than he was ever able to write ; as any one must acknowledge, who will be at the pains of looking into the printed controversy. But I had rather Dr. *Fuller*, a man of *Whitgift's* own side, should give judgment between him and his adversary : “ The result, says he, of the difference betwixt them is this ; that (leaving the controversy itself to the judgment of others) if *Cartwright* had the better of it in his learning, *Whitgift* had the advantage in his temper ; and which is the main, he had more power to back, if fewer people to follow him.

He frequently invited him likewise to debate the same matters in a public conference ; which he as often declining, and shewing an unwillingness to make any recantation of his doctrine, he expels him out of Trinity College, where he was Fellow. And the same year, being Vice Chancellor of the University, he, for the same reasons, procures his ejection out of the Margaret Professor's place, which he enjoy'd. It does not appear to be true, that *Cartwright* was ever invited to a public conference ; but on the contrary, * when he himself desir'd they might have one, he was bid to obtain the Queen's license for it ; without which such a conference could not be held, according to law. And by the pretty large account which Mr. *Strype* has given of this matter, it appears, that *Cartwright* and *Whitgift* had frequently conferr'd about these matters ; but there is not the least hint, that ever Mr. *Cartwright* was invited to, or declin'd a public conference.

After I had written this, I met with such passages, as fully clear this matter, and confirm what I have said : that *Whitgift* never challeng'd *Cartwright* ; but *Cartwright* him, to a public conference. Thus *Cartwright* says, 'twas untrue, that he refus'd his conference : “ For beside that I answer'd, that it was meet that the doctrine, which I had openly taught, should be defended openly ; and beside

* See Full. Hist. Cambr. p. 142.

“ beside that also I went to two of the University Doctors, to be conferr'd with ; I offer'd my self to his private conference : which altho' he had promis'd ; yet under pretence that I was (as he said) incorrigible, he would not perform. The truth is, he offer'd private conference by writing, but having before experience of his unfaithfulness many ways, I refus'd it.” *

Whitgift insists upon no more than what *Cartwright* owns, and sufficiently hints, he avoided a public conference without the magistrates leave : “ I have, says he, sundry times, both privately and publicly, as I am able to prove by sufficient testimonies, and you cannot deny, offer'd you conference by writing of these matters ; I have earnestly moved you to it, and you have always refus'd it — — Howbeit, I refuse no way, that shall be thought convenient to the magistrate.” †

I cannot here but take notice, how very differently Secretary *Cecyl* speaks of *Cartwright*, from what our Adversaries commonly do. “ What mind, says he, *Cartwright* had in the moving of these matters, by himself in communication, I perceive the same not to be much reprehended ; being, as it seemeth, not of any arrogancy, or intention to move troubles ; but as a reader of the Scripture, to give notes, by way of comparison, between the order of the Ministry in the times of the Apostles, and the present times now in this Church of England. ||

The Secretary, who was the Chancellor of *Cambridge*, in the same Letter order'd, the dispute should be stop'd for the present on both sides ; letting them know, that *Cartwright* had agreed to it. But the forward Gentlemen of the University outrun their Chancellor, and instead of forbearing disputes expell'd *Cartwright*.

When *Cartwright* openly declar'd his mind in certain propositions, he subscrib'd this sentence to them : “ Every one ought to endeavour a Reformation of these things according to his station. When I say, according to his station, I mean, that a Magistrate by his authority, a Minister by his preaching, and all by their prayers should farther it.” And this being his principle, he could not be blam'd that he endeavour'd in his own station,

tion, as a Minister, to promote the reformation he propos'd. And especially, since I find, by a Letter of Bishop *Grindal*, he added this caution : " That whatever was done in this cause, must be done without tumult or sedition." * That Letter of *Grindal* leads me to remark these two things farther out of it.

1. That *Cartwright* was in a very great esteem at that time in the University. He says : " The youth of the University, which is at this time very toward in learning, doth frequent his Lectures in great numbers." This may raise a suspicion, that one great cause of the rigidnes of some in the University, who oppos'd him, was owing to their envy at his great reputation. Was there nothing of this, do we think, in *Whitgift*'s changing his mind ? that he, who a few years before, join'd with some others in a Letter, wherein they desire the habits might not be impos'd in the University ; " because there was a multitude of pious and learned men, who thought in their consciences, all using of such garments was unlawful for them ; so that by the imposition thereof they must be compell'd to depart, and the University would then be left destitute : — declaring, that as far as they were able to judge, the not laying this burden upon them (especially in the present circumstances of the University) was not likely to be attended with any hazard or inconvenience : " * that he, I say, should now be so eager in proceeding against *Cartwright* for these things ?

2. I can't but here observe, how dangerous 'tis for men to strain their consciences, and how easily they then run farther than themselves design'd. *Grindal* was displeas'd that our Reformation was not more perfect, and was of that sort of Bishops, who *promis'd not to urge their Brethren in these things* : and yet upon this occasion he wrote a virulent Letter to Secretary *Cecyl*, to stir him up to persecute *Cartwright* and his friends ; and complain'd of the University, as too backward in this affair. And this he seems to have done very officiously, when he had no manner of occasion for it.

After this he runs throughout all the nation, bitterly inveighing, in his sermons, against the establish'd Church ; and whomsoever he could find to have conceiv'd any dislike against the

the ecclesiastical constitution, he never left them till he had made them sworn enemies against the English Hierarchy. 'This is a device, I suppose, of our Author's; at least he neither mentions, nor do I remember, what authority he has for it. But there is a strange inclination in men, to asperse such, as they have already injur'd. I can't but here take notice of the baseness and inhumanity of *Whitgift* towards him; who, after he had turn'd him out of his Professorship and Fellowship, talks to him after this rate: " What commodities you want, that I have, I cannot conjecture: your meat and drink is provided with less trouble and charges unto you, and in more delicate and dainty manner, than mine is: your ease and pleasure ten times more; you do what you list, go when you list, come when you list, speak when you list, at your pleasure. What would you have more? I know not why you should complain, except you be of the same disposition with the *Franciscan* Friars; who when they have fill'd their bellies at other mens tables, were wont to cry out and say: *How many things are we forc'd to endure?* Some men are delighted to be fed at other mens tables, and prefer popular fame before gold and silver."* Let not any think so hard of this man, as that he spake out of envy, grieving that Mr. *Cartwright*, when he was turn'd out, should meet with any kindness in the world: without doubt, he design'd hereby to set forth his own great courtesy, and readines to do his adversary a kind office; and purely for *Cartwright*'s ease, and to make his life the more pleasant, he turn'd him out. If *Whitgift* truly thought the loosing preferments was such an advantage, and did not write these things with a base hypocrisy, why was he himself so greedy of preferments? Much such another passage we meet with elsewhere: " But I muse, with what face you can seek to *deface* true Pastors, that do good in the Church, though not so much as you think they should do; seeing you your self, and a number more, do no good at all in any place; but only range up and down, live at other mens tables, disturb the Church, and think that you have done your duties, when you have defac'd other mens doings. I am verily persuaded that he which preacheth at his own Cure but

" one

“ one sermon in a year, offendeth God less, than you do, “ that have forsaken your calling.” * This is the profound reasoning of this mighty disputant: He is for putting a gag in a man’s mouth, and then is angry he does not talk. *Cartwright* no otherwise forsook his calling, than as a man forsakes his money, when he meets with a highway man; because he can’t keep it.

This year the two Archbishops were busy in persecuting the chief of the Puritan Ministers. Eight of them were singled out by them, as objects of their fury, to be depriv’d, if they refus’d Conformity. † *Lever* now resign’d his Prebend, and what was done to the rest is uncertain. ‖

Besides the eight mention’d before, Mr. *Strype* places the troubles of two other Ministers this year; Mr. *Edward Deringe*, and Mr. *Robert Johnson*. The former of these was a younger Brother of a good family, and a man of a bold and courageous spirit, and extraordinary pious. He wrote a Defence of Bishop *Jewel* against *Harding*. He preach’d sometimes before the Queen, who was much offended with him, and forbad his preaching in her dominions, as I find by his Letters. He was a strict Puritan, and the Bishops fell severely upon him; and more particularly the Archbishop of *Canterbury* us'd him very roughly, as indeed he was a grievous persecuter. Mr. *Strype* cites some Articles he subscrib'd before the Abp. and the other Commissioners. One of them was: He did not believe that Christ, either in body or soul, went down to the damned. Another: That the garments, justly term'd Popish, were full of offence ‡. But in another book I find more of their proceedings against him *. Twenty Articles or questions were propounded to him, and he requir'd to give his answer to them in writing, as he did: some of them, about state matters, seem to be design'd to ensnare him: others were to draw him in, either to approve or condemn the corruptions then in vogue. And I cannot but much wonder particularly at the 14th which is: “ Whether any ecclesiastical person, may have more ecclesiastical livings than one, or not? ” What could these Commissioners design by putting this question? Did they imagine ’twould be a crime to speak against pluralities, which the Papists blush at?

* Defence, p. 241. † Grindal’s Life, p. 170. ‖ Parker’s Life, p. 325;
Ibid. p. 326. ‡ Part of a Register, p. 71,

at? In general all those Articles seem to be put to wreck his conscience, and get somewhat out of him, to make him an offender by his own confession. For my part, when I consider the abominable tyranny of all such proceedings, and the barbarous wickedness of sifting the secrets of mens hearts, about matters, of which perhaps they never spake any thing before; I heartily bleſſ my God, that he did not cast my lot in such days, but reserv'd me for times of more equity and freedom.

They requir'd him also to subscribe to four other Articles, which, I suppose, were generally insisted upon with all, at this time; and therefore I shall set them down.

1. "I acknowledge the Book of Articles (agreed upon by the Clergy, in a Synod, 1563, and confirm'd by the Queen's Majesty) to be sound, and according to the Word of God."

He refus'd to subscribe this Article, excepting against the Article concerning the consecration of Bishops and Archbishops. And by what he says of it, one would think, they urg'd a subscription upon others beside Ministers. "To what purpose, *says he*, is this Article put in? Or what reason is there to make all, both men and women, subscribe unto it?— Let him allow it, that hath profit by it: and he that liketh it not, let him have no Bishoprick." He excepted likewise against the Article concerning the *Homilies*.

2. "The Queen's Majesty is the chief Governour, next under Christ, of this Church of *England*, as well in ecclesiastical, as civil causes."

Of this he says: "The second Article I freely acknowledge."

3. "I acknowledge, that in the Book of Common Prayer is nothing evil, or repugnant to the Word of God; but that it may be well us'd in this our Christian Church of *Eng'land*."

Several things hinder'd him from subscribing to this, some of which he mentions. I will set down one, it being evidently a falsehood, and accordingly the Church has now alter'd it; but that alone, while it remain'd, was enough to convince them of unconscionableness in requiring a subscription to it. These then are his words: "On Christmas Day we say: *Thou hast given us thy Son, this day, to be born of a Virgin.* The same words we use

“ all the week after ; as if Christ on every day had been born anew. If we will say, this is but a trifle ; the lighter you make of it, the lother I am to write, that it is according to the Word of God, or agreeing with it.”

4. “ I acknowledge, that as the public preaching of the word, in this Church of *England*, is sound and sincere ; so the public order, in the ministratior of the Sacraments, is consonant to the Word of God.”

There is a pleasantness in his exceptions to this Article, but yet such a strength, that I defy all his adversaries to answer him. “ For the first part, *says he*, that all preaching in *England* is sound and sincere, how can I tell, when I hear not all Preachers ? And sometimes those, that I do hear, preach neither sincere, nor soberly : but this is the fault of man ; for liberty in this behalf (God be thanked) we have it ; and I humbly confess, the Preachers of this Church may preach the truth with boldness.”

Against the second part of the Article, the administration of Sacraments, he objects the order for women to baptize, the questions and Cross in Baptism, and lastly he says : “ The Wafer-cake, in many Churches, is thought intolerable ; and our own Act of Parliament, for avoiding of superstition, hath appointed other bread : And what then, if I should mislike of it ? ” He adds : “ Another cause why I cannot simply subscribe : In this Article and the first are direct contraries. In the first Article I must subscribe to all the Homilies ; in this to all the ceremonies ; and yet our own Homilies condemn many of our ceremonies. ” Here he alledges the words of the Book of *Homilies* : “ That the costly and manifold furniture of vestments, lately used in the Church, is *Jewish*, and maketh us the more willingly (in such apparel of Christians) to become *Jewish*.— In another Homily 'tis said of piping, singing, chaunting, playing upon Organs, &c. that they greatly displease God, and filthily defile his holy Church.”

This good man could not subscribe contradictions : but the sticking at that being a piece of needless preciseness, the Bishops thought fit to persecute him.

The other person, mention'd by Mr. *Strype*, is Mr. *Robert Johnson*, 'Domestic Chaplain to the Lord Keeper *Bacon* ; who, when he was requir'd to subscribe, refus'd, and

and was suspended. Mr. *Strype* represents him as a false accuser of the Provost of his College; and as afterwards, in the year 1609, reviling the Puritans in a Sermon he preach'd and printed. But there seems to have been two persons of that name: for I find this remark added, at the end of an account of his trial at *Westminster Hall*, 20 Febr. 1573: that he died a prisoner in the *Gatehouse* at *Westminster*, very shortly after, being in great necessity. He was tried for marrying without the Ring, which he says he did for some time; but upon a complaint made against him, he took up the use of it again. Another part of his indictment was, that he omitted the sign of the Cross. To which he answers, owning, he had indeed done so: "But, *says he*, not upon contempt; but "seeing that I have already sustain'd seven weeks im- "prisonment, with the loss of my place and living, I "beseech you be indifferent judges, whether this be not "a sufficient punishment for so small a trespass." But his chief crime was, that there happening to be too little Wine, when he was administering the Sacrament, he sent for more, and reckon'd his first consecration was sufficient for what was afterward applied to the same use. The thing is disputable, whether he did well or no; but sure he deserv'd not to be indicted for it, and to be treated on his trial with so much bitterness, as he was, by the Bishop of *London*, Dr. *Sandys*, and other ecclesiastical persons.

Dr. *Nichols*, in the next place, gives us an account of *The Admonition to the Parliament*, of which he makes

MDLXXII.

Mr. *Cartwright* the author. By the Book it self it appears, several were concern'd in it; but it does not appear *Cartwright* was one of them, and Mr. *Clark* denies it. The Doctor says: *It was a Pamphlet fill'd with abominable reproaches upon the Biskops, and with extraordinary encomiums upon Mr. Calvin's platform of Church discipline: which government he desires may be by law establiſh'd.** The stile of the *Admonition* was indeed somewhat sharp and severe; but then it must be consider'd, what provocation had been given before. The Biskops had, for five or six years, (as it is hinted in the Preface to the first Part)

H 2

been

been persecuting poor Ministers for discharging their consciences ; and let the expressions us'd be ever so hard, yet they are nothing, if compar'd with what the Ministers had endur'd : and beides, the corruptions they spake against were so very great, that some severity in expos'g them was no more than they deserv'd : and the Bishops themselves had set them an example, having before used them with the coarsest language, as I have already shewn from a Treatise publish'd by their direction, and compos'd, as Mr. St. ype thinks, by Archbishop Parker himself. But however, it is not decent in the Doctor to object against such a stile ; when he has himself pleaded in defence of the use of it. Let him but imagine the writers on our side to assume his words, and he will not be able to deny them to be a sufficient vindication : " There remains one thing, which we would desire of our Brethren, *viz.* That whatever we have already said, or shall hereafter say, with freedom, they would not think we are led thereunto by ill nature, or any malicious design against them : for we do most solemnly assure them, that we do not bring against them the hand of an enemy, but that of a physician ; and that we have not touch'd these wounds of the Church to the quick, with any other view, but only for fear that not being well healed, they should again break out." Which Apology I desire may be accepted, with reference to all the freedom I make use of, thro' this my Answer to the Doctor. I can't tell, why he should be offended with the authors of the *Admonition*, for their extraordinary encomiums of that *platform*, which, they were perswaded, was agreeable to the Scriptures. 'Tis very true, as the Doctor observes : The authors of the *Admonition* desir'd, the government they describ'd might be by law establish'd. This, I think, was the greatest fault in the Book, or in any of the attempts they made. With unanswerable evidence they expos'd the corruptions of the Establish'd ecclesiastical Government, and particularly the persecution and tyranny, by which it was upheld. But I fear, could they have obtain'd their desire of the Parliament, the *platform* they propos'd must have been establish'd by some persecuting laws ; which I can never find Christ appointed his Ministers to make use of, in the advancement of his kingdom. Their discipline, had it been establish'd, would, I doubt not, have been more serviceable to religion,

gion, and less tyrannical than the Episcopal scheme ; but that it would have been settled upon a right foot, I cannot believe : for I think, all compulsion, and all enforcing of ecclesiastical discipline, by civil penalties, is quite contrary to the spirit of Christianity.

But the Parliament gave this arrogant Petition such a treatment, as it deserve'd ; and that they might not be troubled with such insolent Addresses any more, they order the introducers of it to be taken into custody.

Our enemies are commonly very partial in their judgments : they will not pass the same sentence upon those, who oppos'd the superstitious corruptions in King Henry's time : and why was it not as lawful to oppose those in Queen Elizabeth's ? They did not like the severe proceedings against their own Bishops, in King Jam.s the Second's reign, for addressing their Prince : and why should they be offended with what was done by the Puritans, who appeal'd to the highest Court of Parliament, from the lower of the Bishops and Commissioners ; because they found no equity at their hands, as they express themselves ? I cannot think our Adversaries are conscient with themselves. If persecution is lawful and commendable, why do they disclaim it, and pretend 'tis contrary to their principles ? If it be unlawful, why do they commend the persecuting practices of their predecessors ?

*But this severity was so far from giving a check to the fierceness of their spirits ; that it did the rather irritate them, and was the occasion of their presenting A second Admonition to the Parliament : and in this they do not bespeak their favour, as in the first, by int. eaties ; but they perfectly insult them by threats and reprovaches : they plainly tell them, " That the State did not shew itself upright, alledge " the Parliament what it will, &c. " This is not a fair citation. I will set down the passage a little more largely ; by which the reader will see, the Doctor has chang'd a conditional expression to an absolute one : " The mat-
ters, say they, contain'd in the Admonition, how true
soever they be, have found small favour : the persons,
that are thought to have made them, are laid in no
worse prison than Newgate : the men that set upon
them are no worse than the Bishops : the name, that
goeth of them, is no better than rebels ; and great
words there are, that their danger will yet prove great-
er. Well, whatsoever is said or done against them,*

“ or whosoever speak or work against them, that is
 “ not the matter ; but the equity of their cause is the
 “ matter : and yet this I will say, *That the state sheweth*
 “ *not itself upright, if it suffer them to be molested for*
 “ *that, which was spoken only by way of Admonition to the*
 “ *Parliament : which was to consider of any such Ad-*
 “ *monition, and to receive it, or reject it, without*
 “ *farther matter to the authors ; except it contain'd some*
 “ *wilful maintenance of manifest rebellion, or treason,*
 “ *which it cannot be prov'd to do.*” The two next
 passages are in like manner express'd in the Book itself :
 ‘That in case the Parliament did not deal justly and righte-
 ously, and especially in such a cause as this, the forest
 vengeance was to be expected. And as to the last ex-
 pression, take it even in the Doctor's words, I can't
 imagine how any man can find fault with it.

In these *Admonitions* were printed Letters from *Beza*,
 and *Gualter*, in our favour ; which Mr. *Stripe* represents
 as obtain'd by false reports ; but is so prudent, as not to
 mention wherein their reports were false. * And indeed,
 'twould have been strange, if the Ministers should have
 had any occasion to amuse those Divines with false re-
 ports of the Bishops, and their persecution, when the
 plain truth was too bad in all conscience.

These *Admonitions* begat a new controverfy between
Cartwright and *Whitgift*. The latter pretended to answer
 them ; whereupon the Ministers consulted about an An-
 swer ; and *Cartwright*, by lot, was appointed to under-
 take it. His Answer came out very soon, and was com-
 mended by such as were adversaries to the cause he
 pleaded. Hereupon *Whitgift* wrote a *Defence* of his *An-
 swer*. And in that, as a compleat intire victory, not
 only Dr. *Heylyn* triumphs, pretending *Cartwright* never
 dar'd to write again † ; but Dr. *Fuller*, a more moderate
 writer, spends many conjectures upon the reason of his
 silence : || whereas he really answer'd him largely, in two
 considerable Volumes ; the former printed in 1575, the
 other in 1577. And which is strange, both these Doc-
 tors cite *Cartwright*'s last Answer ; *Fuller* in the Page
 before and *Heylyn* about three Pages after, they give this
 account.

This

This year the Parliament sat, and the House of Commons took the state of religion into consideration ; and brought in two Bills, relating to that affair. One was concerning *Rites and Ceremonies*. " In one of these Bills several of the xxxix Articles were rejected, and complaint seems to have been made of the indicting, and hard usage of many godly Preachers, when, on the other hand, Papists had encouragement.* When some of the Members confer'd with the Abp. he signified his dislike, because the ordinary course of redressing matters amiss did properly belong to the Bishops in Convocation." But what a miserable case must our poor nation be in after this rate ? The Convocation is seldom at leisure to reform any thing amiss ; and must the Parliament be so complaisant as to wait till they are willing ? But why might not the Parliament undertake this matter ? All the laws about religion were of their making : and if they found any mischief and inconvenience follow'd any of them, was it not their business to alter them ? Farther, when the Abp. ask'd them ; Why they left out the Articles concerning the *Homilies*, the *Consecration of Bishops*, and some others : and was answered ; Because they had not time to examine how they agreed with the Word of God : the Abp. replied ; *Surely you mistook the matter. You will refer your selves wholly to us therein.* Mr. Strype is offended at the Answer made to this of the Abp. : That they would pass nothing, before they understood what it was : that to do so would be to make them *Popes*. But is not the thing plain ? What can any *Pope* in the world do more, than require an implicit faith, and persecute men for want of it ? Here was now a fair opportunity for the Bishops to have attempted a Reformation, according as they had promis'd ; but they were warm in their nests, and neither regarded the consciences, nor sufferings of their Brethren. And 'tis not unlikely they might have a hand in putting a stop to these good proceedings of the Parliament. For the Queen, according to her arbitrary manner, sent and forbad their meddling with these matters. So that our Reformation, after all the boastings about it, was mostly model'd according to the pleasure of a woman ; of whose character for religion I have had occasion to say somewhat already.

Mr. Strype's account of the state of religion at this time is very remarkable: "The Churchmen heap'd up many Benefices upon themselves, and resided upon none, neglecting their Cures; many of them alienated their lands, made unreasonable leases, and wastes of their woods; granted reverions and advowsons to their wives and children, or to others for their use. Churches ran greatly into dilapidations and decays; and were kept nasty, and filthy, and undecent for God's worship. Among the laity there was little devotion. The Lord's Day greatly profan'd, and little observ'd. The common prayers not frequented. Some lived without any service of God at all. Many were mere heathens and atheists. The Queen's own court an harbour for *Epicures* and *atheists*, and a kind of lawleſs place, because it stood in no parish." * I do not wonder therefore, if such good men as the Puritans were, suffer'd grievously at the hands of such an ungodly generation.

This year the persecution was hotter
 MDLXXIII. against the Puritans, than ever it had been before. Several eminent Ministers were brought before the Council, and several before the Ecclesiastical Commission. By the Articles propounded to some of them, they were examin'd: Whether the Book of Service was good and godly, *every tittle* grounded on Holy Scripture? Whether the xxxix Articles were agreeable to the Word of God, or not? Whether we must of necessity follow the primitive Church in such things, as are used and establish'd, or not? And whether all Ministers should be equal? And surely they had a wonderful opinion of their *Service Book*, that there was not *a tittle* amiss in it. One would think they should have left this honour to the Holy Scriptures, and only to the originals of them. But what will not a persecuting spirit hurry men to? Against one of the persecuted Ministers, Mr. Deringe, 'twas objected: That he spake against the descent of Christ into hell; against Ministers who did not preach; and for the right of people to elect their Ministers. Several of the Ministers were cast into prison, and so inhuman were the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, that they made an inquiry who were the persons, who visited them in their affliction; tho' the comfort

fort of their friends visits does not use to be denied to thieves, murderers, and such like vile malefactors. Several of the Ministers were threaten'd with banishment, unless they would agree to their religion. The Archbishop prompted the Privy Council and the Queen to severity against them. And two severe Proclamations were publish'd against the Puritans, and one of them particularly against their Books. For notwithstanding *Whitgift's* endeavours, this course was thought the most effectual confutation. The violence and fury of the Bishops did but render them odious, and the Ministers the more belov'd in the city. This greatly mov'd their envy and malice, insomuch that *Sands*, Bp. of *London*, advis'd : " That the chief authors of this sedition [as he was pleas'd to call it] who were now esteem'd as gods, should be remov'd far from the city. If these idols, said he, who are honour'd for saints, and greatly enrich'd with gifts, were remov'd from hence, their honour would fall into the dust; they would be taken for blocks, as they are." *

This was fine language from a Bishop concerning his Brethren, for whom he once profess'd a great esteem. Afterwards he cries out to the Lord Treasurer, and other Lords, to put to their helping hand; telling them, that as for himself, " He was too weak: yea if all of his calling were join'd together, they were too weak: their estimation was little, their authority les: they were become contemptible in the eyes of the basest sort of people. And may that always be the reward of persecutors.

Mr. *Dering*, a Minister who had a Lecture at *Paul's*, † was forbid reading there; but he procur'd a Letter from the Council to restore him, as he told the Bp. of *London*. Mr. *Strype* says the Council gave him no Letters, and so in effect charges him with a falsehood. But he has been so kind as fully to clear him within a few Pages after, by an attestation under the hands of the Abp. and Bp. of *London*: " We have sent unto you certain Articles, taken out of *Cartwright's* Book by the Council, propounded unto *Dering*, with his Answers to the same; and also a Copy of the Council's Letter, writ to Mr. *Dering*, to restore him to his former reading and preaching, his answer notwithstanding, our advices never requir'd thereunto. These pro-

“ proceedings puff them up with pride, make the people
“ hate us, and magnify them with great triumphings.”*

I shall now return to Dr. Nichols, and consider what he says concerning this year. And the first thing he complains of is: *That Cartwright, joining with him some of his Puritan friends, openly begins a separation from the Establisht'd Church. And now under his direction a Puritanical Class is set up at Wandsworth, near London; and others were erected at Northampton, Daventry and Kettering in Northamptonshire; and several others in Warwickshire, Suffolk, and in other counties of the kingdom.*

The Puritans had long made their complaints and testified against the establish'd corruptions, and pleaded for a more thorough Reformation; and if, upon finding there was no hope they should persuade the government to undertake the work, they made an attempt themselves, who can blame them? Our Author, in his *Latin Treatise*, taxes this with Schism. And we can freely return him his complement; being well assur'd, that to separate from Schismatics is no Schism; and especially when they turn furious persecutors. If the Puritans were in any fault in this matter, it should rather seem to me to be, that they were so backward to leave those men, who were very forward and zealous to drive them out. The Church pretends once a year to make a complaint of her want of *a godly discipline*. And where was the hurt, if these men attempted to set up such an one?

Those Ministers of the separation, who had no Benefices, kept Conventicles in private houses, or in the fields. And therein they imitated the primitive Christians, as our Adversaries do their persecutors, who express'd their contempt of their assemblies, by bestowing the same name of Conventicles upon them. Others who were the parish Ministers, reserv'd the office of preaching to themselves; but for reading the Common Prayer, they hired some sorry person, of the meanest of the laity, to perform it. Mr. Snape, Minister at Warwick, a great Puritan of that time, and Mr. Cartwright's particular confident, did transgress all rules of modesty in this particular, and hired a lame old Soldier to be his Reader. It is not fair from a single instance, if true, to advance a general charge; as our Author here does, against a whole party. What

Mr.

Mr. *Snape* did might be no common practice. But the case is this: In the Foreign Churches, as likewise in some of the Conformists Churches, 'tis common for the Clerk to read the Scriptures. This is all I can guesl was done by the Soldier, ordinarily in the assembly; nor can it be thought to be done out of contempt: unless it be imagin'd, that Mr. *Snape* design'd to treat the Holy Scriptures with contempt; which I never heard any one pretend to charge upon the Puritans. There is not the least mention made by our Author's voucher, of the Soldier's reading any part of the ordinary service of the Liturgy. He was order'd indeed to read the *Office for Matrimony*, but that was not to contemn it; but because *Snape* held, "That duty to "appertain no more to the Minister's office, than to any "other man." But what greater evil was there in *Snape*'s employing a Soldier, had it been to do all our Author suggets; than there was in Bishop *Aylmer*'s ordaining his old Porter, and not only allowing him to read the Church service, but bestowing a living upon him also?

The Puritans having set upon this work, and being more afraid of the Bishops temporal power than their arguments, acted, as our Author suggets, with a great deal of privacy; which all, who are impartial, must own to have been prudently done by them.

After this they proceed with all the solemnity of a legal council, making Canons and injunctions, to be observ'd by all their followers. If our Author had set down what these Canons and injunctions were, every one would have been able to discern, that they are not like those of 1603, which denounce a great many excommunications against persons, who are far from deserving them. Indeed their Canons (as our Author calls them) are no other, but the resolutions they form'd concerning their duty, upon the most serious deliberation. They did not pretend to make any thing a sin or duty, which the Scripture did not make so. *Supported by this authority, the Puritan Ministers take upon them, judicially to animadvert upon any faults, committed by any of their Congregation, and to excommunicate and forbid the use of the sacraments and publick worship.* The authority by which they were supported, was that which Christ has given to his Ministers, whom he has plac'd as rulers in his Church; which is an authority much better, than the civil magistrate is able to bestow. And one would think, here could be nothing, that any man should be able

able to look upon as criminal. Our Author supposes persons to be really guilty of *faults*; and why should not their *faults be animadverted upon* according to their desert? This certainly is just matter of praise, rather than reproach. And 'twould have much better become our Author, to have lamented the utter loss of discipline in his own Church; than to upbraid the Puritans with reviving and restoring it among themselves.

MDLXXV. The persecution of the Puritans still went on, tho' their great enemy, *Archbishop Parker*, was dead. *Grindal*, his successor, had too much a hand in giving them disturbance, and stirring up the Queen's anger against them; while they endeavour'd to discharge their duty with a good conscience. And now this year he had a

tast of that hard usage himself, which his Brethren had met with from him: for he fell very much into the Queen's displeasure, upon the account of his encouraging a sort of exercises, which were then call'd *Prophecyings*. Of these I shall here give a short account. The first mention I find of them is in the year 1571: " When " they were set up at *Northampton*, with the consent " of *Scambler*, the Bishop of the Diocese, the Mayor " and his Brethren, and other the Queen's Justices of " the peace within that county and town. In these " exercises, certain of the Ministers, who were appoint- " ed, (discoursing orderly one after another) handled " some Text (given, as it seems, by the Bishop) open- " ing the same briefly and plainly to the people. The " first, that spake, began and ended with Prayer: His " province was to explain the Text he read, and to con- " fute any false and unsound expositions thereof: then " to give the comfort to the audience, that the place " ministred just occasion of. He, or they, who spake " after, had liberty to touch at what the first speaker " omitted: the exercise not to exceed two hours: one " of the moderators always to make the conclusion. Af- " ter the exercise was ended, the President call'd the " Brethren to him, and requir'd their judgment, con- " cerning the exposition of the Scripture, that had been " given: and if any matter had been untouch'd, then " to be declar'd: and if any of the speakers were in- " fam'd, or convicted of any grievous crime, he was " then and there reprehended. After the consultation,

" any

“ any of the Brethren might propound their doubts, to
“ have them satisfied the next exercise. The consulta-
“ tion was ended with a short exhortation, to move each
“ one to go forward in his holy office, to apply his
“ study, and to increase in godliness. Then the next
“ speaker was nominated publicly, and the Text he
“ should expound, read.” * The usefulness of these ex-
ercises was very great. Slothful Ministers were shamed
out of their idleness: the elder Ministers were made more
solicitous to excel in knowledge and virtue, as well as
in age: the younger were, by good counsels and examples,
taught to instruct their respective congregations. And in
short, they were all the better for their mutual helps.

These exercises were set up in *Norfolk*, and several other places; but Archbishop *Parker* was very much offended at them, and sent his Archiepiscopal commands to the Bishops to suppress them. But when the Privy Council, on the other hand, wrote in their favour, *Parker* made his application to the Queen, and got her order for the suppressing of them; and then triumph'd over the Bishop of *Norwich* in his great achievement.

The opposition *Parker* made against these exercises, was really unaccountable; for there was nothing then done in them, that in the least interfered with his darling Conformity. But that dislike, to which he wrought the Queen of these exercises, never wore off. When *Grindal* succeeded, and complaints were made of some abuses in these exercises, he drew up orders for reforming them. But he might have sav'd himself the trouble:
“ For the Queen did not like, the laity should neglect
“ their secular affairs, by repairing to these meetings:
“ which she thought also might fill their heads with no-
“ tions, and so occasion dissentions, and unquiet dis-
“ putes; and, it may be, seditions in the state. And
“ the Archbishop being at court, she particularly de-
“ clar'd herself offended at the numbers of Preachers, as
“ well as at the exercises, and warn'd him to redress
“ both: urging, that it was good for the Church to
“ have few Preachers, and that three or four might
“ suffice for a county; and that the reading of the Ho-
“ milies to the people was enough. The speeches she
“ used

“ used to him were somewhat sharp ; and she was very
 “ resolute to have no more exercises of this sort, and
 “ cared not for any great encrease of Preachers ; but
 “ that the licenses for preaching should be more sparingly
 “ granted out ; and she expected the Archbishop should
 “ give especial orders for both.” * Upon this occasion,
Grindal wrote her a very modest and humble, but a most
 convincing and moving Letter ; † wherein he vindicated
 these exercises, and shew’d the great advantage of them,
 both to religion and the civil government : and he adds
 this frank and noble declaration : “ And as for my own
 “ part, because I am very well assur’d, both by reasons
 “ and arguments taken out of the Holy Scriptures, and
 “ by experience (the most certain seal of sure know-
 ledge) that the said exercises, for the interpretation
 “ and exposition of the Scriptures, and for exhortation
 “ and comfort drawn out of the same, are both pro-
 fitable to increase knowledge among the Ministers, and
 “ tendeth to the edifying of the hearers ; I am forced
 “ with all humility, and yet plainly, to profess, that I
 “ cannot with safe conscience, and without the offence
 “ of the Majesty of God, give my assent to the sup-
 “ pressing of the said exercises : much less can I send
 “ out any injunction for the utter and universal subver-
 “ sion of the same.” || He earnestly exhorts her too,
 that when she dealt in matters of faith and religion, or
 that touch the Church of Christ, she would not pro-
 nounce so resolutely, and peremptorily, upon her own
 authority, as she might in civil matters ; but remember
 the will of God, and not of any earthly creature, was
 herein to take place. He puts her in mind : That ’tis
 the Antichristian voice of the Pope : *Sic volo, sic jubeo,*
 &c. *So I will have it, so I command* : let my will stand
 for a reason. In God’s matters, all Princes ought to bow
 their scepters to the Son of God, and to ask counsel at
 his mouth, what they ought to do.

These exercises were approv’d and promoted by many
 of the Bishops, encourag’d by King *James* in *Scotland* :
 to whom my Lord *Bacon* recommended the reviving them,
 after he became King of *Great Britain*.

It

* *Grindal’s Life*, p. 221, † See the Letter in *Strype’s Life of Grindal*, App.
 p. 74. || *Ibid.* p. 82.

It must be own'd, the writing this Letter was one of the noblest acts of *Gindal's* life, if he had but kept more stily to it. The Queen would not be mov'd by all he could say, and in some few months after sent her own Letter to the Bishops, whereby she requir'd them to put down these exercises: and her resentment ran so high against the Archbishop, that he was confin'd to his house, and sequestred for six months. The Lord Treasurer sent to the Archbishop, directing him in what manner he should make his submission; which he for the present refus'd, because he did not think himself to have committed any fault; and therefore he would not own himself in any, in a submissive Letter, which he wrote to the Lords of the Privy Council in the *Star Chamber*. His sequestration therefore continued, and there was some design of degrading him. But at last, in the year 1582, he made his submision; wherein he insists upon it indeed, that what he did was, because he was mov'd in conscience to it; yet however he says, That " understanding that her Majesty therein, " [the forbidding those exercises] did use the advice " and allowance of certain Bishops, his Brethren, who " by likelihood certified, that they in their own Dio- " cesses found the same more hurtful than profitable; " in, and for that, he is perswaded, that her Majesty " had herein a *sincere and godly meaning* to the quiet- " ness of her people: and that also her commandment " was not against positive law, or constitution of the " realm, he cannot but *speak honourably and dutifullly of* " her Majesty's doings, as of a *godly Prince, meaning well* " of the Church and her people, in *this* her Majesty's " direction and commandment. And as he is most hear- " tily sorry, that he hath incur'd her Majesty's grie- " vous offence, for not observing that her command- " ment; so doth he most humbly and lowly beseech " her Highness not to impute the same to any obstinate " intent, meaning to disobey her Majesty; but only " that he was *then* moved in conscience to be an hum- " ble suiter to her Majesty, to be spar'd from being the " special instrument in suppressing the said exercises. " And to the intent her Majesty may think that he meant " no disobedience, in any maintenance of them to con- " tinue contrary to her commandment, he doth pray her " Majesty to be truly inform'd, how *he himself did, in* " *bis*

“ his own Bishoprick, and other peculiar jurisdictions, suffer no such exercises to be used, after the time of her her Majesty’s said commandment.” * So that I do not see, that Mr. Strype had sufficient ground to commend him, as he does, upon this occasion ; for being endued with an immutable constancy of mind, in persisting in a thing that he reckon’d his duty. † Nor is it true, that he says elsewhere : That he would never be brought to give forth his orders, for the putting these exercises down. ‡ Tis true, he would never send his order to the other Bishops ; but ’tis plain, by his submission, he gave out such orders for his own Diocese. And I would fain know, how it could be lawful for him to suppress them himself ; if it was unlawful for him to send to the other Bishops to do it ? If the suppressing them was evil, it was unlawful for him to do it ; if it was not, he might have sent to his Brethren to do it too. This should be a warning to men, to beware how they attempt to force men upon any thing contrary to their consciences ; since ’tis a righteous thing with God to suffer others to deal with them in the same manner ; and he sometimes does so, as we see in this instance of the Archbishop, to his great vexation and disquietment.

’Tis easy to imagine, the persecution raged furiously, when the Queen shewed herself in such a temper. Many good men were now in distress, and while abundance of complaints were made of the vast increase of Papists ; yet little encouragement could be allow’d to such Ministers, who would have zealously oppos’d them.

Mr. Richard Gawton, or Gayton, was now suspended for his Nonconformity. He was Minister of Snoring ; but Archbishop Parker, after he was presented to it, forc’d him to sign an obligation of 100 Marks, to pay Dr. Willoughby (who had thro’ meer carelessness lost the living) 14 l. a year. ‡ If he had not done it, he must have gone to prison ; which was a barbarous and tyrannical act of the Archbishop ; and the poor man was so cramp’d with paying this annuity, that he was glad to quit the living.

About

* See his Life, p. 272. † P. 300. ‡ P. 296, ¶ Part of a Register, p. 393. Comp. Parker’s Life, p. 373.

About this time fell out also the troubles of Mr. *Richard Greenham*, Minister in *Drayton* near *Cambridge*, a man of a most excellent spirit ; and who, tho' he would not subscribe, or conform to the habits, yet avoided speaking of these matters, that he might not give offence : and whoever will read his Letter to the Bishop of *Ely*, will wonder what sort of men they could be, that would bear hard upon such a Minister.

Dr. *John Aylmer* was this year, 1576, made Bishop of *London*, a man of a most intemperate heat, who persecuted the Puritans with the utmost rage, and treated Ministers with such virulent and abusive language, as a man of sense and indifferent temper, would scorn to use towards porters and coblers. I think it worth while to transcribe a part of his examination of a poor Minister, that it may be seen how this Bishop behav'd himself upon the bench.* This Minister's name was *Merbury* ; and upon the Bishop's urging him earnestly to tell what he had to say against him, or the Bishop of *Peterborough*, he answer'd him thus :

“ *M.* I come not to accuse, but to defend ; but because you urge me for advantage, I say, that the Bishops of *London* and *Peterborough*, and all the Bishops in *England*, are guilty of the death of as many souls, as have perished by the ignorance of the Ministers of their making, whom they knew to be unable.

“ *B.* Whom such have I made ?

“ *M.* I accuse you not particularly, because I know not your estate ; if you have, you shall bear this condemnation.

“ *B.* Thy proposition is false ; if it were in *Cambridge* it would be hissed out of the Schools.

“ *M.* Then you had need to hire hissers.

“ *B.* If I, finding one well qualified with learning, admit him, and he after play the trewant, and become ignorant, and by his ignorance slay souls, am I guilty of their death ?

“ *M.* This is another question. I distinguish : I speak of them, which were never able.

“ *B.* Distinguish ? Thou knowest not a distinction : What is a distinction ?

“ M. 'Tis a severing of things which seem to be the same.

“ B. Nay, that is *differentia*.

“ M. *Differunt, quæ non sunt ambigua*; but we distinguish those things only, which are *ambigua*: as you differ not from the Bishop of *London*, but I may distinguish between you and the Bishop of *London*; because you remain a man without the Bishoprick.

“ B. Here's a tale of a tub. How many *Predicaments* are there?

“ M. I answer you according to your question, if I say there are enow of seven: for why do you ask me questions so impertinent?

“ B. How many *Predicables* be there? Where didst thou learn thy Logic?

“ M. The last time you spake much of τὸ πρέπον: but this is τὸ πρᾶγμα. I am no Logician.

“ Thou speakest of making Ministers: the Bishop of *Peterborough* was never more overseen in his life, than when he admitted thee to be a preacher in *Northampton*.

“ M. Like enough so, (in some sense) I pray God these scales may fall from his eyes.

“ B. Thou art a very ass; thou art mad; thou art courageous; nay, thou art impudent: by my troth, I think he is mad; he careth for no body.

“ M. Sir, I take exception at swearing judges: I praise God, I am not mad, but sorry to see you so out of temper.

“ B. Did you ever hear one more impudent?

“ M. 'Tis not, I trust, impudence to answer for my self.

“ B. Nay, I know thou art courageous, thou art fool hardy.

“ M. Tho' I fear not you, I fear the Lord.

“ Recorder of *London*. Is he learned?

“ B. Learned? He hath an arrogant spirit: he can scarce construe *Cato*, I think.

“ M. Sir, you do not punish me, because I am unlearned. Howbeit, I understand both the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues; assay me to approve your disgrace.

“ B. Thou takest upon thee to be a Preacher, but there is nothing in thee: thou art a very ass, an ideot, and a fool.

“ M.

" *M.* I humbly beseech you, Sir, have patience, give
 " this people better example: I am that I am, thro'
 " the Lord: I submit the trial of my sufficiency to the
 " judgment of the learned; but this wandering speech
 " is not logical.

This is the Bishop whom Mr. *Strype* commends, as an *exact Logician*.* How justly the reader may judge by this *specimen*. How fine was such language out of the mouth of a Christian, a Magistrate, and a Bishop! There is a great deal more worth reading in that examination. Particularly one thing is remarkable, that he insults poor *Merbury*, because he was for having a Minister in every parish. At parting, he gave him the civil salutation of an *overthwart proud Puritan knave*, and sent him to the *Marshalsea*, tho' he had been twice in prison before. This man devis'd the employing Apparitors, as spies, to go about on the Lord's days, and see what Conformity was used in every parish, and to certify accordingly. † And very strict he was in enquiring, whether any did not use the *Surplice*, or alter'd the service, and particularly the rites in *Baptism*.

One of his Articles related to contentious Preachers, who scandalously gave others the name of *dumb dogs*. This name, which the Scripture gives to such Ministers, as discharge not their office, *Isa. lvi. 10.* was very much resented by the Bishop, when the Puritans applied that Text to unpreaching Ministers; but as, ideot, fool, knave, were terms which the Bishop could freely use himself, as appears by what I have set down already.

Another of his injunctions was: " No invectives to be used of, or against, Estates: " || that is, says Mr. *Strype*, This, or other kingdoms, or potentates: some preachers, as it seems, being now a-days very liberal in their speeches, both against *France* and *Spain*. And yet he himself practis'd quite otherwise; as Mr. *Strype* has set down his most bitter invective against *Henry the French King*: " He, a King, or a Devil; a Christian, or a Lucifer? — Oh! wicked caitiff, and firebrand of hell." † Had a Preacher utter'd such words, he would have been prosecuted by this Bishop, but his dignity privileged him above other mortals,

to say what he pleas'd. He was pleas'd to say of these his injunctions and enquiries, when he gave them forth in his Consistory ; that he would surely and severely punish the offenders in these points, or *he would lie in the dust for it.** And that his cruelties sufficiently expos'd him, we may learn from what he afterwards said himself : “ That he was hated like a dog, and was call'd, *The oppressor of the children of God.*”† And not without good reason : for he made nothing of flinging men into prison, and keeping them there to ruin them.

And when *Whitgift* was made Archbishop, MDLXXXIII. the sufferings, which good men indur'd for the sake of their consciences, became intolerable.

The Ministers in *Kent* being grievously harrass'd this year by *Whitgift*, for not subscribing to Articles, devis'd by himself, presented a Petition to the Privy Council. And at the same time came up a great many other Petitions from several parts of the kingdom, complaining of their Ministers being turn'd out. The Council therefore wrote to the Archbishop in their behalf ; but all was in vain ; he only grew the more outragious hereupon, and set up a new method of persecution among us.

He devis'd therefore twenty four large Articles, or interrogatories, penn'd in the subtile and captious stile of the *Romish* Inquisitions, and commanded Ministers to subscribe to them, *ex mero officio.*

No copy of these Articles was granted them ; nor time allowed them to consider before hand of their answer ; but they must give it upon the spot. *Burleigh*, the Lord Treasurer, upon the complaint of the Ministers, sent for the Register of *London*, and desir'd to see those Articles ; of which he soon after thus gave his opinion, in a Letter to the Archbishop : “ The Articles I have read, and find them so curiously penn'd, so full of branches and circumstances, that I think the Inquisitions of *Spain* use not so many questions to comprehend, and intrap their preys. I know your Canonists can defend these with all their particles : but surely, under your Grace's correction, this juridical and canonical listner of poor Ministers, is not to edify and reform. And in charity, I think, they ought not to answer to all these nice

“ nice points, except they were very notorious offenders.
“ in Papistry or Heresy.— But I conclude, that accord-
“ ing to my simple judgment, this kind of proceeding is
“ too much favouring the *Romish* Inquisition, and is ra-
“ ther a device to seek for offenders, than to reform
“ any.” *

This year was publish'd the *Rhemish Testament*, which they every where endeavour'd to accommodate to the Popish opinions. The learned part of the nation thought a confutation of those opinions was necessary. Nay, and Queen *Elizabeth* seems to have been not a little concern'd about it ; who is said to have sent to *Beza*, to request him to undertake the answer. But he modestly excus'd it, and return'd answer, that she had one in her own kingdom far abler than himself to undertake such a task. Being ask'd, who that person should be, he at length told her, 'twas Mr. *Thomas Cartwright* ; the man our Adversaries hated and depos'd, and counted worthy of nothing, but reproaches and imprisonment ; tho' *Beza* thought the sun did not see a more learned man. † Soon after, Secretary *Walsingham*, by his Letters, solicited him to undertake the work ; and the better to enable him to go thro' with it, sent him an hundred pounds, promising likewise to furnish him with whatever more was necessary. The Queen her self, who placed a great confidence in *Walsingham*, is thought not only to have been acquainted with what he wrote to *Cartwright*, but to have disburs'd the money he sent him. His Letter to him was soon seconded by another, wrote in the name of *Fulk* and *Whitaker*, and several other of the chief Divines at *Cambridge*, who earnestly intreated him to undertake this work. The Ministers of *London* and *Suffolk* solicited him to the same purpose. *Cartwright*, in compliance with the request of so many eminent persons, and out of a desire of vindicating the truth, set about it diligently : and had made a good progress, by that time *Archbishop Whittington* got notice of it. He was desperately nettled, either that his adversary should have so much respect shew'd him, or should have an opportunity (which he knew he would improve) of gaining so honourable a victory ;

* *Ull. Ch. Hist. lib. 9.* † *Clark in Cartwright's life.*

or, that he saw his own learning undervalued, while nobody desir'd him to undertake it ; or finally, because he apprehended his authority to be neglected, while his leave was not ask'd for his undertaking it. Whatever it was, that moved this Gentleman's choler, 'tis certain he presently sent, and haughtily enough forbad *Cartwright's* farther proceeding in it. Now I would fain know, how this fell under his Archiepiscopal cognizance and authority? or, what right he had to trouble himself about what Mr. *Cartwright* was writing in his study, against the Papists? One may easily guess by this, that when he said to him, as I mention'd before : " You do what you list, " go when you list, come when you list, speak when " you list, at your pleasure : what would you have " more? " we may guess, I say, 'twas a grief of soul to him, he should have so much as that poor liberty, and therefore he took the first opportunity to deprive him of it. A like method of our Adversaries we shall meet with again, in the reign of King *James II.* Who can now forbear wondering at the vain and troublesome humour of the man? What? Was there no need of any answer? All the learned every where unanimously testify'd the contrary. If an answer was needful, why must *Cartwright* be forbidden to meddle with it? Perhaps, the work was too difficult for him to be able to manage it. Whoever thought so, I dare say *Whitgift* did not, who knew by experience what *Cartwright's* abilities were. If *Cartwright* was not to be trusted in such a combate, why did not *Whitgift* himself undertake it? Or if he had less leisure, now he had got his preferment, to write against the Papists, than he had formerly against the Puritans; why did he not himself however appoint some other noble champion, that should be fitter to enter the lists than *Cartwright*? Well, poor *Cartwright*, knowing the authority and wrath of his Grace was much more formidable, than the arguments of all the *Rhemists* put together, laid aside the work: but some years after, encourag'd by an Honourable Lord, he resum'd it, but had not time to perfect it. 'Twas not printed 'till after his own and *Whitgift's* death, in the year, 1618: the Copy had been neglected, and was mouse eaten in part, which caus'd some defects, when it came to be publish'd. " A Book, (says *Fuller*) " which notwithstanding the foresaid defects, is so com-
plete,

“ pleat, that the *Rhemists* durst never return the least, “ answer thereunto.” * And in another place thus “ In a word, no *English* champion, in that age, did “ with more valour, or success, charge or rout the *Ro-
mish* enemy in matters of doctrine.” † Which is a noble commendation out of the mouth of an adversary. Some may perhaps think, that Dr. *Fulk* wrote his learned Answer to the *Rhemists*, at the desire of the Archbishop; but 'tis certain he did not: he was one of the *Cambridge* Doctors, who desir'd *Cartwright* to undertake it; and when he saw he had, upon the Archbishop's discouragement, laid aside a work, which he thought absolutely necessary, he undertook it himself. And when he publish'd his Book, he gave his readers notice, they were to expect a much more compleat answer from Mr. *Cartwright*. And indeed there was no great reason, why the Archbishop should commit the work to *Fulk*, rather than to *Cartwright*: *Fulk* was himself a Puritan, and chose to leave the College, and board in a private house in *Cambridge*, rather than wear the Surplice. And Mr. *Strype*, in several places, has occasion to shew he was a Puritan. ‖

This year Mr. *George Giffard*, a learned Minister at *Malden* in *Essex*, was suspended by his Diocesan, Bishop *Aylmer*. He wrote with a great deal of zeal against the *Brownists*, in defence of the Church; tho' he was a Puritan, and scrupled Conformity in several things. “ He was, as Mr. *Strype* says, a great and diligent Preacher, “ and much esteem'd by many, and of good rank in the “ town; and had brought that place to more sobriety, “ and knowledge of true religion.” ‡ But those things were poor trifles, while he did not like the ceremonies: and the Archbishop was as bitter against him, as his Diocesan, and would not regard the suit the Lord Treasurer made in his behalf. He was brought before the High Commission, and accus'd of teaching disobedience to magistrates, and several other things. But when his accusers could not prove what they alledg'd against him, but all the charges appear'd to be false, the Bishop, for very shame restor'd him to his preaching, for a little while; for he kept his ears still open to this kind of sycophants,

whom, one would think, upon such tryal, he should have abhorr'd ; and so, upon a new complaint, he suspended him a second time.

The latter end of this year, the House of Commons pass'd a Bill for reforming some things : what they particularly were, and how the Bishops at that time behav'd themselves, may be learnt from Archbishop *Whitgift's* Letter to the Queen. "They have pass'd, *says he*, a Bill in "that House yesterday, touching the matter [of admitting men to the Ministry] which, besides other great inconveniences, hath this also, that if it pass by Parliament, it cannot hereafter but in Parliament be alter'd : — whereas, if it pass but as a Canon from us, by your Majesty's authority, it may be observ'd or alter'd at your pleasure." [This was a cunning fetch of the Archbishop, considering the temper of the Queen.] "They have also pass'd a Bill, giving liberty to marry at all times of the year, without restraint, contrary to the old Canons, continually observ'd amongst us ; and containing matter, which tendeth to the slander of this Church, as having hitherto maintain'd an error." * The watchful Archbishop was very solicitous, that the Church of *England* might be thought as infallible, as that of *Rome*. By this we may perceive, what kind of men we have had to do with ; and that their pride and insufferable arrogance has always made them oppose all methods of peace and union : and yet this man himself, before he was made a Bishop, and had tasted the sweet gain that these laws brought in, declar'd himself displeas'd, that men should be forbidden to marry at all times of the year. And what did it signify, that this was *contrary to the old Canons*, if those old Canons were contrary to sense and reason, and were design'd in favour of superstition ? But let's hear how he goes on : "There is likewise now in hand, in the same House, a Bill concerning Ecclesiastical Courts, and Visitations by Bishops, which may reach to the overthrow of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and study of the Civil Laws. The pretence of the Bill is against excessive fees, and exactions, in Ecclesiastical Courts, which fees are none other than have been of long time accustom'd to be taken ; the law,

“ law, already establish’d, providing a sharp and severe
“ punishment for such, as shall exceed the same.

The Convocation sat this year, and the Ministers drew up their reasons, why they could not subscribe, as the Bishops requir’d them, to two of their three Articles, *viz.*

2. “ That the Book of Common Prayer, and of
“ ordaining Bishops, Priests and Deacons, containeth in
“ it nothing contrary to the Word of God, and that
“ the same may be lawfully used: and that I my self,
“ who do subscribe, will use the Form of the said Book
“ prescribed, in public Prayer, and administration of
“ the Sacraments, and no other.”

3. “ That I allow the Book of *Articles of Religion*, agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of
“ both Provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation holden at *London*, in the year of our Lord God,
“ 1562, and set forth by her Majesty’s authority; and
“ do believe all the Articles, therein contain’d, to be
“ agreeable to God. In witness whereof I have subscrib’d
“ my name.”

Together with their reasons they presented a Petition, drawn in the most humble and respectful stile. Herein they earnestly request them, “ To ponder the reasons that
“ with held them from subscribing, and so to resolve
“ them of the point they had set down, as that they
“ might clearly understand how with a good conscience
“ they might yield unto it; or if they [the Convocation]
“ should judge either all, or some part of that
“ they [the Ministers] alledg’d, to be just and reasonable,
“ that then it might please their wisdoms to become
“ favourable means unto her most excellent Majesty, and
“ the high Court of Parliament, for the Reformation of
“ such things, as by the Word of God are to be redress’d.
“ Then they appeal to God, that they sought not to deface the Church, nor delighted to discover her imperfections; but upon such necessities and extremities, as
“ some of them had been brought to, and especially
“ which were indur’d by their poor flocks, where they
“ had labour’d, which were now left without any preaching
“ Minister, they were constrain’d modestly to lay
“ open the sores and wounds thereof, before their Reverend Synod, of whom in all duty and reason they
“ were chiefly to hope to receive some comfort and relief; that if there be any *Balm in Gilead*, and any
“ *Phy-*

“ Physician in all Israel, their infected Church, and the
 “ daughter of their people might be healed. In which
 “ respect they desir’d all might be taken in good part, as
 “ it was by them dutifully and charitably meant.” This
 Petition may be seen in *Mr. Fenner’s Defence of the godly
 Ministers against D. Bridges*: * where their reasons also
 are set down at length. † What became of this, take in
 that author’s own words: “ After this Petition was pre-
 “ sented by us, by the hands of a godly and reverend
 “ Doctor of Divinity, a Member at that time of that
 “ House; it was carried up to the upper House of the
 “ Convocation, where the Spiritual Lords sat. From
 “ whom no answer was brought us until this day; where-
 “ with, as divers of the lower Convocation House com-
 “ plain’d, that a Petition, offer’d to the whole, should
 “ be smother’d in the hand of one, and should never be
 “ read, perused, nor seen into by them; so you may un-
 “ derstand how the Bishops had then stopped all their
 “ ears of compassion against us; so that no humble suit,
 “ no obtestation in the bowels of Christ Jesu, for the
 “ honour of God, and the holy peace of the Church,
 “ no cries, which would have moved brazen and iron
 “ hearts, could move them once to regard us, or hear
 “ us, or in that assembly consider what we had said,
 “ or make us any answer, good or evil.” ||

The Ministers complain’d, that the Bishops, by their third Article, requir’d a subscription to all the XXXIX *Articles of Religion*, which was more than the Act of Parliament would warrant. “ For, says Mr. *Fenner*, neither
 “ in express words, nor any sounding that way, doth that
 “ law require subscription, or assent, further than to all
 “ the Articles of religion, which only concern the con-
 “ fession of the true faith, and the doctrine of the Sacra-
 “ ments, compris’d in a Book intituled, *Articles, &c.* ”
 And elsewhere he remarks: “ That the end of the Sta-
 “ tute was express’d in these words: *That the Churches of
 “ the Queen’s Majesty’s dominions may be served with Pas-
 “ tors of sound religion, be it enacted, &c.* Whereby ’tis
 “ evident, says he, that this was made as a brazen wall
 “ to keep Papists and other Heretics out of the Pastor’s
 “ chair: which the Bishops have made so strong a cord
 “ to pull men (by their own confession) of sound re-
 “ ligion

“ ligion out, as in many places it pulleth down the chair
“ and all.” *

And now I am fallen upon this Book, which relates to these times, and was printed 1587, I shall take notice of several other passages, which will give us light concerning them. Thus then he reproveth the corruptions of those times, and vindicates Ministers, who spake against them : “ If the pride of life be to be thundred against in all men, ought the Bishops to be left out, who, contrary to the express commandment of Christ, the profession of many Martyrs at their death, their own writings and admonitions in former times, do live in all ostentation of pomp, daintiness of fare, superfluity of expences, greatness of retinue, rather like Nobles and Dukes, than Ministers and Ambassadors of our Lord Jesus Christ ? ” † In referring to their own writings and admonitions, he had an eye to *Aylmer*, at that time Bishop of *London* ; whose *Harbourough for faithful Subjects* he cites in the Margin. And truly the passage is so very full, and serves so well to shew the baseness of that persecuting Bishop, who lived at the very time I am treating of, that I shall here transcribe it from his Book. “ Come off you Bishops, away with your superfluities, yield up your thousands, be content with hundreds, as they be in other reformed Churches, where be as great learned men as you are. Let your portion be priest-like and not prince-like. Let the Queen have the rest of your temporalities and other lands to maintain these wars which you procur’d, and your mistress left her, and with the rest to build and found schools through out the realm : that every parish Church may have his Preacher, every city his Superintendent to live honestly and not pompously ; which will never be, unless your lands be dispersed and bestowed upon many, which now feedeth and fatteth but one. Remember that *Abimelec*, when *David* in his banishment wold have dined with him, kept such hospitality, that he had no bread in his house to give him, but the shew bread. Where was all his superfluity to keep your pretended hospitality ? For that is the cause that you alledge, why you must have thousands, as

" as though you were commanded to keep hospitality,
 " rather with a thousand, than with an hundredth. I
 " would our countryman *Wicliefe's* book, which he wrote
 " *De Ecclesia*, were in print, and there should you see
 " that your wrinches and cavillations, be nothing worth.
 " It was my chance to happen of it in ones hand, that
 " brought it out of *Bohemia*." But this Bi'hop could
 be very well content himself to drive Ministers from their
 people, that many parishes might be without Preachers,
 when he was getting thousands by it: and indeed he
 seems to be a man, who never wanted a salvo for getting
 money; and this was his excuse, when he was reproach'd
 with his own words: *When I was a child, I spake as a
 child, I thought as a child.* * But I go on again with Mr.
 Fanner's words: " At least wise should not the disorders
 " of their [the Bishops] houſholds, the daily abuse of
 " God his name, in the mouths both of their servants
 " and of themselves, the bribes of their officers and of-
 " ficials, with others, the abuses of their Courts: a-
 " mongſt other things their licences granted to children,
 " who have not the consent of their parents, to marry
 " ſecretly, or without orderly publishing of the contract,
 " thereby defeating both the laws of God, and of men,
 " their commutation of penances: ſhould not theſe, I
 " ſay, likewiſe, with moderation be reproved? " Else-
 where he tells us, there were " Multitudes, which in
 " three months time, had ſo many ſtars, yea, even the
 " third part either taken from them, or cover'd with ſuch
 " a cloud of ſuspensions, as they could not for a long
 " time, nay, ſome not to this day, receive any light from
 " them, or others for them: that there was a great
 " complaint of all the ſhires almost of her Maſtety's do-
 " minions, by general, by particular ſupplications: that
 " by this means, persons, if they would hear a ſermon,
 " muſt go, in ſome places, five, ſeven, or twelve miles;
 " yea many times, in ſome ſhires, fourteen or twenty
 " miles. And farther, thoſe, who ſhould have enco-
 " raged men to go hear, have made them pay twelve
 " pence a Sabbath, for being abſent from their parish
 " Church; it being undoubtedely proved, they went to
 " hear a ſermon elsewhere." † In another place he tells
 us,

us, how scandalously many places were at that time supply'd : " That so many lights in divers shires at once were struck out ; when somewhere an old Mass Priest, scarce able to read distinctly, and of evil example of life ; somewhere a Preacher, but with counterfeit letters of orders, lately come out of *Bridewel*, and after for shame fain to fly away ; somewhere bare and naked Readers ; somewhere a Preacher, having a Benefice in another shire ; lately a Farmer, not able rightly and fruitfully to open any place of Scripture, with competency of gifts fit for a Minister, wander'd from one congregation to another, to discharge a small piece of duty. " * He says : " There was a difference in the form of subscriptions. The Ministers of *Sussex* in their subscription (a copy of which they receiv'd under the Bishop's seal) excepted all things in the Rubrics, unless they were so understood, as they did not repugn the Holy Scriptures, or the analogy of faith, as 'tis now maintain'd by the Church of *England*. " †

He says : " Several subscrib'd not the Articles at all, or any thing like them. " He complains : " That they suffer'd the sworn Notary to deny them a copy of their subscriptions, suspensions, deprivations, and public acts passed against them. If they had copies hereof, he says, it would appear some subscrib'd thus : *We subscribe these Articles as they agree with the Word of God* : or, *dempto secundo*, that is, *taking away the second* : with divers others of the like nature. " Many lamented their slip in subscribing. And when Dr. *Bridges* had said : *They should then openly revoke their subscription* : He answers : " They are withheld because they think it in vain, seeing one attempting to do it, was utterly deny'd to rase out his name again : otherwise they make it notorious enough to all men, to whom the knowledge thereof doth appertain. " ‡ In another place of his Book he complains, that Ministers were undermin'd in this busines of subscribing : " That it was promis'd to some, who had subscrib'd according to the Archbishop's godly interpretations, that they should have a copy of the same, which after they could not get : that others subscrib'd with this and that condition ; but afterward their names were muster'd " in

" in one rank with the rest, as being all under the same
 " colours : that others were promis'd, after this subscrip-
 " tion, much favour and protection against their evil dis-
 " pos'd and Popish enemies ; which yet afterward they
 " felt as the shadow of a naked tree in the latter end of a
 " hot and dry summer, being rather more molested in
 " their Commissaries Court than before ; yea even touch-
 " ing these matters of the use of the Book, and that by
 " haling and pulling of sentences generally spoken, as if
 " they had specially been spoken againt the Book of
 " Common Prayer ; whereof one was even driven to this
 " point, that openly in the Pulpit he must revoke his say-
 " ing, or else afresh depart from his Church : that Mr.
 " F. [I suppose the author himself] was made to swear
 " to answer to Articles, which he might not see till after-
 " ward ; and then urg'd upon his oath, not only to con-
 " fess the matters wherewith he was charg'd, but *any such*
 " *thing, or any thing sounding that way,* and not only of
 " *public speech,* but of *private, when, or wheresoever they*
 " *were spoken ;* and not only the things, but *the words ;*
 " and not only the words, but *the occasion whereon, the*
 " *manner how, the reason why any such things were said ;*
 " and that not of one, but every Article, to the number
 " of seventeen. " *

He gives some touches of the mild and gentle treatment
 the Ministers met with : " When the Articles were first
 " urg'd upon all Ministers [I suppose he means in *London*]
 " by the Archdeacon and Commissary, the Archdeacon
 " — openly determin'd before hand, that such as did
 " refuse to subscribe to those Articles, were such as disaf-
 " low'd her Majesty's authority, and refus'd to allow the
 " faith and ministry of this Church to be the true faith,
 " and any lawful ministry. The Ministers somewhat
 " griev'd with this rough beginning, determin'd before-
 " hand, e're the course of law pass'd, to go to the Bi-
 " shop ; thinking thereby to obtain more moderation of
 " him, if not for the matter itself, yet for the manner of
 " dealing. Being come, they send two before with sup-
 " plication, to desire to know his Lordship's pleasure, if
 " they should come together, or in what sort he would
 " accept them to conference, because that they were ma-

" ny.

“ ny. He at the first, before many Gentlemen and o-
 “ thers, draweth out certain accusations, not yet drawn
 “ into Articles, which concern’d one of the said Mini-
 “ sters; and having read them, saith: *You are boys, prin-
 “ cokers, &c. and will you teach all others?*” And having
 misrepresented an argument of one of the Ministers,
 he us’d this language to him: “ If I had a boy in Cam-
 “ bridge, who would make such reasons, I would britch
 “ him; but I will make you known for such as you are,
 “ and, I trowe, I am able to prove Heresy against you.
 “ Well, seeing you are come thus disorderly, come toge-
 “ ther to me in the afternoon, or else I will suspend you
 “ all”* When they came in the afternoon, they were
 first charg’d with a design to raise tumults, and by num-
 ber to outface their superiors; and then had leave to
 propose their doubts. And then an antient Minister urg’d,
 that the Book of Common Prayer tolerated an unpreach-
 ing Ministry, and so was contrary to the Word of God,
 and urg’d the Bishop with some parts of his own writings
 heretofore [I suppose what I cited from the *Harborough*.] To him therefore he answer’d: *You are a fool, and can say
 nothing, hold your peace, let another speak.* When another
 argued: That the foreskin cut off in circumcision was not
 the outward Element of the Sacrament, any more than
 the filthiness of the flesh which the water carried away: The Bishop stopp’d his mouth, saying, *He was a dolt*; and ask’d another, If that was his judgment? When another charg’d the Archdeacon with uncharitable dealing, the Bishop said: *Have him away, let him go home, and scold with his wife.*

In another assembly, not long after, of many Bishops, some Deans, and some Civilians, one of the Bishops reason’d with one of the Ministers, about *Matth. xx. 25*, *The princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion, but it shall not be so with you.* The Bishop asserted, that the word *κυριεύσαντες* being compounded, signified *tyrannical dominion*, in that place, and *1 Pet. v. 3.* † The Minister confuted him from *Luke xxii. 25*. where the simple word is used for the same thing: and from what stands in opposition to it, both in *Matthew* and *Peter*: and from the

LXX

* Page 42. † And if that had been the meaning of the Word, it had been sufficient to overthrow their dominion, which was Tyrannical with a witness.

LXX Interpreters, who use it in speaking of Christ's government, which was not tyrannical, *Ps. cx. 2. Rule thou* in the midst of thine enemies. The Bishop look'd then hotly upon him, and said : Will you follow the LXX in their whole Translation ? To which answer was made : No, but they might well be alledg'd for the use of a *Greek* word. Then the Bishop, having nothing further to say, looked stedfastly upon him, and said : *Thou boy, beardless boy, yesterday-bird, new out of the shell : must not the spirits of the Prophets be subject to the Prophets ?* Were not these Ministers, do we think, inexcusable, who would not be convinc'd by such clear reasonings, set off with so much advantage of fine rhetoric ?

" About the same time, two Ministers, who had before subscrib'd with great limitation and exception, being call'd for about a letter, and well rattled by the Bishop ; to one saying : *Michael the Archangel, my Lord,* gave the Devil no such words : he fiercely turn'd about and said, *Michael'ſt thou me ?* To the other saying : I beseech you, my Lord, let us rather undergo any punishment, than be so judg'd of : he answer'd : *Undergo ass, undergo goose, undergo fool ;* as you are fantastical in your opinions, so are you in your words. " Where didſt thou ever read, *undergo ?* I omit (says my author) many unsavoury vows ; as, If ever you preach, and do not subscribe simply, hang me up at Tyburn. " Who this Bishop was, I cannot certainly say, and dont care to trouble the reader with only a conjecture : it appears, he was not the same with the former.

He says : " The Bishops would not yield the same liberty to all Ministers, which would by oath, promise, and bond, have tied themselves to the same peaceable behaviour ; which some grave and godly Ministers of *Suffolk, and Warwickshire,* were dimited withal, and not urged to subscribe. " * He then enquires into the cause of that moderation toward them, and argues, it could not be compassion to poor Ministers, oppress'd with the charge of a wife and children ; because they refus'd it to such as were in greater want, than those whom they so us'd : it was not in pity to the people ; because the congregations, whom they depriv'd of their Ministers, were

were many of them larger than those they favour'd. And how little compassion they had for the people, he says, appears by the answers they gave them, when they petition'd for their Pastors liberty: *We are, say they, your Pastors; those you sue for are our substitutes.* To others, complaining of their seldom hearing good preaching, they answer'd: *Learn to practise that in one quarter, which you heard in the former.* He says therefore, the true cause of their shewing so much favour to some was, that they were commended to them by two most honourable and antient Counsellors; and they were afraid, lest otherwise their doings should have been better look'd into.

And when Dr. *Bridges* had deny'd they were *grievously afflicted*, unless it were caused by their own demerits; he thus answers him: "A light cause, yea an " humble supplication to her Majesty, and the whole Parliament, allow'd by public authority, suing to themselves " also, as to fathers, may with them be cause of close " imprisonment. But is it no grievous affliction, by sus- " pension so to be hang'd for a year or two, between " hope and despair, as in the mean while they must see " the wages of their labours eaten up by loiterers? Nay, " which is the very temptation of *Lot*, their righteous " souls must be vexed with seeing, beholding, and hear- " ing the ignorance, the profane speeches, and the evil " example of those thrust upon their charges: they them- " selves of the wicked defam'd, reproach'd, scoff'd at, " call'd seditious and rebellious, cited, accus'd, and in- " dicted, and yet no redress to be found. All this they " patiently bore, and came daily to the congregations, " to the Prayers, to the Baptisms, and to the Sacraments, " and by their example, and admonitions, kept many " from abuses, whereto rashness of zeal would have car- " ry'd them: yet now, for their labour, by you [Dr. " *Bridges*] they are, to their great grief, openly han- " der'd, to refuse the public ministry of the Word and Sa- " craments: a thing, which every congregation can, and " must needs, by testimony of the whole parish, refel: " a thing, which it is almost impossible, but that you " yourself should know the contrary: a thing, which " our supplications offer'd unto their Honours, wherein " we acknowledged the ministry of the Church of Eng- " land in the Word preach'd, and administration of the " Sacraments, as touching the substance, to be lawful; " which

“ which also our daily practice in all, without exception,
“ convinceth to be as false, as any thing, of such respect,
“ can be true. And altho, to such as you are, who
“ swarm with Deanries, double Benefices, Pensions,
“ Advowsons, Reversions, &c. these molestations seem
“ light ; yet upon every irreligious mans complaint, in
“ such things as many times are incredible, to be by
“ the Pursuivants sent for, to pay two pence for every
“ mile, to find messengers, to defray their own charges,
“ to such as can hardly, with that they have, clothe and
“ feed themselves and their families, 'tis not only grie-
“ vous, but as far as worldly trouble may be, a very
“ heart burning. 'Tis grievous to a free man born, to
“ a free Minister, so to be brought into a slavish sub-
“ jection unto a Commissary, as at his pleasure, upon e-
“ very trifling complaint, to be summon'd : and coming
“ there, at the leaſt with unnecessary expences, master-
“ like answers, yea, sometimes open revilings, to be sent
“ home again. ” *

I will only transcribe one passage more, because, beside the relation it has to the history of our controversy in these times, it shews the candour and ingenuity of the author. “ We will, *says he*, never so burthen our selves, “ but that we will acknowledge our cause to be good, “ and our affections and purposes also, both towards “ God, his Church, and her Majesty, and their Honours “ [the Privy Council] yet again also, we will not so “ justify our selves, but that when coming by dozens and “ scores to the Bishops, after half a days disorderly rea- “ soning, some not being heard to the full, some “ rail'd on, and miscall'd, none with lenity satis- “ fied, we were all suspended from our office, be- “ cause we would not assent to subscribe to the two last “ Articles ; there might also pass from us some affections “ and infirmities afterward, as that her Majesty and their “ Honours might with justice and wisdom defer the “ ending of these matters, until they had further tried “ our spirits. This and many other things else, both “ might we, and would we impute to our selves, rather “ than undutifully charge them. But if they will needs “ have us declare our judgment, where the fault lay, we
“ say

“ say not in her Majesty, and their Honours, at the table
 “ of whose Honourable Senate, our supplications were
 “ not only with patience read and perus'd in our presence;
 “ but after we were put apart with a most godly and
 “ wise charge, to discharge our duty in obedience and
 “ good carriage of our selves to our superiors, and to-
 “ wards the peace of the Church, we receiv'd an answer,
 “ that they would send our supplications to the Archbi-
 “ shop, and not only understand his answer, but also re-
 “ quire, that with moderation we might be dealt with,
 “ and that none should be suspended or depriv'd, not be-
 “ ing first according to law, yea with consonable favour
 “ convicted: which as we doubt not it was promis'd to
 “ them, so how well it was perform'd, we shall have oc-
 “ casion to speak afterward.”*

Another writer of those times in a little Tract call'd, *The Practices of the Prelates*, hath several passages to the same purpose. I shall only transcribe one from him.
 “ Hear likewise what author it [the rigorous proceeding
 “ of those times] hath. And touching this, who can de-
 “ ny it came from the humour of one Man [the Archbi-
 “ shop] as may be esteem'd, more carried away with pri-
 “ vate conceit, than any grave counsel and godly experience;
 “ perhaps (as my self of some of them understand) a-
 “ gainst the tide of the advice of many of their own
 “ coat; but undoubtedly against almost the former pra-
 “ ctice of three or four and twenty years experience, of
 “ the peaceable government that hath been under her sa-
 “ cred Majesty, and some of the best of those grave and
 “ Christian predecessors of his; who, howsoever towards
 “ some particular good men some hard dealing here and
 “ there were shew'd by the instigation of some ignorant
 “ and half popish persons, for lack of judgment and
 “ knowledge; yet none ever dealt so generally against the
 “ whole Ministry, and so eagerly against the stream and
 “ light of all mens judgments, in so learned an age, be-
 “ fore this new plot was heard of, and now, alas!
 “ with too much calamity is felt? †

This year Mr. Anthony Babington, at the
 instigation of Ballard the Jesuit, and under MDLXXXVI
 the direction of Mary Queen of Scotland,

took up a resolution of killing Queen *Elizabeth*. The contrivance was, that the Papists were to enter into an association, under the pretence of being afraid of the Puritans; and when he and his fellow traitors had murder'd the Queen, they were to charge the fact upon the Puritans. This precedent has been since frequently follow'd, and therefore I thought it not amiss to take this brief notice of it.

The Convocation sitting this year, the Ministers presented them, in *Latin*, another Petition, a Translation of which is still extant.* They complain very much of the unreasonable subjection of Pastors to a Lay Chancellor, who knew nothing at all of the Pastor's office; and requelt they might be indifferently heard: but the truth is, they touch'd the temporalities of the Bishops so closely, that I dont much wonder their Petition did not please the Prelates of that time-

Having said so much of the persecution in MDLXXXVII. general about this time, I shall omit some particular cases which might be mention'd.

This year the House of Commons sent a Petition to the Lords, † complaining of many parishes being destitute of Preachers, and no care taken to supply them: they moved that this, and many other evils, might be taken into consideration and speedily redress'd: that care might be taken to prevent insufficient Ministers: that no oath or subscription might be tender'd to any at their entrance into the Ministry, but such as is expressly prescrib'd by the statutes of this realm, except the oath against corrupt entring: that they may not be troubled for omission of some rites, or portions prescrib'd in the Book of Common Prayer: that they might not be call'd and urg'd to answer before Officials, and Commissaries, but before the Bishops themselves: that such as had been suspended, or deprived, for no other offence, but only for not subscribing, might be restor'd: that the Bishops would forbear their excommunication, *ex mero officio*, of godly and learned Preachers, not detected for open offence of life, or apparent error in doctrine: that they might not be call'd before the High Commission, or out of the Diocese where they liv'd, except for some notable offence: that it might be per-

permitted to them in every Archdeaconry, to have some common exercises and conferences among themselves, to be limited and prescrib'd by the Ordinaries: that the high censure of excommunication might not be denounc'd or executed for small matters; nor by Chancellors, Commissaries, or Officials, but by the Bishops themselves, with the assistance of grave persons: that nonresidency might be quite remov'd out of the Church; or at least that, according to the Queen's injunctions, Art. 44. No Non-resident, having already a licence or faculty, may enjoy it, unless he depute an able Curate, that may weekly preach and catechize, as is requir'd in her Majesty's injunctions. The Archbishop, with the rest of the Bishops, oppos'd these proceedings with all their might; and fearing lest their interest in Parliament should not be great enough to stop them, they presented a fawning Petition to the Queen, craving her Majesty's protection against the Parliament; advancing by that means, according as they have usually done, the prerogative, which needed not in that Queen's reign. They lament the woful and distress'd state they were like to fall into: tell her, that innovations are dangerous in a settled state: and annex a catalogue of those inconveniences, which wou'd ensue to the state present, state to come, Cathedral Churches, Universities, to her Majesty, to religion, in case pluralities were taken away. 'Twas not therefore without good reason, that the Lord *Gray* said, they were all enemies to Reformation, because it touch'd their freeholds.

Bishop *Burnet* freely condemns those things, which they so earnestly endeavour'd to preserve. "There are, "says he, a great many abuses brought in in the worst times, and now purg'd out of some of the Churches of the *Roman* communion, which yet continue, and are too much in use among us; such as *pluralities*, *non-residences*, and other things of that nature. So that it may be said, that some of the manifest corruptions of Popery, where they are recommended by the advantages that accompany them, are not yet thoroughly purged out, notwithstanding all the noise we have made about Reformation in matters much more disputable, and of far less consequence. — These are abuses that even the Church of *Rome*, after all her impudence is ashame of, and are at this day generally discountenanc'd all *France* over. Queen *Mary* here in *England*,

“ in the time of Popery, set her self effectually to root
“ them out. And that they should be still found among
“ Protestants, and in so reform’d a Church, is a scandal
“ that may justly make us blush. ” *

And why should not the Bishops in Queen *Elizabeth*’s time have blush’d at these things also? Why did they so mortally hate a Reformation herein? If the Bishops then had been of the same Mind with this excellent Prelate, our disputes would have been certainly at an end, and therefore to them deservedly belongs the glory of their being continued.

But I now return to Dr. *Nichols*, who, speaking of this year, says : *After this, some hot headed men of the party proceed to that insolence, as to spare neither order nor dignity; for in their libels publish’d against the Bishops, they do not afford Whitgyst, then Archbishop of Canterbury, any better name than the Belzebub of Canterbury, &c.* † I will not undertake the defence of libels. The cruelty and tyranny of the Bishops, and especially of Archbishop *Whitgyst*, was a great provocation (as every one must with me acknowledge, if they have any knowledge of those times) but yet, in my opinion, they should not have treated them with such coarse language. Our Adversaries however have no great reason to reproach them, with what they first provok’d them to : and they may be sensible, that ’tis not hard to collect as reproachful speeches of some of their own side, utter’d not only against us, but against the Protestants abroad in general. And it is very unjust in our Author to form a charge against a whole party, upon the act of one or two obscure nameless authors, who might be of the baser sort, but however were not own’d and defended by the party. Thus it was charg’d in his *Latin* edition ; and since now in the *Englysh* he says, this was the act of *some hot headed Men*, certainly they were not worthy to be mention’d ; for such may be met with in every party, I am sure, great multitudes of them in his own. Mr. *Cartwright*, in his *Apology*, declares, that from the first time he ever heard of *Martin Marprelate*, he testified his great disliking and grief for so naughty and disorderly a course, as his was. Nor do I remember to have ever seen any one of the

Puritan

Puritan writers (not including the *Brownists*) who speaks favourably of the writings, which came out under the name of *Martin*.

As to the authors he cites, as using the most reviling language, the first and third are both one : for, *Any Work for the Cooper*, was put out under the name of *Martin*. The second, being the *Letter from Scotland*, I know nothing of, and might come, for ought I know, from the same hand. But as to the fourth Author, cited by him, as *Udal's Dialogue*, I believe he is mistaken. That *Udal* wrote any *Dialogue* was not prov'd against him, nor confess'd by himself : the *Dialogue*, that was suppos'd to be his, is not divided, if I mistake not, into Chapters ; but is that, which is printed in the *Part of a Register*, p. 333, &c. wherein I do not meet with those hard names our Author sets down.

Afterwards in a certain Petition offer'd to the Parliament, entituled, *A Supplication to the Parliament*, and subscrib'd by ten thousand hands, they threaten the Houses with no less than a rising, if they do not take care to establish the discipline ; which if they did not take care speedily to do, " They would be in danger of the terrible mass of God's " wrath both in this Life, and that to come ; that they " might well hope for the curse of the Law, but the favour " and loving countenance of Jesus Christ they should never " see." I can't find any where mention made of a *Supplication* thus subscrib'd in Queen *Elizabeth's* reign, and am very much mistaken in her government, if a Petition, that must be handed about a long time, and could not be kept secret, and that was so contrary to her Mind, would not have had a stop put to it, long before so many hands could be procur'd to subscribe it. I desire farther, that the reader would here take notice of the hard construction which the Doctor gives to the words, which he cites of the *Supplication*. The Puritans were convinc'd of the necessity of a farther Reformation, and look'd upon the maintaining such a corrupt Church government, as ours is, to be a grievous sin, highly provoking to God : and having these apprehensions, they honestly warn the Parliament of the danger ; telling them, they could not but expect some fearful judgments of God. To this an invi-
dious turn is given, that they threaten the Houses with a rising ; whereas they always declar'd against any seditious

practices, and never could be charg'd with any. They were for setting up Christ's government, not by popular tumults, but peaceably, however the law had unrighteously forbid it. But nothing was more likely to instigate the government against them, than the representing them as seditious persons. This was the common practice of our Enemies at that time, and ever since continues to be so. And yet I am persuaded our Adversaries were more charitably dealt with, when they were charg'd with belying their own consciences in such accusations ; than were the Puritans, whose words were thus perverted, for no other end, but to render them obnoxious to the government. But God has given these men an opportunity in our time, to shew they have that in their hearts, of which they are so forward to accuse their neighbours.

Our Author next complains, these things were publish'd, when *the Spanish Armada was hovering over our country*. But since *Martin's* writings, as he complains himself, did not please the Puritans, I can't see how they are concern'd in them. And besides, the writers he is displeas'd with, might well alledge as an excuse, that they wrote when they were groaning under the cruel persecution of the Bishops. And how easy is it to retort our Author's own words upon him ? Such persecution, tho' *it was at all times most unbecoming, it was at that time more especially so ; because then the Spanish Armada was hovering over our nation, threatening destruction both to our country and religion.* But our Author goes on :

Nor indeed would they have proceeded to such a boldness, but that it was thought they were buoy'd up by the Earl of Leicester, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Francis Knollis, with some other great men of the court, who long'd to be fingering the Church revenues ; thinking if they could get the Bishops to be pull'd down by the Puritans, their lands would be a no inconsiderable prey for themselves. But certainly our Adversaries are very bold, who think they may asperse all men, who in the least differ from them. The credit of history is much impair'd, by that party spirit, which too often govern'd men in writing it. Thus learned men think, little credit is to be given to many of the accounts which we have of those Emperours, who were call'd *Iconomachi*, because they are penn'd by a parcel of Monks,

Monks, zealots for the worship of images, and therefore bitter enemies to those Emperours for opposing it. Nor are our Adversaries many times more worthy to be believ'd, who are often much fonder of their own fancies, than the truth. But since 'tis generally allow'd, that such persons have been very deserving, whom their very adversaries have commended, let us hear what is said of these courtiers by Dr. *Fuller*, a much more fair and candid writer than Dr. *Heylyn*, upon whose credit (tho' he deserv'd none) they are bespatter'd.

Concerning Sir *F. Walsingham* thus he writes : " Amongst all the favourers of the Presbyterians, surely honesty and wisdom never met more in any, than in Sir *Francis Walsingham*, of whom it may be said, as of St. Paul : *Tho' poor, yet making many rich.* Having but one only daughter, he neglected wealth in himself, tho' I may say, he enriched many, even the *English* nation, by his prudent steering of state affairs." * Mr. *Camden* agrees with *Fuller*, and says, that by the charges of his public services, " He weaken'd his estate, and brought himself so far in debt, that he was privately buried in the evening in *Paul's* Church yard at *London*, without any funeral solemnity." †

Concerning Sir *Francis Knollis*, Dr. *Fuller* only says : " That being bred a banished man in *Germany*, during the reign of *Queen Mary*, and conversing with Mr. *Calvin* at *Geneva*, he was never after fond of Episcopacy, but was a great patron of Nonconformists."

It must be own'd, he accuses the Earl of *Leicester* of being a means to incense the Queen against *Archbishop Grindal*, and attributes to him her being so much displeas'd with his Letter about *Prophesying*. He says : " *Leicester* cast a covetous eye upon *Lambeth house*, alledging as good arguments for his obtaining thereof, as ever were urged by *Ahab* for *Naboth's vineyard*. Now *Grindal*, though generally condemn'd for remisness in this kind (parting with more from his see, than ever his successors thank'd him for, stoutly oppos'd the alienating of this his principal palace, and made the *Leicestrian* party to malice him." If this story were true, that some greedy courtiers, at that time, encourag'd the

the Reformation we desir'd, from an expectation of serving their own particular interest by it ; our cause cannot reasonably be thought to be more disgrac'd by it, than is that of the Reformation in general, which, all the world knows, was promoted by such courtiers, who lost nothing by it. But to say the truth, the story itself has not any great appearance of probability : the Earl was esteem'd the chief friend of the Puritans in the court, and was not displeas'd at his being thought to favour them. 'Tis not therefore likely, he would oppose the Archbishop in a matter so pleasing to the Puritans, as these exercises were. Whatever handle he used, he would never take this to incense the Queen against him, as long as he had any design of currying favour with those people. But Mr. *Strype*, the most diligent enquirer into the history of those times, does fully confute this part of the story, with this very substantial reason : That the Archbishop made use of the Earl himself in this matter, and by his hands sent the Letter to her Majesty ; * which he would never have done, had there been at that time any grudge between them. And since this, so material a circumstance of the report, is certainly false, 'tis but reasonable to suppose the rest is of a piece with it, and that it deserves the same credit with some other stories, devis'd to blast his reputation, and that perhaps upon the account of the favour he shew'd to good men, groaning under the cruel oppression of the Hierarchy. †

And now let any man judge, whether Dr. *Heylin*, whom alone Dr. *Nichols* produces, as his voucher in this matter, is to be believ'd. Indeed I can't but remark, that when our Author deals in scandal, he makes much use of him ; tho' he speaks elsewhere slightly of him, as entertaining some Popish opinions. ‡ He is really an author, who had no regard to truth, when he wrote concerning his adversaries. But let two famous Bishops, of the Church of *England*, determine what credit he deserves : the one is Dr. *Barlow*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, who calls his performances, " *Peter Heylyn's angry, and (to our Church and truth) scandalous writings.*" § The other is Bishop *Burnet*, who says : " Either he was very ill informed

* *Grindal's Life*, p. 224. † *Ibid. p. 224, 225.* ‡ p. 169. § *Genuine Remains*, p. 281.

" form'd, or very much led by his passions.— In one thing he is not to be excus'd, that he never vouch'd any authority for what he writ : which is not to be forgiven any, who write of transactions beyond their own time, and deliver new things not known before. So that upon what grounds he wrote a great deal of his book, we can only conjecture ; and many in their guesses are not apt to be very favourable to him. " *

Archbishop *Whitgift*, as I said, forbade *Cartwright* to confute the *Rhenists* Translation of the New Testament : but this year some more effectual care was taken by him and his Brethren, to prevent his doing it. One and thirty Articles were exhibited against him, drawn up after the laudable fashion of the *Spanish Inquisition*. † To all which he was requir'd to give in his answer upon oath. The matter of these Articles was partly some idle tittle tattle, which they had gather'd up, more fit for good women to talk of at a gossiping, than to be turn'd into Articles by Bishops. Such are those, wherein he is articled against, for that discoursing about women, and their childbirth, &c. he did speak thereof so indiscreetly and offensively, that sundry of them, in great grief, had conspir'd to have mischiev'd him with stones in the street. ‖ That by his persuasions his own wife, and other women, had refus'd to be church'd after they had lain in. ‡ That he had nourish'd a faction, and heart burning of one inhabitant in *Warwick* against another, severing them in his own, and his followers speeches, by the names of the godly, or brethren favouring sincerity ; and the profane. * And in this number I may rank another : That being a Minister, according to the order of the Church of *England*, he had renounc'd the said orders, as Antichristian. † Others were grand impertinences, wherein the Bishops were not concern'd ; as, That he had been ordain'd again at *Antwerp* or *Middleburg*, had set up a Presbytery there, and ordain'd others there in a manner different from the Church of *England*, and used another Liturgy, like the Foreign Churches. ‖ Others were insnaring : as, That he knew, or was credibly inform'd, of the authors of *Martin Marprelate*,

* *Histor. Ref. Part I. Pref.* † *Fuller, Ch. Hist. B. 9; p. 198.* ‖ *Art. 15.*
‡ *Art. 16.* * *Art. 22.* † *Art. 1.* ‖ *Art. 2. &c.*

prelate, *The Demonstration of the Discipline*, *Diotrephes*, &c. and did not discover them.* That he had set up Classes, Conferences, Synods, &c. † There was another, which one would think they should have commended him for, if, according to the commination on *A/b Wednesday*, they wish'd for the restoration of discipline : That when his servant had committed fornication, and gotten a bastard in his house, he, taking upon him the authority of the Ordinary, did appoint unto the delinquent, a public form of pittance, or satisfaction, in St. Mary's Church in *Warwick*, and caus'd him to perform the same.

But there being no law in our nation, which obliges a man to accuse himself, *Cartwright* refus'd to answer to those Articles. Whereupon, according to their usual lenity, they cast him into prison, without alledging any thing against him. With *Cartwright* were many other Ministers in prison at the same time : viz. *Fen*, *King*, *Wight*, *Payne*, *Lord*, *Snape*, *Proudlove*, and *Jewel*. *Cartwright* had lain a while in prison, and was not only teaz'd by the Archbishop, but by another of his Brethren in persecution, Bishop *Aylmer*. This Bishop, together with Dr. *Bancroft* (afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*) Dr. *Lewin*, and Sir *John Popham*, the Attorney General, sent for *Cartwright* out of the *Fleet*, to appear before the Bishop in his chamber. There he rattles him, for “ abusing the Privy Council, by informing them of his diseases, wherewith he was not troubled. For, says *Mr. Strype*, *Cartwright* had lately sued to them for his liberty from the *Fleet*, upon pretence of his *Gout* and *Sciatica* : which, it seems, was more in pretence than truth.” || I should never take *Aylmer*'s word for that. *Cartwright* had been so harrass'd by his persecutors, and had lain now long enough in prison to contract distempers ; and, being old beside, might be suppos'd, especially with such usage, to be infirm, as *Fuller* assures us he was in his latter time. Another thing he rattled him for was, his “ suggesting, that the oath, tendred to them, was not according to law, and that it was given generally without limitation.” Both these things, I doubt not, were true : the latter appears by all

all the accounts we have of the manner of their proceedings: the former he had from such as were learn'd in the law. The thing in its own nature was barbarous, and being without law was intolerably tyrannical. But 'twas a greater crime in the Ministers to complain of unjust usage, than for the Bishop to be the cause of it. The third thing he reproach'd him with was, "That he confess'd twice or thrice before that time, that a man might be saved in observing the orders of the Church, establisht by the laws of the land, and in consequence thereupon, he charg'd him with the vanity and fruitlessness of seeking farther Reformation: adding, moreover, that in the greatest matters he and others contended for, they were of the same opinion, that the Papists were of." I have the rather inserted this, that it may be seen what an exact Logician this Bishop was. The Puritans did not damn those who complied punctually with the orders of the Church, and therefore, according to this man's logic, they were *vain in seeking farther Reformation*. When Mr. Cartwright was about to answer this silly invective of the Bishop, Sir John Popham, interrupted him, and began another: upbraiding him with acting against the peace of the land, because that upon conceits of his own head, and yet under colour of conscience, they refus'd things, that had been receiv'd for laws of a long time: and he farther alledg'd, he had offended against the justice of the land, in refusing the oath tendred him.* Then the Bishop requir'd him to take the oath, *Cartwright* desir'd he might answer to the grievous charges laid against him by the Attorney, and especially by the Bishop. But the Bishop, conscious no doubt of the weakness and impertinence of his own discourse, told him he should not answer to any thing, but only to the oath, whether he would take it to answer to the Articles. *Cartwright* hereupon complain'd, 'twas a hard course to give open charges, and the same very grievous, and yet to *but men from all answer* to them.† But still the Bishop insisted upon his first answering touching the oath. Mr. *Cartwright* then produc'd a paper in answer to the Articles, offering to swear to the truth of it. He refus'd any further answer; and said, he look'd upon his refusal warranted by the laws of God and the land. Dr. *Lewin*, upon

Mr.

Mr. *Cartwright*'s calling this oath, the oath *ex officio*, told him he was greatly deceiv'd ; because it was deriv'd from the authority of the prince by a delegate power unto them. *Cartwright* answer'd : First, That in calling it an oath *ex officio*, he did it by warrant of the court, for the Bishop had call'd it so himself, and another of the High Commission, not then present, had call'd it the *oath of Inquisition* : the most proper name of it without all question. The Bishop denied that he had done so. But, Mr. *Cartwright* appealing to those present, he was silent. Secondly, Mr. *Cartwright* alledg'd, he had seen Commissions from her Majesty, wherein there was no inention of proceeding by corporal oath. Dr. *Bancroft* own'd this of former Commissions, but said the High Commission had been alter'd. Upon this happen'd a jarr between the Doctor and the Bishop ; the Bishop pretending it had been always in the Commission for thirty years, while he was in Commission himself. For the Bishop seem'd to fear, lest the Commissioners always using the oath, without warrant, should be in a *Premunire*. And since this was the real case, how arbitrary and tyrannical had the Bishop and other Commissioners been in all their proceedings ? Mr. *Cartwright* farther insisted, that tho' they might, by virtue of the Commission, proceed by oath ; yet it follow'd not they might do it without any to accuse, without any limitation, without reasonable time of deliberation and advice what to answer. There were many other impertinent cavils used by the Commissioners, to which Mr. *Cartwright* answer'd with marvellous judgment and modesty. I will however transcribe one part more of the examination, because it tends to clear the proceedings of the Furitans. The Attorney charg'd Mr. *Cartwright* and others with holding conferences and making laws. " Mr. *Cartwright* answer'd : That, touching that point, his answer was before them, which (being required) he would confirm upon his oath : that is, that they never held conferences by any authority, nor ever made any laws by any manner of compulsion, to procure any obedience unto them. Also, that he and others had expressly testified by subscription, they would not so much as voluntarily and by mutual agreement, one without another, practise any advice or agreement, that was contrary to any law of the land. Whereunto Dr. *Bancroft* replied : That authority they had none, and therefore could not use it ; and compulsion needed not, seeing every

“ every one, receiv’d to their conferences, must subscribe
“ to all orders he and others should set down ; so far as if
“ they should set down the sense or interpretation of a
“ place of Scripture, it should not be lawful for any to
“ depart from that : which, said he, is depos’d by three or
“ four. But, said Mr. C. he might have ecclesiastical ju-
“ risdiction of reproof, suspension, excommunication, de-
“ gradation, as they had been openly, but most untruly,
“ charg’d to have done, if either he, or others with him,
“ had thought it lawful for them so to do. And for the
“ other point, of their requiring subscription by any that
“ was admitted, much less such a subscription as Dr. B.
“ spake of, he protested, that neither had he so done,
“ nor any that he knew : and that he was ready to make
“ that also good upon oath.”* When they had done
bandying about the oath, and the Bishop, upon his refusal
to take the oath, had commanded an act thereof to be en-
ter’d, Mr. C. put the Bishop in mind of his promise, of
leave to answer the charges which were given against him.
The Bishop answer’d ; he had no leisure to hear his an-
swer, and if he would answer, he should do it by a pri-
vate Letter to him. By which it appears, the Bishop’s
conscience was much of a size with his logic. For what
signify’d the defence of a private Letter, against a charge
before such company ?

“ Upon this occasion King *James* wrote a Letter to the
“ Queen in their behalf, which was in these words :
“ Right Excellent, High and Mighty Princess, our dea-
“ rest Sister and Cousen, In our heartiest manner we re-
“ commend us unto you. Hearing of the apprehension
“ of Mr. *Udal* and Mr. *Cartwright*, and certaine other Mi-
“ nisters of the Evangel, within your realme, of whose
“ good erudition and fruitful travells in the Church we
“ have a very credible commendation, howsoever that
“ their diversitie from the Bishops, and others of your
“ Clergy, in matters touching them in conscience, hath
“ bin a mean by their delation to work them your misli-
“ king ; at this time we cannot (weighing the duty
“ which we owe to such as are afflicted for their consci-
“ ence in that profession) but by our most effectuous and
“ earnest Letter interpone us at your hands to any harder
“ usage

“ usage of them for that cause: requesting you most
 “ earnestly, that for our cause and intercession it may
 “ please you to let them be relieved of their present straite,
 “ and whatsoever further accusation, or pursuite depending
 “ on that ground, respecting both their former merit,
 “ in setting forth of the Evangel, the simplicitie of their
 “ conscience in this defence, which cannot well be their
 “ let by compulsion, and the great slander which could
 “ not faile to fall out upon their further straiting for any
 “ such occasion, which we assure us your zeal to religion,
 “ besides the expectation we have of your good will to
 “ pleasure us, will willingly accord to our request, having
 “ such proofes from time to time of our like affection to
 “ you, in any matters which you recommend unto us.
 “ And thus Right Excellent, Right High and Mighty
 “ Princes, our dear Sister and Cozen, we commit you to
 “ God’s good protection. From *Edenborough* the 12th
 “ day of *June, 1591.*”*

So great was the reputation of these Ministers, both for learning and piety, that even a King, the wise *Solomon*, as the flattering Clergy used afterwards to call him, was not ashamed to intercede in their behalf: and indeed, this was not the first Letter he wrote to Queen *Elizabeth* upon that occasion. For Mr. *Udal*, who is mention’d in this Letter, says, he had writ once before in his behalf, when he was close prisoner. † But notwithstanding the King’s intercession, *Cartwright* continued sometime a prisoner; nor do I find that any favour was shewn to the other Ministers, and particularly to Mr. *Udal*. In their proceedings against whom, they acted with such horrid injustice and cruelty, that no trial I ever met with, since Queen *Mary*’s days, comes near it; no, not the illegal proceedings in King *Charles* the Second, or King *James* the Second’s reign. I shall therefore be a little more large in giving an account of it. But first let us hear what our Author says.

Udal, another Puritan Minister, being convicted of writing against the Queen’s ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which was made Felony by a temporary Act of that Queen’s reign, was likewise condemn’d; but was pardon’d by the intercession of *Archbishop Whitgift*. ‖

* *Udal’s Tryal*, p. 43. Heylyn gives an imperfect Copy, Histor. Presbyr. p. 316;
 † *Udal’s Tryal*, p. 42. ‖ p. 32.

I have now *Udal's Trial* before me, and from thence shall give an account of him. Mr. *Udal* then was indeed one of the Puritan Ministers, and had been Preacher at *Kingston upon Thames*. There he was silenc'd by the Official Dr. *Hone*, for what reason, he says, he could not tell, nor imagine, saving the secret suggestions of Mr. *Harvie*. I guess therefore by this, there were then some illegal underhand dealings against him. After he was silenc'd, he rested about half a year, preparing himself to a private life, for that he saw so little hope of returning to his ministry, or any rest in it to the good of the Church. But some good people, at *Newcastle upon Tyne*, prevail'd with the Earl of *Huntington*, to send him to them. Accordingly he went, and join'd with two more godly Ministers, and found their labours were very useful. When he had staid a year there, the plague being very severe, all the while in the town, (which carry'd off 2000 inhabitants) he was fetch'd thence by Letters from the Lord *Hunsdon*, Lord Chamberlain, in the name of the whole Council. He set out December 29, 1589, in the sorest weather that could be, and had a sad journey, but got safe to *London*, January 9. And on the 13th he appear'd at the Lord *Cobham's* house, before the Lord *Cobham*, Lord *Buckhurst*, Lord Chief Justice *Anderson*, Dr. *John Young* Bishop of *Rochester*, Mr. *Fortescue*, Mr. *Egerton*, the Queen's Solicitor, Dr. *Aubery*, and Dr. *Lewin*. I am careful to set down their names, that they may be remember'd, as they deserve. The Bishop ask'd him, whether he had the allowance of the Bishop of the Diocese to go to *Newcastle*? *Udal* told him, there was no Bishop at that time in that Diocese. Then says the Bishop you should have gone to the Archbishop. But, says *Udal*, there was no Archbishop at *York* neither. This matter then drop'd; tho' afterward Mr. *Fortescue*, thinking he could cramp him, brought it about again. You are, says he, very cunning in the law; I pray you, by what law did you preach at *Newcastle*, being forbidden at *Kingston*? To which *Udal* answer'd; he knew no law against it, seeing it was the Official, Dr. *Hone*, who silenc'd him, whose authority reached not out of his Archdeaconry. And so there was an end of that matter, which was too impertinent to have been started, but only as they would have been glad of any occasion of worrying him. Then the Lord Chief Justice *Anderson* told him, he was call'd thither to

answer concerning certain books thought to be of his writing. He told them, if it was any of *Martin's* books (as my Lord Chamberlain's Letters imported) he had clear'd himself at *Lambeth* a year and a half before, from being the author of them. Then was he question'd, whether he was the author of the *Demonstration*, or the *Dialogue*. To which he refus'd to answer. When he was ask'd, why he would clear himself of *Martin*, and not of these : he said, because he would not be thought to handle the cause of discipline as *Martin* did ; but he thought otherwise of the books mention'd, and car'd not tho' they should be father'd upon him. He said likewise, he thought the author, for any thing he knew, did well, and he knew he was inquir'd after to be punish'd ; and therefore he thought it his duty to hinder the finding him out, which he could not better do than thus ; for if every one suspected deny'd it, the author at length must needs be found out. The Lord *Anderson* then urg'd him : why dare you not confess it, if you be the author of it ? dare you not stand to your own doings ? To this he thus answer'd : I profess'd before, that I liked of the books, and the matter handled in them, but whether I made them or no, I will not answer ; neither of any other book of that argument, whatsoever goeth without name, if you should ask me, for the reason alledg'd before : besides that, if I were the author, I think that by law I need not answer. That is true, says *Anderson*, if it concern'd the loss of your life. [Oh barbarous wickedness ! to urge and screw him by such arts as these to witness against himself, and to insinuate the matter did not touch his life, when the design was to try him for his life, as they afterwards did, and condemn'd him !] Well *Udal* answer'd him thus : I pray your Lordship, doth not the law say generally : *No man shall be put to answer without presentment, before Justices, or matter of record, or by due process and writ original, &c.* A. 42. *Edw.* 3. cap. 3. That is law, says *Anderson*, and it is not law. I understand you not, my Lord, says *Udal*. 'Tis a Statute which is in force, if it be not repeal'd. And so that Lord's mouth was stop'd for a while, and he was reliev'd by some of his auxiliaries. The Bishop of *Rochester* thought to catch him, by saying to him : I pray you let me ask you a question or two concerning your book. [Which was malicious enough in a Bishop, who should not make it his business to hunt for the Blood of the innocent.] But *Udal* was upon his guard, and said : 'Tis not

not yet prov'd to be mine ; but I will answer to any thing concerning the matter of the book so far as I know.

At length the solicitor said to him : Mr. *Udal*, I am sorry that you will not answer, nor take an oath, which by law you ought to do [he did not mention what law.] I can assure you, your answers are like the seminary Priests answers ; for they say, there is no law to compell them to take an oath to accuse themselves.* Sir, says *Udal*, if it be a liberty by law, there is no reason why they should not challenge it : for (tho' they be very bad ones) they are subjects, and untill they be condemn'd by law, may require all the benefit of subjects ; neither is that any reason, that their answering so, should make the claim of less value for me, seeing that we are herein subjects alike, tho' otherwise of a most contrary disposition. The Solicitor being thus put to silence, after a short consultation held among themselves, a Civilian undertakes him, this was Dr. *Aubery Lewin*, who said to him : You have taken the oath heretofore, why should you not take it now ? *Udal* answer'd him to this : Indeed you call to remembrance a good reason to refuse it. I was call'd to answer certain Articles upon mine oath heretofore, which I voluntarily did, and freely confess'd that against my self concerning my judgment and preaching of the points of discipline, which could never have been prov'd. And when my friends labour'd to have me restor'd to my place, the Archbishop answer'd there was sufficient matter against me by my own confession, why I should not be restor'd ; whereupon I covenanted with mine own heart, never to be mine own tormenter in that sort again. At length the Bishop told him, his sentence for that time was to go to the *Gatehouse* close prisoner.

So much good sense and integrity appears in all his answers, that one can't think of the base usage he found without indignation. Take it in his own words : " I was carried to the *Gatehouse* by a Messenger, who deliver'd me with a warrant to be kept close prisoner, and not to be suffer'd to have pen, ink or paper, or any body to speak with me. Thus I remain'd there half a year : in all which time my wife could not get leave to come unto me, saving only that in the hearing of the keeper she might speak

* *Udal's* reply to this may serve for a solid answer to a suggestion of *Bishop Aylmer*, I mention'd before in the third part of his *invective against Cartwright*.

“ to me, and I to her, of such things as she should think
 “ meet ; notwithstanding that she made suit to the Com-
 “ missioners, yea unto the body of the Council, for some
 “ more liberty : all which time my Chamber-fellows
 “ were seminary Priests, traitors and professed Papists.
 “ At the end of half a year I was removed to the *White*
 “ *Lyon* in *Southwark*, and so carried to the assizes at
 “ *Croydon*. ”

The 24 of July he was brought to *Croydon* together with the Felons and other criminals, and with fetters upon his legs, to be tried before Baron *Clarke* and Serjeant *Puckering*. The judge used him very rudely, and hardly. When Mr. *Udal* told him, he was ignorant of the law in the matter of challenging a jury, and ask'd how many he might challenge : he answer'd him ; he was not to tell him that, he sat there to judge, and not to give counsel. And yet with us the judge is reckon'd to be council for the accused, till he is found guilty ; and 'tis a very common thing in trials for the judges to inform persons in this matter. Mr. *Daulton*, who was council for the Queen, began with a long speech, wherein he inveigh'd against the cause, and those who profess'd it, and especially Mr. *Udal* ; he mention'd some of their books of Common-prayer, and said there was in one of them horrible blasphemy in those words of the consecration of the Lord's Supper : *Take eat this is my body, drink this is my blood.** And whereas, says he, one of the books doth allow, that over every congregation there should be a faithful Pastor, that is, a shepherd, whereby they may take the government out of her Majesty's hands, and so bring her Majesty to be one of their sheep ; no, quoth he, her Majesty is no sheep under any shepherd in the world, except Christ.† And for the government, that these men do seek for, I am assured there is none such to be found in the Word of God. Mr. *Udal* answer'd, this being yet a controversy among learned Divines, he thought it would have been a part of modesty for Mr. *Daulton* to have suspended his judgment, especially since he formerly shew'd some likeing to that cause himself. Then the judge took him

* By this the wisdom or honesty of the man, who was the great manager of his tryal, may be easily discern'd. † This is an odd whim enough ; but if Queen Elizabeth thought so, I wonder why she would take a Dispensation from the Archbishop to eat *yeal* in Lent. *

him up thus: Sirra, firra, answer to the matter Mr. *Daulton* hath against you: and then bid Mr. *Daulton* proceed to the proof of the points in the indictment. Mr. *Daulton* then undertook to prove,

1. That he had a malicious intent in making the book.
2. That he was the author of it.
3. That these matters in the indictment were felony by the Statute of *Eliz. 23. cap. 2.*

Then Mr. *Beadle* the Register was sworn, that the examinations [about to be read] were as the parties themselves deliver'd them. [For you must know they did not stand upon the trifling formality of bringing his accusers to his face.] Then *Stephen Chatfield*'s articles were produc'd against him. These were articles which *Chatfield* had carry'd to the Archbishop, and contain'd a report of certain written papers he saw in Mr. *Udal*'s study, tending (as he suppos'd) to the making such a book as this. Upon seeing them he asked, whose writing they were: and Mr. *Udal* answer'd, a friend's. *Chatfield* then desir'd him to rid his hands of them, for he doubted they concern'd the state. He said too, that another time *Udal* should tell him: That if they put him to silence, he would give the Bishops such a blow as they never had. *Chatfield* was call'd for to witness these things, but appear'd not. *Daulton* said he went out of the way on purpose. The judge said: Mr. *Udal*, you are glad of that. Mr. *Udal* answer'd: My Lords, I wish heartily he had been here, for as I am sure he never could say any thing against me to prove this point; so I have heard, and am able to prove it to be true, that he is very sorry he ever made any complaint against me, confessing he did it in his anger, when *Martin* came first out; and by their suggestions, whom he hath prov'd since by experience to be very bad men. He added: He was accused two years before upon *Chatfield*'s words, that the papers he saw in his study were the matter of *Martin Marprelate*, and because he had clear'd himself of that, the same thing was now brought to prove another matter, but it prov'd nothing unless it were set down in particular what they were. Mr. *Daulton* said, it prov'd he had a purpose to write this book, and those things were collections from his friends and preparations thereto. Mr. *Udal* refer'd it [as one would think he might safely] to the jury to consider how that point was clear'd. Besides, he added, the book itself

was extant in men's hands before his talk with *Chatfield*. Then he desir'd he might explain his own words of giving a blow to the *Bishops*. But the judge told him, the matter was clear, they saw what he could say to it well enough, and bid Mr. *Daulton* proceed to the proof of the second point. [This is such evidence, as a man would not hang a dog upon. Here was no witness in court, only a paper read, which had never been sworn to, nothing particular mention'd in the papers alledg'd to be seen, and these are pretended to have been preparations for a book, that was in print before, and all this only the supposition of an angry man (set on by bad men) and who was sorry for what he had done. What a judge then was this Baron *Clarke*? The justice of the nation was then at as low an ebb, as the sacred ministry.]

Then Mr. *Daulton* endeavour'd to prove him the author of the book; and for that end read the answer of *Nicolas Thompkins*, made upon oath before the High Commissioners: That he knew Mr. *Udal* was the author of that book, call'd *The Demonstration*; for he said that Mr. *Udal* himself told him so; also that he saw either in Mr. *Udal's* house, or in some other place in *Kingston*, a catalogue of all the books Mr. *Udal* had made, amongst which the *Demonstration* was one. This *Thompkins* was beyond sea, and hardly knew what he said when he was examin'd; and own'd he could not for a thousand pounds affirm any more, than that he heard *Udal* say: *He would not doubt but set his name to the book, if he had indifferent judges*. And when witnesses offer'd to prove he had differently reported his confession, they were answer'd: *That because their witness was against the Queen's Majesty they could not be heard*. [The judge no doubt saw how impertinent these things were, and therefore to prejudice the jury against him, offer'd *Udal* to discharge him, if he would swear he made not the book; which he knew he would not do.]

Another evidence he was the author of the book was read; and that was the confession of *Henry Sharpe*, of *Northampton*, who, upon his oath before my Lord Chancellor, had said, that he heard Mr. *Penry* say, that Mr. *Udal* was the author of the *Demonstration*.

This was the whole evidence, upon which he was condemn'd. And besides, the statute was made against *Papists*, and could not, without a violent straining, be extended

tended to such a case as this : it was against those, who were evil affected to her Highness, as all the writings of the Puritans shew, they were not : besides, the Act was levell'd against defaming of the Queen's Majesty, or stirring up of insurrection, sedition, or rebellion. Now here was nothing in the book, upon which such a charge, against Mr. Udal, could be grounded, supposing he had own'd himself the author of it. Let but any man read the words, upon which the indictment was laid : " And " who can (without blushing) denie you [the Bishops] " to be the cause of all ungodliness, seeing your govern- " ment is that which giveth leave to a man to be any " thing, saving a sound Christian ? For certainly it is " more free in these days, to be a Papist, Anabaptist, of " the Family of Love, yea, any most wicked one what- " soever, then that which we should be ; and I could " live these twenty years any such in *Englande* (yea in a " Bishop's house, it may be) and never be much molest- " ed for it ; so true is that which you are charged with, " in a *Dialogue* lately come foorth against you, and since " burned by you, that you care for nothing but the " maintenance of your dignities, bee it to the damnation " of your owne soules, and infinite millions moe." And what is here to defame the Queen's Majesty (who is not so much as mention'd) or to stir up sedition or rebellion ? The judge told the jury, they must find him author of the book, the evidences being manifest for it.

As to the matter of felony, that was a point of law, agreed upon by all the judges. And so the jury brought him in guilty, to the everlasting reproach of the justice of the nation, and particularly of that reign, and of the Bishops, who were the great stirers in the prosecution, for the sake of their own reputation.

The jury having found him guilty, sentence was not pass'd upon him, 'till Febr. 20. when the next assize was held in *Southwark*. In the mean while, he drew up a Petition to the Queen, wherein he protests before God, he had never any thought, or imagination, to publish, write, or do any thing maliciously, or tending to the dishonour, or slander of her Majesty's Royal Person, or Princely Estate : and after having earnestly intreated her gracious pardon, promises, if he might obtain it, to lead the rest of his life in all humble and dutiful obedience.

The first day of the assize he was dealt with by some to condemn the book in question, and justify the Hierarchy. This he would not, and at a private hearing, he drew out a paper of reasons to move his judges to stay the sentence, notwithstanding the verdict against him, and to be a means of his release. He herein pleaded his own cause very ingeniously and strenuously; and took notice, the jury were only directed to find him the author of the book, and were freed from inquiring into the intent, without which there is no felony. He appeal'd to their own consciences, whether by themselves, or report, they could find him guilty of any act in his whole life, that favour'd of malice, or malicious intent, against her Majesty, or of any other behaviour, than standeth with the allegiance and duty of a most dutiful and Christian subject. He complain'd, his jury were not left wholly to their own consciences, but were wrought upon partly by promise, assuring them it should be no further danger to him, but tend to his good; and partly by fear; and it had been occasion of grief to some of them ever since: that no witness did directly prove him the author of the book; and that *Chatfield*, the chief witness was so griev'd, that he was ashame'd to come where he was known. That the book spake honourably of her Majesty every where, and the drawing of the Statute from her Majesty to the Bishops (as a part of her body politic) was a violent depraving and wresting it. In fine he pleaded, he had maintain'd a cause, wherein all the Foreign Protestants agreed. He clos'd all with this sentence: "If all this prevail not, yet
" my redeemer liveth, to whom I commend my self, and
" say as sometime *Jeremy* said in a case not much unlike:
" *Behold I am in your hands, do with me what seemeth good*
" *unto you; but know you this, that if you put me to death,*
" *you shall bring innocent blood upon you, and upon the land.*
" *As the blood of Abel, so the blood of Udal will cry to*
" *God with a loud voice, and the righteous judge of the*
" *world, will require it at the hands of all those that shall*
" *be guilty of it.*"

After he had pleaded his reasons in open court, where used he was with barbarous injustice, *Puckering* pass'd sentence of death upon him.

The Queen repriev'd him, and sent Dr. *Bond*, her Chaplain, to him, to offer him a form of submission, which he refus'd, and drew up another of his own. In
the

the mean while he receiv'd advice, that some about the Queen inform'd her, he held such opinions, as render'd him not worthy to live ; and that Sir *Walter Rawleigh* was in hopes of obtaining his life, if he woud send him somewhat under his hand, concerning these opinions. This he did, and sent it in a handsome Letter to Sir *Walter*. After this, Dean *Nowel*, and Dr. *Andrews*, came and brought him a form of submission, promising in the name of the Council, he should have pardon and liberty, if he subfcrib'd it. He refus'd at first, but afterwards, upon advising with his friends, yielded ; and that this might not be misconstrued, he sent a Letter to the Lords of the Council, telling them honestly, how he would be understood, as to several passages in it. Soon after came Dr. *Andrews* to him, telling him, the Clark had mistaken the form of submission, and brought him another, which was mostly the same he had refus'd before. And soon after he heard, that that submission *Nowel* had procur'd of him, was made use of to hasten the execution of the sentence. Upon which he wrote a plain Letter to him, setting before him the danger of having a hand in shedding his innocent blood, and intreating him to act in his behalf ; at the same time, shewing he was not afraid to die, even such a manner of death. He continued in prison, without being allow'd to go to Church, and in *Easter Term*, 1592, he sued for liberty for that ; but was deny'd, being a condemn'd man, and then he got a copy of his indictment, which he could not obtain before.

Upon this he got a pardon fram'd, according to the indictment, and sent it with a Petition by his wife to the Council, who refer'd him to the Archbishop. *Udal* then sent divers' Petitions, and dutiful Letters to him, and got many friends and honourable personages to sue to him ; yet could not his good will be gotten. The *Turky Merchants* then sued, they might have him to *Guinea*, to teach their people : the Archbishop promis'd his good will, provided they would be bound for his going upon his having his liberty. But afterwards he added another condition, that they should be bound, he should tarry there, 'till her Majesty's licence to come thence. This condition was refus'd. However at length Dean *Nowel* prevail'd with the Lord Keeper, and the Archbishop promised, at their next meeting at court, to deal with her

Majestly to sign his pardon, that he might have his liberty to go the voyage. Whether they did this, or no, does not appear. If *Fuller* is to be believ'd, he was not pardon'd at all, but dy'd a prisoner. Whether he had fairer play in the prison, than in the court, I can't tell. However there is good reason to think, that his imprisonment, and the great vexation he met with, were the means of hastening his death. And so we leave his, with the other souls, *under the altar, crying with a loud voice, and saying, How long, Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?*

I cannot here but take notice of a great mistake of Sir *George Paul*, who, extolling the Archbishop for his *mildness and clemency*, (and he might as well have done it for his *Nonconformity*) speaks thus of him : “ Did he “ not, after that *Udal* and others were condemned unto “ death, draw upon him the dislike of his dear and ho-“ nourable friend, in making earnest suit, and never cea-“ sed, ‘till he had obtain'd pardon for them at her Ma-“ jesty's hands ? ” * The *honourable friend* is mention'd by name in the Margin, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, who was Queen *Elizabeth's Chancellor*. Now how false this is, concerning *Udal*, may appear by what *Udal* himself writes of the matter. He tells us expresly : That *after the Chancellor's death*, he sent several times to the Archbishop, and that his good will could not be gotten. How then could the Archbishop draw upon him *Hatton's* dislike, by suing for his pardon ? This I mention the rather, that my readers may be sensible, how little credit is to be given to that author. And what is it makes our *Adversaries* wriggle after this rate, and be so solicitous to save the credit of their *Archbishop* ? If *Udal* was prov'd guilty; and his crime was capital, what harm had there been in it, if the *Archbishop* had never stir'd to obtain his pardon ? But if nothing appear'd against him, and the very matter objected was a meer trifle, I think it would much better become our *Adversaries* to testify their utter abhorrence of the horrid villany practis'd against an ingenious, learned, and pious Minister, than to forge such sorry excuses and vindications of any, who had a hand in it.

I

I confess, this account is pretty long, tho' I have, to shorten it, left out much I would have been glad to put in; but the extraordinariness of the case, and the scarcity of the trial will, I hope, be a sufficient apology for me, and especially since our Author himself led me to speak particularly of it.

Now also was silenc'd Mr. *Walter Travers*, a very pious and learned Minister, whom King *James* had invited, together with Mr. *Cartwright*, to be Professors in the University of St. *Andrews*. He was not suffer'd either to see his accusers, or make any defence for himself; but being unheard, was silenc'd, and that in the most rude and affronting way, that his adversaries could contrive. For when the congregation was met together on a Lord's Day, and *Travers* was just going into the pulpit, a sorry fellow deliver'd him Archbishop *Whitgift*'s Letter, whereby he forbad him to preach. 'Tis past doubt the design was to provoke him, by thus publicly affronting him before the congregation: but some people can't help suspecting, the crafty Archbishop had a malicious intention to lay a snare for him; and sought an occasion of using him with the greater severity, if he had less regarded the authority of the Archbishop, than the profit of the assembly, and had therefore disobey'd so unexpected a command. However that be, the Archbishop, according to his tender affection to the people, sent no body to preach in *Travers*'s room; but the congregation, being disappointed of the expected entertainment, was dismiss'd. The Archbishop pretended three reasons for this prohibition. I shall only take notice of the first, which the Foreign Divines ought to be acquainted with; and that was, that Mr. *Travers* was not a Minister, according to the manner of the Church of *England*: for he was not ordain'd by the Archbishop, but by the Presbytery at *Antwerp*. This has been the manner of our Adversaries since that time; they null the ordinations of Protestants, while they allow the validity of those of Papists. Concerning this, Mr. *Hornbeck* says: "Nothing is more intolerable, than that those, who are ordain'd by the Papists, should be receiv'd without any difficulty, because they were ordain'd by a Bishop; and at the same time, the orders of those, who are ordain'd by Presbyters, are call'd in question: especially, since the Presbyterians admit persons ordain'd by Bishops in the Protestant Church, " the

" the Bishops, on the other hand, ought not to dispute
 " against the ordinations perform'd in the same Church
 " by Presbyters, as tho' it were null and invalid. "

Now our Author proceeds to the story of *Hacket*: Nay *some of the Puritans*, says he, *of this time*, were so mad, as to attempt a rebellion for the sake of the discipline, and by the solicitation of some enthusiastical men, *Hacket*, *Coppinger*, and *Arthington*, proceeded to stir up the people to take up arms against the Queen on that behalf. *Hacket* was a fellow of a bold and confident nature, illiterate to the last degree; for he had never learn'd to read. Dr. *Fuller* hints, that he was thought to be disorder'd in his brain, and was fitter for *Bedlam*, than *Bridewel*. * However that be, 'tis certain he broke out into most horrid blasphemy, and even died with it in his mouth. It would be very unjust to pretend, his being a Nonconformist is an evidence of the badness of our cause. Every one knows, that *Simon Magus*, *Montanus*, and *Marcion*, were once members of the Christian Church, tho' they afterwards fell into the most abominable Heresies. Nay, among the Disciples of our Lord himself, there was a *Judas*, who was a Devil. † The tares will be mix'd with the wheat, until the time of harvest: and 'tis common for wicked men, to seek to hide their wickedness by affecting the company of good men. Nor can our Adversaries boast they are, by any singular privilege, exempted from the like disgrace. We need not descend to the illiterate laity, or their inferior Clergy, to find out instances to reproach them with. We are able to stop the mouths of all such objectors, if they have any modesty, with the vile practices even of some of their own Bishops, and chief rulers of their Church. And if the disgraceful punishment inflicted be thought to encrease the disgrace of a party, we don't want an example of that kind to retort upon our Adversaries. What crime could be viler than that of *Adelton*, Bishop of *Waterford*, for which he was hang'd, and that retaining his sacred character; for he was not first degraded? I would here farther add, that our Author has not fairly represented this matter. These three frantic persons had no body to join with them in their insurrection; nor is there evidence, that any,

any, beside themselves, approv'd, or were indeed acquainted with their true design.

Dr. Nichols tells us: *Coppinger communicated this matter with Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Egerton, and Wigginton, Puritanical Ministers, who were then at London, asking their advice concerning it. But to this they return this curning answer: "That it was not to be denied, but that the cause was good, which he desi'd to be an actor in, but the thing which stuck was, they thought it impossible that he should be fit to intermeddle in it, without endangering both of himself and of the real cause, which he would seem to be most desirous to further. And Egerton saith: That tho' he would not undertake to approve his extraordinary calling, yet he would be loth to quench the spirit of God in Coppinger, or to hinder his zeal."* But none of them all thought fit to discover his conspiracy. How should they dilcover his conspiracy, who were not acquainted with it? There is no evidence of their acquainting the Ministers with their design of making an insurrection. They pretended an extraordinary zeal, and that they would exert themselves for the discipline: but did they ever inform them, that they intended to rise in open rebellion against the Queen? Some of the Ministers took them for men deluded and distemper'd in their brains, and answer'd them accordingly; perhaps so as they hoped was the most ready way to get rid of their impertinence. And who ever thinks it worth his while to go and trouble a magistrate, with an information about the romantic, rambling discourses of such kind of men? 'Tis possible a weak Minister (and such there may be in any party) might give an unadvis'd answer to them: but that any of them were let into their real design is not pretended. And all these informations must come from those men themselves, whose testimony will not be much regarded by prudent men against persons of probity and reputation. And who, that knows any thing of the Puritans, will imagine they would countenance the proclamation that *Coppinger* and *Arthirton* made, that Christ was come in *Hacket*, with his fan in his hand, &c.? Dr. Fuller speaks candidly of the matter. "This busines, says he, of *Hacket* happen'd very unseasonably for the Presbyterians. True it is, they as cordially detested his blasphemies, as any of the Episcopal party. And such of them as loved *Hacket* the Nonconformist, abhor'd *Hacket* the Heretic,

“ tic, after he had mounted to so high a pitch of Impie-
“ ty.” * And let any man consider the spirit of that
reign, and how scandalously they hunted after the blood
of *Udal*, and he will reckon it an argument of the Puritans
innocence in this affair, or at least an evidence there
was no proof against them, that none of them suffer’d
for it.

Farther *Cartwright* wrote an *Apology* for himself, against
the flanders of Dr. *Sutcliffe*. In which he most fully ju-
stifies himself, and shews the weaknes of the charges ad-
vanc’d by that trifling and impertinent scribler. Particu-
larly he shews, he had never seen *Hacket* or *Arthrington*,
and had never any conference with them by letter or mes-
sage. That as to *Coppinger*, a friend of his had consulted
him about his extraordinary calling ; and that he gave his
reasons to prove it a delusion : that he advis’d his friends,
a little before his lewd practice broke out, to put him in
Bridewel or *Bedlam* : that when he sent Mr. *Cartwright*
a Letter, he would not receive it, or so much as look
upon the superscription of it.

Nor was *Cartwright* clear’d by himself only, but by Mr. *Job Throckmorton*, a Gentleman who was falsely accus’d,
as being privy to this conspiracy, and therefore wrote an
Apology for himself. He says : “ A reverend judge in this
“ land did once tell my Lord Chancellor, that the matter of
“ the indictment that passed against *Throckmorton* at *War-*
“ *wick*, was in trueth but a frivelous matter, and a thing
“ that he would easily avoid. And the said Lord Chancel-
“ lor did say, not only privately in his house, but even to
“ her Majesty (who caused the same to be signify’d to me,
“ that I might therein be thankfull to my Lord) and more
“ than that did openly in Parliament pronounce, that he
“ knew the same *Job Throckmorton* to be an honest man.”
Moreover he shews, that the writers concerning that con-
spiracy had wretchedly wrested his and *Egerton*’s words,
to a sense quite different from that of the authors ; and
had left out such passages of their letters, as would have
made their meaning plain. He declares he was caution’d
by Mr. *Cartwright* from the very first, to beware of *Cop-*
pinger as of a craz’d man. These, and several other things,
which quite destroy the credit of those base and mercena-
ry

ry writers *Sutcliffe* and *Cofin*, he not only relates, but offers to swear to the truth of them, whenever he should be call'd to it.

Our Author in the next place discourses concerning *Robert Brown*.* Of whom I shall say but little at present, the reports of authors concerning him being so various, that 'tis hard to discern the truth. Nor, do I apprehend the cause of the Dissenters to be much affected with his history. All seem to agree that he was not so fix'd in his notions, but that the persecution of the Bishops made him conform. If he did this sincerely, our Adversaries may triumph in their proselyte; if hypocritically, they may learn what is the great benefit of those persecuting practices they are so fond of; but they are the worst men in the world to become his accusers, because they were first his tempters. The *Independents* do not own him as their ringleader. He is said by a Foreigner to have been a man of a most dissolute conversation, and to have continued Minister of a Parish; which, if it be true, shews our Adversaries are more strict in punishing men for disparaging their constitution, than for transgressing the undoubted laws of Christ. † But 'tis to be hoped, that in a little time we may have a much more full and certain account of him, than we have at present. And that makes me the willinger to pass him over so lightly.

A severe law was made about this time, by which such as should persuade others, or be present themselves at Conventicles, were requir'd to abjure, or otherwise were to be banish'd. Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, when the Bill was read the second time in the House of Commons, spake against it. He said: "In his conceit the Brownists are "worthy to be rooted out of a commonwealth; but "what danger may grow to ourselves, if this law passes, "it were fit to be consider'd. For it is to be fear'd, that "men not guilty will be included in it; and that law is "hard that taketh life, or sendeth into banishment, "where mens intentions shall be judg'd by a jury, and "they shall be judges what another meant. But what "law that is against a fact, that is just; and punish the "fact as severely as you will. If two or three thousand "Brownists meet at the seaside, at whose charge shall "they

“ they be transported? or whither will you send them?
 “ I am sorry for it; I am afraid there is near twenty thou-
 “ sand of them in *England*; and when they are gone,
 “ who shall maintain their wives and children? *

Upon these poor people the persecution was very heavy. The only crime they were guilty of was, their opposing vigorously the impositions of the Hierarchy, and their worshiping God according to their consciences. They were indeed very high in their notions about many things, and they commonly wrote with a great deal of bitterness; but they were undoubtedly many of them very good men, and far from deserving any such hard and cruel treatment. The Puritans always dislik'd the rigidnes of their notions, and were the chief writers against them; for which the Bishops, according to their usual gratitude at that time, rewarded them with silencing, suspension and imprisonment.

In the year 1592. there were fifty six of these people taken on a Lord's Day as they were worshiping God, in the very place, in which the Protestant congregation us'd to meet in Queen *Mary's* days. They were sent two by two into the several prisons in and about *London*. Some of them by long imprisonment were near starv'd, others after two years imprisonment were banish'd, and some were hang'd. † There were at that time detain'd in prisons in *London* (beside those in other goales throughout the land) persons lying in cold, in hunger, in dungeons, in irons. Barrow says the 56 taken in *London* were unbailably committed by the Bishop of *London* close prisoners in *Bridewel*, the *Limbo* or *Dungeon* in *Newgate*, the *Fleet*, the *Counters*, the *Clink*, the *Gatehouse*, the *white Lyon*. “ These bloody men, *says he*, will allow them neither meat, drink, fire, lodging, nor suffer any, whose hearts the Lord would stir up for their relief, to have any access to them: purposing belike to imprison them unto death, as they have done 17 or 18 others in the same noisom goales within these six years.” The husband and wife, he tells us, were not suffer'd to be in the same prison: their poor families at home were miserable. “ Some of this company, *says he*, had not one penny about them, when they were sent into close prison, nor any

“ any thing being abroad (which is the case of most of
 “ them, if not all) to procure themselves and their poor
 “ families any maintenance, save only by their handy la-
 “ bours and trades. Whereby it is come to pass, that
 “ these enemies of God do not only starve and undo a
 “ number of men in the prisons, but even a lamentable
 “ company of poor orphans and servants abroad. Their
 “ unbridled flanders, their lawless privy searches, their
 “ violent breaking open and rifling our houses, their la-
 “ mentable and barbarous usage of women and young
 “ children in these hostile assaults, their uncontroul'd
 “ thievery, robbing, and taking away of whatsoever they
 “ think meet from us in this case; their unappeas'd and
 “ merciless pursuit of us from our houses, trades, wives,
 “ children, especially from the holy society of the saints
 “ and Church of God, we are inforc'd to omit, lest we
 “ should be over tedious.—— We crave for all of us but
 “ the liberty either to die openly, or to live openly in the
 “ land of our nativity. If we deserve death, it befeemeth
 “ the Majesty of justice not to see us closely murder'd,
 “ yea starv'd to death with hunger and cold, and stifled
 “ in lothsom dungeons. If we be guiltless, we crave but
 “ the benefit of our innocence, *viz.* that we may have
 “ peace to serve our God, and our Prince, in the place of
 “ the sepulchres of our fathers.”

But let us hear what our Author says of such, as were put to death upon the account of Brownism. *One Thacker and Copping were hang'd for publishing Brown's Books.** And was not this, do we think, a mighty crime for which men should be hang'd? Was not this a justification of the Papists putting men to death for the same sort of crimes? This cruelty was practis'd in 1583, ten years before what he next mentions.

Barrow and Greenwood suffer'd the same punishment, for putting out Books upon the like principles in defamation of the establish'd Church, and for holding separate Meetings contrary to law. But a pardon was offer'd them, if they would promise to live quietly for the future, and not disturb the peace of the Church. But the stomachful Schismatics chose death, rather than quiet. These two Persons, Mr. Barrow a Gentleman, and Mr. Greenwood a Minister, by their

M

whole

whole conversation approv'd themselves, so far as I can find, honest and good, tho' weak Christians ; nor can their adversaries find any thing to reproach them with, saving their judgment in controverted points about ceremonies, church government, &c. And tho' I look upon them to have been extravagantly mistaken in some things, and to have been too sharp in their stile ; yet I make no doubt at all, they are now glorious saints above. And I must own, I cannot, without some indignation, think of those men, who shed their blood under a pretence of doing God service. Is that the way of confuting arguments, and silencing an adversary ? Were not the matters disputable, and such wherein good men might differ in their sentiments ? If they were in an error, was it not a very tolerable one ? Nay were not their adversaries themselves in much greater errors even about these matters ? Was there not good reason to think they were honest and conscientious in embracing and professing their opinions ? Did not their whole conduct, did not the testimony of their blood abundantly confirm it ? If they were quite out of the way, was such rigour and cruelty the proper method of convincing and reclaiming them ? And is it not scandalous in writers after them to insult these men ? Can any man be so weak, as to think they did not love their lives, as well as their neighbours ? Was it any thing but the desire of keeping a good conscience, that kept them from accepting an offer'd pardon ? Few men are stomachful enough to refuse their lives, when they are offer'd them ; and 'tis barbarous to impute to such a reason, what is apparently done for the sake of a good conscience. While I am writing this, we have an account of the behaviour of Mr. *Paul*, one of their own Clergy, who tho' he had been in open rebellion, and died vindicating the impudent cause for which he suffer'd ; yet was not so stomachful, but that he could basely and scandalously fawn, and flatter, and lie too, as long as he had any hope of saving his life. What made the difference between him and them ? Certainly not that he was more humble, and they more stomachful ; not that he only lov'd life, and they despis'd it ; but that the one acted upon no religious principle, as did the other two. And let any man read the examinations of *Barrow* and *Greenwood*, and I am mistaken, if he will not perceive a plain hearted Christian simplicity

plicity in their behaviour, and an inhuman spirit of cruelty and tyranny in their persecutors.

I shall farther set down here what I meet with in one of their writers, who, in King James the First's reign, publish'd *Barrow's Platform*. "A Gentleman, says he, of good house told me, that Queen Elizabeth asked the learned Doctor *Raynolds*, what he thought of those two men. And he answer'd her Majesty, that it could not avail any thing to shew his judgment concerning them, seeing they were put to death: and being loth to speak his mind further, her Highness charged him upon his allegiance to speak. Whereupon he answer'd: That he was persuaded, if they had lived, they would have been two as worthy instruments for the Church of God, as have been rais'd up in this age. Her Majesty sigh'd, and said no more. But after that, riding to a park by the place, where they were executed, call'd to mind their suffering of death, and (being willing to take further information concerning them) demanded of the Right Honourable the Earl of *Cumberland* (that was present when they suffer'd) what end they made. He answer'd: *A very godly end, and prayed for your Majesty, the state, &c.* Moreover Mr. *Philips*, a Preacher famous, having both heard and seen Mr. *Barrow*, his holy speeches and preparation for death, said: *Barrow, Barrow, my soul be with thine.* For thus I have been credibly inform'd." Mr. *Strype* tells us, that pardon was promis'd them, if they would have come to Church, but that the great thing that stuck with them was, the doctrine of Christ's descent into hell; which was mightily insisted on at that time, and was the occasion of much suffering to good men.*

Dr. *Nichols*, in the next place, brings in *Barrow* under sentence of condemnation, as making a heavy complaint of *Cartwright's* refusing to come to him. This story, tho' related by some writers, is not very probable. The *Brownists* were pretty much alienated from the Puritans, who wrote against them, and perhaps more than they ought: and whatever use they might make of *Cartwright's* principles, yet he never approv'd their doings, or gave them any encouragement. Indeed he, and the Puritans

ritans in general, seem'd to be too much of Dr. *Nichols*'s mind, concerning the Magistrate's power in matters of religion. And considering what treatment *Cartwright* had met with, no one can blame him for being on his guard. He was offended with the satyrical stile of many writings publish'd at that time, by the enemies of the ecclesiastical constitution, as Mr. *Clark* assures us, and *Cartwright* himself testifies in his *Apology*. And Dr. *Fuller* says that tho' some thought those jeering pens well employ'd; yet "the more discreet and devout sort of men, even of such as were no great friends to the Hierarchy, upon solemn debate then resolv'd (I speak, says he, on certain knowledge from the mouths of such whom I must believe) that for many foul falsehoods therein suggested, such books were altogether unbecoming a pious spirit, to print, publish, or with pleasure peruse, which suppos'd true both in matter and measure, charity would rather conceal than discover." * And if *Cartwright* suspected *Barrow* to have a hand in any such pieces, and knew at the same time how carefully his adversaries watch'd for an opportunity against him, he must be thought to have acted prudently in avoiding (if he did avoid) a conversation they would have improv'd against him. If he had done otherwise 'tis possible all the blame might have been laid upon him, and he afresh have been cast into prison. So impossible is it for innocence itself to please unreasonable and malicious men.

Soon after these was executed Mr. *John Penry* whom our Author mentions before, saying, *He was one of the comp[er]ters of that notorious Libel, Martin Marprelate, and being found guilty of libelling the Queen, was hang'd.* † Not knowing whether his trial be in print or not, I can't so well judge of the evidence alledg'd to prove him the author of *Martin Marprelate*. And beside the assertions of that party that shed his blood, I have met with nothing to induce me to believe it. And Mr. *Udal*, who was well acquainted with him, declar'd he did not believe *Penry* was the author: and indeed what I have read of *Penry*, appears to me to be written with an intirely different stile and temper from *Martin Marprelate*. The government seems never to have had any certain information of the true

true author ; and perhaps 'twas known then to very few, if any beside the author himself. But if he were not the author, some mens malice against the party was gratified in putting him to death. Another thing I would take notice of is : That our Author says, he was *found guilty of libelling the Queen* : whereas, I dare say, there is not any such thing in any of *Martin's* writings. Satirical enough they are upon the Bishops and Clergy of the Church. But what was said against them is violently strain'd to be against the Queen, because they were her Ministers. But that he never entertain'd any designs against the Queen, or bore her any disrespect, appears by what he says at his examination before Justice *Fanshaw*, and Justice *Young*. For a man who was so honest and free to declare his mind, in several things, which he could not but know would be improv'd against him, deserves to be believ'd in those declarations he makes for his own vindication. When Mr. *Fanshaw* said to him : " Then you are privy unto no practice or intent of any sedition or commotion against her Majesty, or the state, for the pulling down of Bishops ? Mr. *Penry* answer'd him : No, I thank God, nor ever was ; and I protest before heaven and earth, that if I were, I would disclose and withstand the same to the uttermost of my ability, in all persons of what religion soever they were." * Afterward Mr. *Fanshaw* put him in mind, he had said, that the offices and livings he conceiv'd to be deriv'd from the body of Antichrist should be overthrown by the Lord, and therefore desir'd to know how he meant this should be accomplish'd. And then *Penry* said thus : " I have already shew'd you, that this work shall be done by the appearing of Jesus Christ, in the shining brightness of his Gospel, thro' the efficacy whereof, the Lord shall so lay them open, as he will put it into the hearts of princes and states, wherein they are now maintain'd, to abolish their offices, callings and works utterly from among men, and to employ their livings unto the holy civil uses of the princes and states wherein they are. "

And in a declaration he drew up, concerning his allegiance and his faith, which has many things that are found in his examination, he professes as ample an allegi-

ance as any Christian, for ought I see, can rightfully do ; and declares himself most willing to defend her Majesty's authority against all estates, persons, and creatures under heaven, to the loss of his life ; adding this honest expression :

“ And I take the Lord to record, that that day to my knowledge hath not passed over my head, I am sure, since the first time that the Lord under her gracious reign brought me to the knowledge of the truth, wherein I have not, or do not pray for the blessings of my God, both outward and inward, to be pour'd with a full horn upon her Right Excellent Majesty's throne, regiment and dominions for ever and ever : and that he would either convert or speedily overthrow in his wrath all his and her enemies with their enterprises, whether they be home or foreign. Hereof I call the searchet of hearts, as in witness of truth against my own soul, if either I dissemble or forge in the premises.” He afterward professes, that whatever he held in the points controverted, he held it of meer conscience toward God, having the written Word for his warrant. But if any one could convince him by that word, “ that he err'd in any thing, he was willing to reform his judgment, crave pardon earnestly for his oversight, yea, and be most willing to suffer due punishment for his temerity. But, says he, if on the other side, I testify nothing but verity in these points I am undoubtedly persuaded of, I most humbly crave, that the piercing edge of that sword may not in heat be turn'd against me and my brethren, which was never professedly violent against the open and sworn enemies of their native prince and country.”

He goes on like a Christian hero : “ Death, I thank God, I fear not, in this cause especially ; for I know that the sting of death is taken away, and that they are blessed which dy in the Lord for witnessing against the former corruptions, *Rev. xiv. 9. 13.* Life I desire not, if I be guilty of sedition, of defaming and disturbing the quiet state of her Majesty's peaceable government.”

He concludes with a vein of good sense, one would think, above the age he liv'd in. “ Lastly, says he, I most humbly and earnestly beseech their Honours and Worships, in whose hands this writing of mine shall come, to consider, that 'tis to no purpose that her Majesty's subjects should bestow their time in learning, in study and meditation of the word, in reading the writings

“ and

“ and doings of learned men, and of the holy Martyrs
“ which have been in former ages, especially the writings
“ publith'd by her Majesty's authority ; if they may not
“ without danger profess and hold these truths which
“ they learn out of them, and that in such sort as they
“ are able to convince all the world that will stand against't
“ them, by no other weapon than by the word of God.
“ I beseech them also to consider, what a lamentable case
“ 'tis, that we may hold fellowship with the *Romish*
“ Church in the inventions thereof without all danger,
“ and cannot, without extream peril, be permitted in
“ judgment and practise to dissent from the same, where
“ it swerveth from the true way. And as they find the
“ things to be of especial moment in religion, I beseech
“ them in the bowels of Jesus Christ to be a means unto
“ her Majesty and their Honours, that my cause may be
“ weigh'd in even balance. Imprisoments, indictments,
“ arraignments, yea death itself are no meet weapons to
“ convince the conscience, grounded upon the word of
“ God, and accompany'd with so many witnesses of his
“ famous servants and Churches.”

Dr. Fuller mentions three more, who were condemn'd for the like crimes ; but says, he supposes they were pardon'd, because he hears nothing of their execution. Wherein I believe he was not mistaken : for I find one, if not two of the same names were afterwards among the exiles at *Amsterdam*.*

I find by a Brownist author, there was one *William Dennys* executed at *Thetford*, in *Norfolk*, for the same crime. When a just and terrible God shall make inquisition for blood, 'tis not hard to know in whose skirts the blood of these men will be found. I should be heartily glad, if I could find our Adversaries of this generation, when they mention these things, would go as far as the Jews did, and say : *If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of these men.* I can't imagine what they mean, who abet these practices, or mention them without a just abhorrence ; unless they are willing that upon themselves should come their righteous blood, and the blood of all other good men, who have in like manner been unjustly persecuted unto death.

MDCII. The Puritans, who had endur'd such a long and grievous persecution under Queen *Elizabeth*, were now in great expectation of the long desir'd reformation and peace of the Church, when King *James*, who had interceded by his Letters for some of the persecuted Ministers, came to the throne.

Dr. *Fuller* places the *Petition*, sign'd by a thousand hands, after the *Hampton Court Conference*; but I am satisfy'd I was mistaken in following him therein. The matter of their petition was digested into four Articles. In the first they desire the Cross in Baptism, the Interrogatories ministred to infants, Confirmation, Baptism ministred by women, the divers terms of *Priests*, *Absolution*, &c. and the Ring in marriage may be laid aside: that the Cap and Surplice, the rest upon Holidays, and the teaching the people to bow at the name of *Jesus*, be not urg'd: that the Service be abridg'd, and Church Music moderated to better edification: that Canonical Scripture be only read in the Church, &c. The second Article was for a diligent preaching Ministry, and against Nonresidence. The third against Pluralities. The last against the notorious abuses of the Spiritual Courts.*

There are very few of these, which would not be grateful to some of the best men in the Church. But the Bishops set themselves obstinately against all alterations, and instead of making things easy to the Petitioners, they seem to have taken their measures in Convocation from the Petition itself, to make the Ministers case more hard and difficult.

Dr. *Nichols* represents the King, as not well pleas'd with these demands. But Dr. *Fuller* says: "After it was present-
" ed, it was given out, that his Majesty lent it a favour-
" able ear." † The account I shall give of the Conference at *Hampton Court* will make this latter appear most probable.

Now whereas Dr. *Nichols*, in relating the history of this Conference, follows the false account, given by Bishop *Barlow*; I shall present the reader with a more true and exact one from Mr. *Calderwood*. "Sundry reports, says
" he, went of the Conference, different from that relation,
" which is set forth by *Barlow*. I have therefore set down
" here

" here that relation, which Mr. Patrick Galloway sent
" from London to the Presbytery of Edinburg, after it was
" revis'd by the King himself." * Then follows Mr.
Galloway's Letter, in which he thus writes :

— " I receiv'd two of your Letters, one directed to his
" Majesty, and another to myself, for the using thereof; the
" same I read, closed, and three days before the Conference
" deliver'd it unto his Majesty's hands, and receiv'd it back
" again, after some short speeches had upon a word of
" your Letter, as, *the gross corruptions of this Church*; which
" then was expon'd, and I assur'd that all corruptions
" dissonant from the Word, or contrary thereto, should
" be amended. The twelfth of January was the day of
" meeting, at what time the Bishops, call'd upon by his
" Majesty, were gravely desir'd to advise upon all the cor-
" ruptions in this Church, in Doctrine, Ceremonies and
" Discipline; and as they will answere to God in con-
" science, and to his Majesty upon their obedience, that
" they should return the third day after, which was Sa-
" turday. They return'd to his Majesty, and there ap-
" posed as of before, it was answer'd, all was well. And
" when his Majesty in great fervency brought instances to
" the contrary; they upon their knees with great ear-
" nestness crav'd, that nothing should be alter'd; lest Po-
" pish Recusants, punish'd by penal Statutes for their dis-
" obedience; and the Puritans, punish'd by deprivation
" from calling and living for Nonconformity, should say,
" they had just cause to insult upon them, as men who
" had travell'd to bind them to that, which by their own
" mouths now was confess'd to be erroneous. † Al-
" ways after five hours dispute had by his Majesty against
" them, and his Majesty's resolution for Reformation inti-
" mated to them, they were dismissed that day. Upon
" the 16 of January, being Monday, the Brethren were
" call'd to his Majesty, only five of them being present,
" and with them two Bishops, and six or eight Deans.
" Here his Majesty crav'd to know of them, what they
" desir'd to be reform'd: but it was very loofly and coldly
" answer'd. This day ended after four hours talking,
" and Wednesday the 18 of January was appointed for
" the

* Hist. of the Ch. of Scotl. p. 474. † Thus did the good Bishops with their piou
care prefer their own honour and reputation to the peace of the Church,

" the meeting of both parties. Where, as before, the
 " parties being call'd together, the heads were repeated,
 " which his Majesty would have reform'd at this time ;
 " and so the whole action ended. Sundry, as they favour'd,
 " gave out copies of things here concluded : whereupon
 " myself took occasion, as I was an ear and eye witness, to
 " set them down and presented them to his Majesty ; who
 " with his own hand mended some things, and eked o-
 " ther things, which I had omitted."

Those *Heads*, mention'd in this Letter of Mr. *Galloway*, are next set down at length. All which, as well as this account of the management of the Conference, appear at first sight vastly different from Bishop *Barlow*'s relation. Dr. *John Raynolds* was celebrated for one of the most famous Divines of his age : but if Bishop *Barlow* be credited, and the Doctor talk'd in the Conference, as he relates, he must be look'd upon as the most stupid, silly wretch in the world ; so weak and childish is all his discourse. But *Barlow* himself repented, upon his death-bed, of the wrong he had done Dr. *Raynolds* and his Brethren, in the relation he had given of that Conference. This was attested by Dr. *Henry Jackson*. Dr. *Spark*, who was one of the Ministers that appear'd at the Conference, but said not one word in it, and afterward wrote for Conformity, declar'd Dr. *Raynolds* and the other Ministers were wrong'd by that relation : and Dr. *Raynolds* himself made the same complaint. 'Twere too long to set down all that is said upon this head, and therefore I refer the reader to the authors mention'd in the Margin. *

Farther, Dr. *Raynolds* was a Man, who thought more favourably of many points in our controversy than many of his Brethren, and therefore our cause cannot be hurt by what he is represented to have said, if *Barlow*'s account should with any be thought to deserve credit. He was not chosen by our side to manage the Conference, and he and the rest were probably pitch'd upon by the Bishops, and then call'd to it by the King ; who might, from the great reputation of the Doctor, be ready to think, the Bishops acted fairly in naming him and the rest upon that occasion : and

* A Review of the *Certamen Epistolare* between *Heylin* and *Hickman*, p. 28,
 29. *N. C.* vindicated from the Abuses of Mr. *Durel* and *Scrivener*, p. 181, &c.

and yet no doubt they had their particular views as to every one of them. And I will ingage to run down any cause in the world in a conference, let me but have the naming of the parties on both sides to manage it.

This affair may receive light from what I meet with in an old pamphlet, printed soon after the Conference. 'Tis intituled : *A Christian and modest offer of a most indifferent conference or disputation, about the maine and principal controversies betwixt the Prelates, and the late silenced and deprived Ministers in England : tendered by some of the said Ministers to the Archbischops, and Bischops, and all their adherents, 1606.* In answer to an objection, that these matters had been manag'd in a conference already, 'tis said :

1. " In their objecting to the Ministers the Conference " at Hampton Court, they object to them, as it were, that " which is *non ens* : none of them knowing what it was, " nor any other, save a few that were present ; whose re- " ports thereof are so diverse, that one spoils the credit of " another. And that which is set forth as the true report " of it, being publish'd only by the Prelates (who are par- " tial) without the knowledge, advice, or consent of the " other side, deserves no credit ; the rather, considering " that Dr. Morton hath been allow'd to call some part of it " into question, even some speeches father'd upon his Ma- " jesty, which he was faign to confute as unsound and " contrary to Divinity. Wherein sith the King's own " speeches be, as it seemeth, grossly abus'd by the author, " 'tis much more likely that speeches of other men are " abus'd. Besides, none but Prelates, and such as were " partial, being present at the first days Conference, there " can be no credit at all given to the report thereof : for " 'tis more than apparent, that they have fraudulently cut " of, and conceal'd all the speeches (which were many) " that his Majesty utter'd against the corruptions of our " Church, and practise of our Prelates : as appeareth by " that testimony of the Dean of the Chapel, which he " gave thereof, saying : *That his Majesty did that day won- derfully play the Puritan.* But if he play'd that part no " otherwise than is specify'd in the Prelates report, he " acted it very poorly, or rather never a whit. If there- " fore they would have had the Ministers to stand to the " determination of that Conference, they should have " used more indifferency and honesty in the relation of it, " than they have done : they should at least have made it " appear

“ appear by mutual testimony of all sides, that it was a true
“ act. For they have no reason to believe such enemies,
“ as the Prelates have shewed themselves to be unto them,
“ any further than they see them.

2. “ Such a conference as that was never desir'd by the
“ Ministers. And it seems by the whole managing of it,
“ that it was underhand plotted and procur'd by the Pre-
“ lates themselves, abusing therein his Majesty, and using
“ Mr. *Galloway* as an instrument in the matter, to the end
“ that they might have the more colour for their intended
“ proceedings afterwards. And there is great probability
“ of this, for that the Archbishop profess'd to the Com-
“ mittees of both Houses, the last Session, that he had
“ the Letters written from Mr. *Cartwright* to Mr. *Galloway*
“ about that matter.

3. “ Most of the persons, appointed to speak for the
“ Ministers, were not of their chusing, nor nomination,
“ nor of their judgment in the matters then and now in
“ question, but of a clean contrary. For being intreated
“ at that time by the Ministers to dispute against these
“ things, as things simply evil, and such as cannot be yield-
“ ed to without sin ; they profess'd to them, that they
“ were not so persuaded, and therefore could not so do.
“ Being then requested, to let his Majesty understand that
“ some of their Brethren were further persuaded touch-
“ ing the unlawfulness of these things, than themselves
“ were ; they refus'd that also. Lastly, being intreated
“ either to give them in writing their reasons to prove
“ these things indifferent, or to give them an answer in
“ writing to such reasons, as they would give them in
“ writing, to prove them simply evil ; they would do
“ neither the one, nor the other ; so that there neither
“ was, nor could be any hope of good by that Confe-
“ rence.

4. “ The matters in controversy were not in that Con-
“ ference thoroughly debated, but nakedly propounded,
“ and some, not all touched : neither was there any one
“ argument to the purpose followed in the same.

5. “ The Prelates took unto themselves liberty to in-
“ terrupt, at their pleasure, those of the other side ; inso-
“ much that they were check'd for it by his Majesty.

6. “ The Ministers (if his Majesty will give them
“ leave) will at any time, in one weeks space, deliver to
“ his Majesty in writing a full answer to any argument,
“ or

“ or assertion, propounded in that Conference against them by any Prelate: and they do here plainly profess, “ that all and every one of them are most vain and frivolous.”*

I leave the reader to compare what I have said with our Author's account of that Conference.

One Concession I cannot but take notice of, in which he says, *The King vouchsaf'd to indulge the Ministers: viz. That the sacrament of Baptism should only be celebrated by persons in holy Orders, it being before usual in some places for any Christian man or woman to baptize.*

The Case was thus: K. James was very much offend'd that Laymen, and even women should be allow'd to administer Baptism. Archbishop *Whitgift* and Bishop *Babington*, pretended the Church did not approve of it, but censur'd it. Which certainly was contrary, not only to the *Rubric*, but to fact, as appears by what I have mention'd before. Bishop *Bancroft* therefore warmly oppos'd them both. The matter was thus compromis'd: That the words *lawful Minister* should be added to the *Rubric*, and so the power of administering Baptism should be restrain'd to such. Yet, if we may believe Dr. *Heylyn*, “ The alteration was greater in sound than sense, it being the opinion of many great clerks, that any man in cases of extream necessity (who can pronounce the words of Baptism) may pass in the account and notion of a lawful Minister.” † And to say the truth, he seems not to mistake the mind of the Church in this matter. There is no penalty for Laymen or womens baptizing. And since their Baptism is accounted valid, how can they be esteem'd other than *lawful Ministers*? The Church seems to be concern'd about this one thing only: Whether Baptism be ministred with water in the name of the Father, &c. || Whence Bishop *Burnet* says they do not annul such lay Baptisms, or rebaptize persons so baptiz'd, however they condemn the practice. ‡

That the *Hampton Court Conference* did not really go on so smoothly to the Bishops minds, as *Barlow* reports, and that they were discourag'd by the King's behaviour, there seems to me a reasonable suspicion, from what I meet

* p. 28 &c. † Laud's Life, p. 27. || See the last Rubric for private Bapt.

‡ Exposition of the 39 Art. p. 261.

meet with of Archbishop *Whitgift*, who seem'd to have conceiv'd some dreadful fears of a storm, that would come upon the Church at the sitting of the Parliament, which was soon after: insomuch that he "desir'd, not many " days before he was stroken, that he might not yet live " to see that Parliament, as near as it was." * However he was, as Dr. *Fuller* says, therein *more scar'd than hurt*. And Mr. *Cambden* says, "that when the King began to " contend about the receiv'd Liturgy, and thought some " things ought to be alter'd in it, Archbishop *Whitgift* " dy'd with grief." †

Together with the Parliament the Convocation sat to do busines, and drew up a long body of Canons, in a plentiful manner dealing out their *Anathema's*, or *ipso facto Excommunications*.

There was a noble Speech made in this Convocation by the Bishop of St. *David's*, Dr. *Anthony Rudd*, May 23, 1604. I had it lately sent me in MS. I doubt not it is in print (tho I never saw it) because I find it quoted by Dr. *Whitby*, in his *Protestant Reconciler*. ‖ Whence the Doctor cited it I can't tell, and believe 'tis very rare to be met with; and therefore I presume it will be no displeasure to my reader, if I present him with it, as 'tis in the copy I have by me. The Title is thus: " *The Speeches of the Reverend Father, the Lord Bishop of St. David's, in the Convocation, May 23, 1604. before all the Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy there assembled, grew thus as follows.* "

" After that by occasions of an explication, there exhibited; concerning the Use of the sign of the Cross in Baptism, with the intent that it might be a satisfaction to such as have been hitherto scrupulous in that behalf; and that the Bishop of *London*, with some other Bishops, had spoken to press the same point; at length the Bishop of St. *David's*, grounding his speeches upon the premises immediately beforegoing, said to this effect following :

" For my part, I acknowledge the antiquity of the use of the Cross, as mention'd in *Tertullian*, and after him in *Cyprian*, who reckon'd of *Tertullian* as his Master; insomuch as when he call'd for his works, he was wont

" to

“ to say, *Da Magistrum*; likewise in *Chrysostom*, *Augustine*, and others.

“ Also I confess the originals of the ceremonies to have sprung by occasion of the Pagans, who reproached the ancient Christians, for believing in Christ crucified; and that in Popery it hath been superstitiously abused; and affirm that it is in the Church of *England* now admitted and entertain’d by us, and restor’d to the ancient integrity, all superstition abandon’d.

“ Likewise I wish, that if the King’s Highness shall persist in imposing of it, all would submit themselves to it (as we do) rather than forego the Ministry in that behalf. But I greatly fear by the report which I hear, that very many learned Preachers, whose consciences are not in our custody, nor to be dispos’d of at our devotion, will not easily be drawn thereunto. Of which number, if any shall come in my walk, I desire to be furnished beforehand, by those that be present, with sufficient reasons to satisfy them (if it be possible) concerning some points which have been presently deliver’d.

“ First of all, Where there was even now alledg’d for the Cross sundry places of scripture; as, *God forbid that I should rejoice, save in the Cross of Christ*, and divers more of the like sense: If any of the adverse opinion fall into my company, and say, that those Scripture speeches be figurative, implying the death and passion of our Saviour Christ, with the effect and fruit thereof; and that to draw an argument from them to justify the sign of the Cross in the forehead, is an insufficient kind of reasoning, and a fallacy; what answer shall I make unto them?

“ Secondly, Whereas I have observ’d upon present relation, that the impugners of this ceremony were heard at large in the Conference at *Hampton Court*, and having objected the example of *Hezekiah*, who broke in pieces the Brazen Serpent, after it had been abused to idolatry; and therefore the sign of the Cross (which was not brought into the Church by God’s express commandments, as the Brazen Serpent was, but was from the beginning a meer invention of man) ought now to be taken away, by reason of the superstitious abuse, which is sustain’d in Popery; they receiv’d answer: That King *Hezekiah* might have preserv’d it, “ aban-

“ abandoning the abuse of it, if it had pleas'd him ; and
“ consequently it is in the King's Majesty's power to abo-
“ lish this ceremony, having been abused, or to retain it
“ in manner aforesaid. Hereunto I say, that I was one of
“ the Conference, yet I was not at that part of the Con-
“ ference, when those that stood for Reformation had
“ access to the King's Majesty's presence, and liberty to
“ speak for themselves ; for that I, and some other of my
“ Brethren the Bishops were secluded from that days as-
“ sembly : but I suppose it to be true as it hath been for-
“ merly reported ; and I for my own particular admit the
“ consequence put down above. Now because I wish all
“ others abroad to be as well satisfied herein, as ourselves
“ that be here present, if any of the contrary opinion
“ shall come unto me, and say, that the foresaid answer
“ doth not satisfy them ; because they think it to be a
“ great reason now to move them to become Petitioners
“ to his Majesty, for abolishing of the Cross in Baptism ;
“ as there was then, to move the godly zealous in *Heze-*
“ *kiahs* days to be Petitioners for the defacing of the Bra-
“ zen Serpent ; because the Church-going Papists, now
“ living among us, do superstitiously abuse the one, as
“ the *Israelites* did the other ; what sound answer shall I
“ make to them for their better satisfaction ?

“ Thirdly, Whereas it hath been this day alledg'd, that
“ it is convenient and necessary to preserve the memory of
“ the Cross of Christ, and consequently by this means ;
“ if haply any of the other side shall come unto me, and
“ say, that your memory of the Cross of Christ might
“ be sufficiently, and more safely without danger preserv'd
“ by preaching of the doctrine of the Gospel, the sum
“ whereof is Christ crucified ; in respect whereof St. *Paul*
“ told the *Galatians*, that Jesus Christ was describ'd in
“ their sight, and among them, crucified ; that it was so
“ lively preached among them, as if his bodily image had
“ been crucified among them ; and yet we know not of
“ any material or signal Cross that was in use in the
“ Church at that time ; I desire to know, what satisfac-
“ tion or answer must be given unto them ?

“ Moreover, I protest, that all my speeches now are ut-
“ ter'd by me by way of proposition, not by way of op-
“ position ; by way of question, and not by way of con-
“ tradiction, and that they all tend to work pacification
“ in the Church (if it be possible) which I know to be
“ very

“ very necessary at this time : and that I put great difference between *quid licet*, and *expedit* ; and likewise between them that are schismatical, or open disturbers of the state ecclesiastical established ; and them that are scrupulous only upon some ceremonies, and other circumstances, being otherwise learned, studious, grave, and honest men, whose labours have been both painful in the Church, and also profitable in their several congregations.

“ Concerning these Preachers last mention’d, I suppose that if upon the urging them to absolute subscription, and use of the ceremonies, and attire prescrib’d, they should stand out stiff, and chuse rather to forego their livings, and the exercise of their Ministry ; tho I do not justify their doings therein ; yet surely their service would be miss’d at such time, as need shall require us and them to give the right hand of fellowship one to another, and to go arm in arm against the common adversary, that so might be *vis unita fortior*. In which case of want of their joint labours with ours, there might arise cause of some such doleful complaint ; as fell out upon an accident of another nature, in the Book of *Judges*, where it is said : *For the divisions of Reuben were great thoughts of heart.*

“ Likewise consider, who must be the executioners of their deprivation, even we ourselves the Bishops ; against whom there will be a great clamour of them, and their dependents, and many others, who are well affected towards them ; whereby our persons shall be in hazard to be brought into great dislike, if not into extreme hatred ; whereof what inconveniences may ensue, I leave to your wisdoms to be consider’d of.

“ Also remember, that when the *Benjamites* (though for their just deserts in maintaining a bad cause) were all destroy’d, saving 800 [or rather 600] and the men of *Israel* sware in their fury, that none of them would give his daughter to the *Benjamites* to wife, that when their hot blood was over, they lamented and said : *There is one tribe cut off from Israel this day* : and they used all their wits, to the uttermost of their policy, to restore that tribe again.

“ In like sort, if these our Brethren aforesaid shall be depriv’d of their places for the matter premised, I think we should find cause to bend our wits to the uttermost

“ extent of our skill, to provide some cure of souls for
“ them, where they may exercise their talents.

“ Furthermore, if these men, being divers hundreds
“ (as it is bruited abroad) should forfaze their charges (as
“ some do presuppose they will) who, I pray you, should
“ succeed them? Verily I know not where to find so
“ many able Preachers in this realm unprovided for. But
“ be it, that so many may be found to supply their empty
“ rooms, yet they might more conveniently be settled in
“ the seats of unpreaching Ministers; and so the number
“ of Preachers should be much encreased. But if they
“ shall be put in the places of these men, being dispos-
“ sess'd, thereupon would follow: First, That the num-
“ ber of preaching Incumbents should not be multipli'd
“ by this supply. And secndly, The Church could not
“ in likelihood be so well and fitly furnish'd on a sudden;
“ for that though haply the new supply should be of men
“ as learned as the former; yet it is not probable, that
“ they should be at their firſt coming from the Universi-
“ ty, or in a good while after, so ready Preachers, so ex-
“ perienced in pastoral government, so well acquainted
“ with the manners and usage of the people, and so diſ-
“ creet every way in their carriage of themselves, as the
“ other, who have spent already many years abroad in
“ their ministerial charge.

“ Beside this, forasimuch as in the time of the late Arch-
“ biſhop of *Cantebury*, these things were not so extream-
“ ly urged, but that many learned Preachers injoy'd their
“ liberty herein, conditionally, that they did not by word
“ or deed openly disgrace or disturb the estate established;
“ I would know a reason why it should now be so gene-
“ rally, and exceeding ſtraightly called upon; especially fee-
“ ing that those means are now more necessary, by ſo
“ much as we ſee greater increase of Papists to be now of
“ late, than was before?

“ To conclude, I wish, that if by Petition made to the
“ King's Majefly, there cannot be obtain'd a quite
“ remove of the premitiſes, which ſeem too grievous to
“ divers, nor yet a toleration for them which be of the
“ more ſtaied and temperate carriage; yet at the leaſt
“ there might be procur'd a mitigation of the penalty, if
“ they cannot be drawn by our reaſons to a conformity
“ with us.

" After this the Bishop of *London*, with three other
 " Bishops, *viz.* *Winchester*, *Ely*, and *Lincolne*, made answer
 " to that the Bishop of *St. Davids* had spoken : but he
 " was forbid by the President of the assembly to make a-
 " ny reply ; and he submitted himself obediently thereun-
 " to, affirming, that because nothing was more dear un-
 " to him, than the peace of the Church, therefore he
 " will still pursue the course which he had always held,
 " in using the best means and persuasions he could, to
 " draw all others to unity and conformity with himself,
 " and the rest of the reverend company. And so that
 " Conference ended as it began in quiet."

I beg leave to make a few remarks briefly upon this Paper.

1. 'Tis very probable from this Speech, that Bishop *Barlow*'s representation of the Conference at *Hampton Court* is not a true one ; and indeed that the Bishops design'd not to let the Ministers have fair treatment at the Conference, or the world have a just account of it afterwards. Why else should they take such care to exclude this honest Bishop *Rudd*, and some others (I suppose of the same temper) from the debates ?

2. Those men could have little regard to honour, or justice, or to the edification of the Church, who, when they were thus honestly warn'd, would yet contrive needlessly such a wicked engine to rack the consciences of learned Ministers, who had deserv'd well of the Church by their labours ; or else deprive the Church of them, at a time when they had not others to supply their places.

3. It was a sign they had very little reason for what they did, when they could satisfy themselves to alledge Scriptures so little to their purpose, as that : *God forbid that I should glory, save in the Cross of Christ.*

4. Whereas Dr. *Nichols* pretends the Church of *England* has imitated *Hezekiah*, in laying aside all usages that have any appearance of superstition, and that his example makes for their praise ; * 'tis evident, the advocates for the Cross in the Synod were sensible of the contrary, and therefore pleaded that the breaking of the Brazen Serpent was an indifferent thing, and *Hezekiah* might as well have preserv'd it.

5. Convocations are not much to be regarded, since there appears to be so little liberty for free debating of matters in them. When such a noble Speech as this, made by a Reverend Bishop, was answer'd by four Bishops, he is forbid by the President to say any thing in defence of it. The discovering and establishing the truth is not to be hoped for from such partial proceedings.

6. What wonder that such men will not hearken to reasons offer'd by us; when they so little regard good sense, when it comes from one of their own Bishops?

And now the Persecution was renew'd with MDCIV. great fury. "In the second year, says Mr. Cal-

" derwood, after the King's coming into *England*,
" three hundred Ministers were either silenced, or de-
" priv'd of their Benefices, or excommunicated, or cast
" into prison, or forc'd to leave their own country; the
" relicks of Popery, which were much grown out of use
" before Queen *Elizabeth*'s death, were now restor'd. A
" more grievous persecution of the orthodox faith is not
" to be met with in history, in any prince's reign.

" The next year it began to rage in *Scotland*, and con-
" tinues to this very time (1623) to do so. The Bi-
" shops, by virtue of the High Commission, or a jurif-
" diction delegated to them from the King, have possess'd
" themselves of all ordinary jurisdiction, wherein they
" strengthen themselves, and turn out the best Ministers,
" and quite alter and overthrow the excellent polity,
" which was establish'd in the Church, which the King
" himself and they also were sworn to maintain: and
" giving the name of *Puritans* to orthodox and pious
" Ministers, they wound the purity of religion, and
" God's worship thro' their side. This was the *Jesuite*
" *Dolman*'s advice, that the Puritans were to be kept
" under, while the *Roman Catholics* should grow in
" numbers and strength, so as not only to be equal, but
" superior to their enemies." *

Our Bishops could not be content with their Hierarchy at home; but, having the advantage of King *James*'s being with them, they resolv'd to have it obtruded upon their neighbours: and being nice Casuists in the busi-
ness of oaths, could help the King well enough over
that

that he had taken in *Scotland*, if he chanced to boggle at it.

The conduct of that Prince is really very strange. In a General Assembly, at *Edinburgh*, 1590, "He praised "God, that he was born in such a time, as in the time "of the light of the Gospel; to such a place, as to be "King of such a Kirk, the sincerest Kirk of the world. "The Kirk of *Geneva*, said he, kept *Pasch* and *Yule*, "[*Easter* and *Christmass*] What have they for them? "They have no institution. As for our neighbour Kirk "England, their service is an evil said Mass in *English*; "they want nothing of the Mass, but the listnings. I "charge you, my good people, Ministers, Doctors, El- "ders, Nobles, Gentlemen and Barons, to stand to your "purity, and to exhort the people to do the same; and "I forsooth, so long as I brook my life and crown, shall "maintain the same." *

And in another Speech in 1598, he declar'd: "He "minded not to bring in Papistical, or *Anglican* Bish- "ops." †

Nay, and after he was proclaim'd King of *England*, "in his harangue in the Kirk of *Edinburg*, he thanked "God, that he had settled both Kirk and kingdom, and "left them in that state, which he intended not to hurt, "or alter any ways, his subjects living in peace." ||

And yet soon after he came into *England*, he shew'd himself very bitter, not only against the *English* Puritans, but against the *Scots* Ministers also. Nay, and in his first Speech to both Houses of Parliament, "He acknowledg'd "the Church of *Rome* to be our mother Church, altho "defil'd with some corruptions. He said, he would be "content for his own part, to meet those of the Roman "Kirk in the midway, so that all novelties might be re- "nounc'd on either side." ‡ What pity was it that such things should drop from a King, who had expres'd so very different a sense of religious matters before! It had been well for this nation, if he had had no such views at the time when he sought the *Spanijs* match for his Son, which, tho it miscarry'd, was the unhappy copy that was follow'd in the *French* that took effect.

I cannot here but remark these two things:

N 3

i. That

* Cald. Hist. p. 286. † p. 418. || p. 473. ‡ Cald. Hist. p. 478.

1. That our Adversaries are most restless in their endeavours to obtrude their Hierarchy and ceremonies. They are never satisfied, while they cannot by force or fraud engage others to restore those remnants of Popery, which they have retain'd themselves.

Thus they got first their Prelacy, and afterwards their ceremonies establish'd in the Church of *Scotland*. And it very much concerns our Brethren abroad, who are appeal'd to in our controversy, to take particular notice of this matter. Now indeed, Brethren, our Adversaries flatter you, that you may give judgment in their favour: and yet, if you should do it (which God forbid!) they will never much esteem you, till you embrace all their fancies, and endeavour to establish them in your Churches. Believe me, they will otherwise soon return to their wonted dislike of you. Even our Brethren at *Geneva* must, upon any other condition, quickly lose their esteem; they are upon their good behaviour, whether they shall be call'd the *Church*, or the *Rout of Geneva*.

Whoever considers the temper of our Adversaries, will not wonder, that, when they had got King *James*, apt enough to hearken to their advice, they should be so officious in meddling with the affairs of *Scotland*, and sowing the seeds of discord and confusion among them. Thus Dr. *Bancroft*, who was afterward Archbishop of *Canterbury*, play'd the busybody in the *Scots* affairs in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time; and in 1589, brib'd one *Norton* an *English* Bookseller, living in *Edinburgh*, to betray the *Scots* affairs to him, as he confess'd with tears upon his examination. The many curious articles he employ'd him to search into are set down by *Calderwood*.* And in January 1591, were intercepted his Letters to Mr. *Patrick Adamson*, wherein "he advis'd him to give the Queen of *England* " more honourable stiles, and to praise the Church of " *England* above all other. He said, he marvell'd why he " came not to *England*, as he was look'd for; and assur'd " him, that he would be very well accepted by my Lord " of *Canterburies* Grace, and well rewarded, if he came." This *Adamson* was excommunicated, and repenting him of what he had done against the Church, earnestly sought absolution. Part of the confession he made ran thus: " I " grant

“ grant I was more busy with some Bishops in *England*,
“ in prejudice of the discipline of our Kirk, partly when
“ I was there, and partly by mutual intelligence since,
“ than became a good Christian, much less a faithful Pa-
“ stor. Neither is there any thing that more ashamest
“ me, than my often deceiving and abusing the Kirk here-
“ tofore, by confessions, subscriptions, protestations, &c.”

Dr. Heylyn likewise tells us, that when he became Bishop of *London*, “ and knew how much the peace of this Church did depend upon it, he manag’d a secret correspondence with King *James* in *Scotland*, insinuating to him the necessity of conforming the Churches of both kingdoms in government and forms of worship, and laying down a plot for restoring Episcopacy to that Church without noise or trouble.” *

2. I would here observe that our Adversaries, however rigid they were in their notions in King *James*’s time, have since grown worse. To which purpose I shall transcribe a passage from Mr. *Hickman* : “ Some, that had been ordain’d by meer Presbyters, offer’d themselves in King *James*’s time to be consecrated Bishops, in the Church of *Scotland*. Dr. *Andrews* Bishop of *Ely* moved this question : Whether they should not first be Episcopally ordain’d Presbyters, that they might be capable of being admitted into the order of Bishops ? But Archbishop *Bancroft*, a most rigid asserter of Episcopacy, answer’d : There was no need of it, since ordination by Presbyters was valid. The Bishop of *Ely* yielded, and immediately, without repeating their ordination as Presbyters, they were consecrated Bishops. But they who lately [after the Restoration of King *Charles*] consecrated Mr. *James Sharp*, proceeded in a very ditterent manner. For as though he had been a meer Layman before, they first ordain him a Deacon, then a Priest, and then a Bishop.” † The same author mentions another instance of moderation a little later than that of *Bancroft* : “ When the Archbishop of *Spalato* was in *England*, he desir’d Bishop *Morton* to reordain a person beyond sea, that he might be the more capable of preferment. The Bishop wrote him in answer : That it could not be done but to the scandal of the Reform’d

“ Churches, wherein he would have no hand.” For the truth of the former of these stories he appeals to *Spotswood’s History*; and for proof of the latter to Mr. *Calendrin*, the *Dutch Minister*, who had the original of the Bishop’s Letter in his possession.

If any one desires to know what sort of men those Bishops were, whom King *James* settled in *Scotland*, Mr. *Calderwood* will soon inform him, that some of them were of very bad morals, and others grievously repented their accepting Bishopricks. I shall give an Instance of each sort.

“ Mr. *George Gladstones*, after he had sworn that he should never be Bishop of *St. Andrews*, because the Bishops of that See made a miserable end, and were much hated; yet return’d from Court in the beginning of *January* with presentation to that Bishoprick. Upon the tenth of *January*, he declar’d in the presence of the Presbytery of *St. Andrews*, that as he departed a Brother, so he return’d, and would usurp no superiority over them, but content himself with a simple vote as the rest; and promis’d to behave himself as humbly, yea more humbly, than ever before: yet when some gentlemen, his favourites, and others who had hope of advancement by him, asked, how he could bear with the Presbytery: he answer’d: *Hold your tongue, we shall steal them off their feet.*” *

Mr. *James Nicholson*, another of them, died with grief, when he saw his devices cross’d, neither the King nor the Church contented, and his own estimation much impair’d. Before his departure he utter’d these, or the like words: *The digesting of the Bishoprick hath wracked my stomach.* He would not suffer the stile of Bishop to be put in his latter will. Mr. *David Lendsey*, then Minister at *Dundee*, his familiar friend, set down his last speeches in *Latin* verse; and among the rest his exhortation to himself, not to haunt the Court, and to eschew all imployments. But this exhortation wrought no good upon himself: for he made no scruple to accept the Bishoprick of *Brechin* some few years after.” †

The

The Verses, wherein he describes the Bishop's trouble, about his having accepted the Bishoprick, are set down in a Treatise at the end of the *Altare Damascenum*; * which a friend of mine has thus rendred :

*In vain my wife and friends wou'd give relief,
In vain they try to ease my raging grief :
The learn'd Physicians art's apply'd in vain,
No drugs, alass ! can reach my inward pain.
Thou only, Royal James, can'st comfort give,
Without thy help I can no longer live :
Remove this Mitre from my burthen'd head,
Or soon I am numbred with th' unhappy dead.
This burden sinks (do thou these fears dispel)
My body to the grave, my soul to hell.*

But let us leave *Scotland* for a while, and come nearer home. The Bishops, having gain'd the easy King to their side, fell heavily upon their Brethren. A little Treatise was printed in the year 1605, call'd : *A short Dialogue, proving that the ceremonies, and some other corruptions now in question, are defended by none other arguments, than such as the Papists have heretofore used, and our Protestant writers have long since answer'd.* And in that the method taken by the Bishops is thus related : " At first subscription was " hotly urg'd, and that not by other Bishops only, but " even by the now Archbishop of *Canterbury*, at such " time, as conventing all the Ministers of *London* before " him, he took his leave, being to go to the See of *Can-
terbury*. But when it was discern'd, that a far greater " number would refuse than was suppos'd, and than his " Majesty and the Lords perhaps were born in hand " would ; this second course was taken, that men should " be pressed (for the time) but to *Conformity* ; and it be- " ing discern'd that the number of refusers would still be " great, they have since fallen yet lower, accepting of some " the use of the *Cross* and *Surplice* only ; of others the use " of the *Surplice* alone ; of others a promise to use them " only ; and of some the profession of their judgment only " that they may be used, without pressing them to the use " of them at all. Their purpose, he says, herein was to
" draw

“ draw men on, by steps and degrees to subscription.” And then he sets down at length a Letter of Archbishop Bancroft to the Bishops about this matter. ’Twas dated December 18. 1604. Therein he advertises them of such a course and uniform kind of proceeding with the disobedient and obstinate Ministers, as he thought fit should be used by himself and his Brethren: *viz.* As to such Ministers as were not already placed in the Church, the 36 and 37 Canons were to be observ’d, and none were to be admitted to execute any ecclesiastical function without subscription. Such as were already placed in the Church, were of two sorts:

1. Some offer and promise Conformity, but are unwilling again to subscribe. Of them he says: For as much as the near affinity betwixt Conformity and subscription doth give apparent hope, that, *being men of sincerity*, they will in short time frame themselves to a more constant course, and subscribe to that again, which they, by their practice, testify not to be repugnant to the word of God; your Lordship may (an act being made to remain on record of such their offer and promise) *respite their subscription for some short time.*

2. Others in their obstinacy will yield to neither subscription, nor promise of Conformity. These are either stipendary Curates, or stipendary Lecturers, or men beneficed. The two first he orders to be silenc’d; the third to be depriv’d. He says, the King’s Proclamation, 16, July 1604, admonish’d them to conform themselves to the Church, and obey the same, or else to dispose of themselves and their families some other ways, as being men unfit, for their obstinacy and contempt, to occupy such places: and besides, they are within the compass of several laws.

Mr. Robert Parker, a Puritan Minister, this MDCVII. year publish’d a very learned *Treatise of the Cross in Baptism.* It must be own’d his fancy was somewhat odd, as to his manner of handling his argument, but all must allow that his Book had a great deal of learning in it; and our Adversaries would have done their cause no harm, if they had shew’d themselves able to answer it. But they knew what was the most effectual way of silencing their adversaries, and therefore exasperating the King against him, they got him to put forth a Proclamation, with an offer of a reward, for the taking

taking him. He therefore resolving to take the first opportunity of leaving the kingdom, lay hid sometime a little way out of *London*, where a treacherous servant in the family endeavour'd to betray him, and brought officers to the house to search for him. He was then actually in the house, and yet preserv'd by the special providence of God. The only room in the house they neglected to search was that where he was, from whence he heard them quarrelling, and swearing at one another; one saying, they had not search'd that room, and another confidently asserting the contrary, and refusing to suffer it to be search'd over again. This story the author of the Epistle, prefix'd to his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, had in his eye in those words, *Huic autem incumbentem, &c.* "When *Parker* was thus writing, which was fatigue enough it self, such a dreadful storm fell upon him from the Church, upon the account of his *Treatise of the Cross*, that unless he had sav'd himself by flight, (wherein he was favour'd by the special providence of God) he had been cast into prison, where, without doubt, he must have remain'd 'till the day of his death." Mr. *Parker* got into *Holland*, and had been chosen Minister of the *English* Church at *Amsterdam*, had it not been that the magistrates were afraid of disobliging King *James*. For the Burgomasters of the City sent them word: "That they desir'd to keep friendship with his Majesty of *Great Britain*, and therefore they should surcease from the pursuit of that business."* Afterward he went to *Doesburgh*, and was Minister to the garrison; and there he died.†

While the *Scots* new-made Bishops grew warm in their preferments, the Presbyterian Ministers of that kingdom were driven from their flocks, and some of them sent for up to Court by the King, and detain'd there whether they would or not.

Thus the two *Melvins*, among others, were a long time kept from their country and their cures. They were commanded to be present at the King's Chapel on the Feast of *St. Michael*. This was done without all question to vex those good men, who could not but be sorely displeased at what

* *Pager* against *Best* and *Davenport*, p. 27. † *Pres.* to *Pager's* *Def. of Ch. Government.*

what they there saw; *viz.* the vain pomp of the Church and the Altar, and the King and Queen making their offerings at the Altar. A German happening to be present at the same time, cried out with indignation: *I never beheld such a worship as this! Nothing is here wanting to make it a solemn Mass, except it be the adoration of the Host.* Mr. Andrew Melvin describ'd, and severely expos'd the furniture of the Altar upon that occasion, in an ingenious Epigram:

*The royal Altar stands (portentous sight!)
Adorn'd with two clos'd books, and tapers without light,
Two flaggons of rufultgent metal shine,
Glorious without, but empty all within.
Do's England then God's heavenly truth conceal?
Or do's he not to her his heav'nly truth reveal?
Is her religion thus obscure and gross?
Blind in her light, and purify'd to dross?
For while these Romish features we can trace,
We see the scarlet Whore's new-painted face.*

Mr. Andrew Melvin was laid up in the Tower for these Verses, and his Brethren, without any pretence of law, were not used much better. For though there was no accusation laid against them of any thing done by them in *England*, which was the only thing for which they could be proceeded against here; yet the King, thro the instigation of Archbishop *Bancroft* and his Brethren, would not suffer them to return home, but committed them as guests to the keeping of the Bishops and other principal Clergymen, that they might have an opportunity to instruct and manage them. The Ministers desir'd, "They might rather attend his Majesty's leisure upon their own cost and charges, as they had done some months already, than to trouble such, to whom neither could they be pleasant guests, nor they pleasant hosts to them. They said, they had houses and tables of their own, according to the fashion of their country, and condition of their callings, more accustom'd to give meat, than to take of any. Some of them were aged and diseased, and therefore 'twas not fit that men of such honour and worship [as the Bishops] should be troubled with them. And likewise that 'twas manifest, where opinions differ, there cannot be found agreement in affection. Truly, said

"Bar-

“ Bancroft in answer, ye speak true, and like honest men
“ as ye are. And I think, my Brethren the Bishops would
“ have little pleasure of you, except it were to pleasure the
“ King’s Majesty. For our custom is, after our serious
“ matters, to refresh ourselves an hour or two with Cards,
“ or other game, after our meal. But ye are more pre-
“ cise.”*

I have the rather mention’d this, that the reader may see what sort of men our chief Adversaries have been; stiff defenders and maintainers of those Canons, which being made against the Dissenters, have no relation to piety and good manners; while they neglect those Canons, which they have made themselves, for the good conversation of Ministers.

This very Bishop was President of the Synod 1603, in which those bitter Canons were fram’d against Dissenters. In that collection there was one Canon bearing this Title: *Sober conversation requir’d in Ministers.* And now within three or four years after the making them, the very President of the Synod is not ashame’d to own himself a notorious breaker of them. I shall transcribe the whole Canon, it being really a good one, and there being hardly another in the pack worth any thing. “ No ecclesiastical person shall at any time, other than for their honest necessities, resort to any Tavern or Alehouses, neither shall they board or lodge in any such places. Furthermore they shall not give themselves to any base or servile labour, or to drinking, or riot, spending their time idly by day or by night, playing at Dice, Cards or Tables, or any other unlawful game: but at all times convenient, they shall hear or read somewhat of the Holy Scriptures, or shall occupy themselves with some other honest study or exercise; always doing the things which shall appertain to honesty, and endeavouring to profit the Church of God, having always in mind that they ought to excel others in purity of life, and should be examples to the people to live well and Christianly; under pain of ecclesiastical censures, to be inflicted with severity, according to the qualities of their offences.”† But, alas! there was none to call this Archbishop to an account; and if we may judge of the Canons by

by the practice of the Church, they were never design'd against gaming, drinking Ministers, but against such as would be hardy enough to dispute their power and authority.

I can't but here take notice of the cruel and persecuting spirit of this Archbishop, in an instance that happen'd about the year 1610. " *Thomas Lad*, a Merchant of *Yarmouth* in *Norfolk*, was brought before the Chancellor of *Norwich*, for a supposed Conventicle ; because that he, on the Sabbath days, after the sermons ended, sojourning in the house of *Mr. Jackler* in *Yarmouth*, who was late Preacher of *Yarmouth*, join'd with him in repeating the substance and heads of the sermons that day made in the Church, at which *Thomas Lad* was usually present ; and was forced upon his oath to answer certain articles touching that meeting, which he could not see until he was sworn. And having answer'd upon his oath twice before the Chancellor there, he was brought to *Lambeth* before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, to make a farther answer upon a new oath, touching the suppos'd Conventicle ; which he refus'd to do, without sight of his former answers (because he was charg'd with perjury) and therefore was imprison'd by the Commissioners a long time, and could not be bail'd.

" *Richard Maunsel*, another prisoner, being a Preacher, was charg'd to have been partaker in a Petition exhibited to the nether House of Parliament ; and for refusing to take the oath *ex officio*, to answer to certain articles which he could not be permitted to see ; he was imprison'd by the Commissioners at *Lambeth*, where he remain'd very long, and could not be bail'd. Both these were brought to the bar upon the Writ of *Habeas corpus* ; * and *Mr. Nicolas Fuller* their Lawyer, and a very learned man in his profession, pleaded earnestly their cause. His argument is in print, and from thence I have transcrib'd their case. This does not use to be reckon'd any offence in a Lawyer in our country : but the Archbishop pretending he had got an advantage against him, cast him into prison, and implacable as he was, there he detain'd him a close prisoner till he died.

A mighty stir there was at this time about building *Chelsey College*. It was pretended to be design'd for Divines, who should study and write in maintenance of all controversies against the Papists.* But King *James* seems to have had a very different view, if we may believe Father *Paul*, who had more insight into the intrigues of the several Courts of *Christendom*, than any man of his time. For he thus speaks of that College. "It was thought that they that govern there, had "a design to make it a controversial foundation, to pacify "discords; but the deputing of two *Jesuits* to read con- "troversies, do's not look any thing like such a thing."†

MDCIX.

The persecution of the Dissenters, as may be easily imagin'd, went on furiously in this reign. The King's fancy was wonderfully pleas'd with the applauses and flatteries of the Bishops; and he was not backward to gratify them with indulging them a liberty to vex and oppres their Brethren. In the year 1618, he publish'd a Declaration giving liberty for all manner of sports on the Lord's Day to such as had been at Church at evening prayers, and forbidding all others to use that liberty. Licentiousness of morals was then thought the most ready way to promote a zeal for the Hierarchy and ceremonies. This course was afterwards pursued afresh in the reign of his Son. And it was not now first begun; but, as *Camden* tells us, the King had given this liberty before to those of *Lancashire*;|| that is, as a writer of those times, and living thereabouts, says, in the year 1617. For in that year, according to him, "Dr. *Morton*, Bishop of *Chester*, fram'd the directions for "the first liberty granted to sports on the Lord's Day; "at the same time he so eagerly prosecuted the Noncon- "formists for ceremonies."‡

Mr. *David Calderwood*, being forc'd to leave his country for the sake of his religion, publish'd his *Altare Damascenum* under the feigned name of *Edward Didoclaivius*. The King was very sensible of the strength and learning of that Treatise, however displeas'd he was with it. For "being after the reading of it "somewhat pensive, and being ask'd the reason by an *Eng-* "lish Prelate, standing by and observing it; he told him "he

MDCXXIII.

* See *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* B. 10. p. 51. † Letters of Father *Paul*, p. 399
Annals Jac. An. 1618. ‡ See the Preface to *Page's Def. of Ch. Government.*

“ he had seen, and read such a Book : whereupon the
 “ Prelate, willing his Majesty not to let that trouble him,
 “ for they would answer it ; he reply’d, not without
 “ some Passion : *What — will you answer, man ? There
 “ is nothing here, than Scripture, reason, and Fathers.*” *

Nor was his Majesty out in his judgment, for the patrons of Episcopacy have never yet answer’d it, how much soever their cause requires it. But when a solid answer was despair’d of, another way of handling him was attempted, which take in Mr. Calderwood’s own words : “ *Patrick
 “ Scot, a landed Gentleman beside Falkland, having wa-
 “ sted his patrimony, had no other meane to recover his
 “ estate, but by some unlawful shift at Court. He set
 “ forth a recantation under the name of a banished Mini-
 “ ster, Mr. David Calderwood, who, because of his long
 “ sickness before, was suppos’d by many to have been
 “ dead. The King, as he alledg’d himself to some of his
 “ friends, furnish’d him with the matter, and he set the
 “ matter down in form. This course failing, he went
 “ over to Holland, and sought the said Mr. David in sun-
 “ dry towns, especially in Amsterdam, in the month of
 “ November. It appeareth, his purpose was to dispatch
 “ the said Mr. David. After he had staid at Amsterdam
 “ twenty days, and made diligent inquiry, he was inform’d
 “ the said Mr. David was return’d home privately to his
 “ own country.*” †

King James seems at last to have met with his
 MDCXXV. match, and to have had a foul trick play’d him
 in helping him out of the world, which made
 way for his Son Charles to succeed him. And under his
 government the tyranny and persecution of the Bishops
 came to its height. But let us here follow our Author,
 who says :

In his reign what dismal tragedies were excited by the Puritans, future ages will both feel and lament. || [”]Tis an easy matter for men to lay the blame upon their adversaries of what they have done themselves. [”]Tis to the immortal honour of the Puritans, that they fell in with that noble Parliament of Patriots, that stood up against tyranny in Church and state, without which our nation must have been utterly ruin’d. And those tragedies our Author
 men-

mentions, are to be intirely ascrib'd to the High Churchmen, who have been always the cause of whatever calamity has come upon us.

In the beginning of his reign one Leighton, a fierce Scotch Puritan, published a wicked Book call'd Zion's Plea, which he had the confidence to present to the Parliament, then sitting, wherein he excites the Parliament and people to kill all the Bishops: in the same Pamphlet bitterly inveighing against the Queen, calling her a daughter of Heth, a Canaanite and idolatress. For writing which Book he was by Sentence of the Star Chamber order'd to be publicly whipt, and have his ears cropt.

Supposing what is here said were the whole truth of the matter, and that *Leighton* had wrote with an intemperate heat and fury on our side, is the whole party of the Puritans to bear the blame of it? If so, what must become of our Author's party, which has abounded with such kind of writers in every reign? *Leighton* can't compare with his *Sacheverells, Mathers, Tillies*, and abundance more who might be named, if there was occasion for it. Besides, what comparison can there be between words and deeds? If *Leighton* excited the Parliament and peop'le to kill all the Bishops; sure this is a less crime, than the Bishops actually killing a greater number of the Puritans. And if oppression makes a wise man mad, * what wonder if the intolerable oppression of the Bishops hurried some of the Puritans into methods that were inconvenient? But the assertion of our Author is false, that he excited the Parliament and people to kill all the Bishops. The truth is this: Reckoning up a great many grievances and miseries, which were owing to the Hierarchy, he excited the Parliament utterly to root out the Hierarchy, that so the nation might be freed from all farther danger from it: but that he any where urg'd, that all the Bishops, for the sake of their office, should be put to death, whether they had been guilty of any crime or no, is what I can't find in his Book. Nay, I meet with that which is directly contrary. Thus he speaks toward the conclusion of his Book: " To make an end of our present subject: We wish your Honours might prevail with the Prelates by fair means " to cast off that overcharging calling.— If they will

O

" not

“ not be thus persuaded—— we fear they are like pleuritic patients, that cannot spit, whom nothing but incision will cure: we mean of *their callings*, not of *their persons*; to whom we have no quarrel, but wish them better than they either wish to us, or to themselves. “ One of their desperate Mountebanks out of the Pulpit could find no cure for us, their suppos’d enemies, but “ pricking in the bladder: but we have not so learned Christ.” * What little credit is to be given to men, who represent the sense of authors directly contrary to their own most express words?

The other passage our Author refers to, is this: “ A fourth thing that we much importun’d God for, was the breaking the *Spanijs* match, and our Prince’s safe return from *Spain*. God in mercy granted both, but we were so unthankful for both these in a right manner, and brake up our watching over him for a better helper; that God suffer’d him, to our heavy wo, to *match with the Daughter of Heth, tho he mist an Egyptian.* ” † There might be perhaps some indecency in his speaking *thus* of the Queen, while alive; but the meaning of his expression is obvious, that she was a Papist; and so she was, and a bitter one too. And the author may well be excus’d, now the whole nation is satisfy’d his Popish match was very pernicious to the kingdom. “ Had it not been, says Archbi!shop *Tillotson*, for the countenance which Iopery had by the marriages and alliances of our Princes, for two or three generations together, with those of that religion, it had not probably had a continuance among us to this day.” ‡ And afterwards he adds: “ Let us now at length resolve never to join in affinity with the people of these abominations; since our alliances with them, by marriage, have had so fatal an influence, both upon the public peace and tranquility of the nation, and upon the welfare also of private families.” And in my mind, *the people of these abominations* is not a much better expression, than *the Daughters of Heth*; and had it been used at the same time *Leighton’s* was, would have been equally resented. By both is meant persons of a foreign and idolatrous religion. Whether he calls her a *Canaanite* I can’t tell; if he do’s, it has no other

other meaning, than that she was an *idolatress*; which was matter of fact, for all Papists are such. But if we may judge by the words laid in the indictment, we shall find his troubles were not procur'd by what he said against the Queen. I shall transcribe an account of his case from a Letter of Mr. Ludlow to Dr. Hollingworth.

" Upon the 17 of February 1629, Dr. Leighton, coming out of *Blackfriars Church*, was seiz'd by a warrant from the High Commission Court, and drag'd to Bishop Laud's house. From thence, without any examination, he was carried to *Newgate*, and there clap'd into irons, and thrust into a nasty hole, where he continued from *Tuesday night till Thursday noon* without meat or drink. They kept him in that loathsom place, where snow and rain beat in upon him, fifteen weeks, not permitting his wife, or any friend to come near him, and deny'd to give him a copy of his commitment. Then they brought him into the *Star Chamber Court*, where an information was exhibited against him, for publishing a Book, call'd: *Sion's Plea against the Prelates*. By his answer he confess'd, that when the Parliament was sitting in the year 1628, he drew up the heads of that Book, and having the approbation of five hundred persons under their hands, whereof some were Members of Parliament, he went into *Holland* to get it printed: that he printed but between five and six hundred, only for the use of the Parliament; but they being dissolv'd, he return'd home, not bringing any of them into the land, but made it his special care to suppres them." *

" The Doctor being charg'd by the information with these words in the said Book: *We do not read of greater persecution of God's people, than in this our Island, especially since the death of Queen Elizabeth*: he confess'd the words, and answer'd: That the thing was too true, by the Prelates taking away life and livelihood from many Ministers and private men, of whom many were pined to death in prison, and many wander'd up and down, their families being left desolate and helpless: that besides this, the blood of souls had been endanger'd by the removal of the faithful shepherds from the flock. This was a cutting truth, and Laud being

“ curag’d, desir’d the Court to put the highest censure
“ that could be put upon him. That they did to his con-
“ tent, condemning him [after deprivation] to have his
“ ears cut, his nose slit, to be branded in the face,
“ whip’d at a post, to stand on a pillory, to pay 10000*l.*
“ fine (tho they knew he was not worth so much) and
“ to be perpetually imprison’d. The grateful sentence be-
“ ing past, *Laud* pull’d off his cap, and holding up his
“ hands, gave thanks to God, who had given him vi-
“ ctory over his enemies. A Knight moved one of the
“ Lords about the dreadfulness of the censure, intimating,
“ that it open’d a gap to the Prelates to inflict such dis-
“ graceful punishments and tortures upon Men of Qua-
“ lity. That Lord reply’d, ’twas but *in terrorem*, and
“ that he would not have any one think, that the sen-
“ tence should ever be executed.

“ Nevertheless, *Laud* had his designs. For upon the
“ 26 of November, 1630. the censure was executed in a
“ most cruel manner. His ears were cut off, his nose
“ slit, his face branded with burning irons, he was tied
“ to a post, and whip’d with a treble cord, to that cruel
“ degree, that he himself writing the history thereof ten
“ years after, affirm’d, that every lash brought away the
“ flesh, and that he should feel it to his dying day. He
“ was laily put in the pillory, and kept there near two
“ hours in frost and snow : and then, after this barbarous
“ usage, not permitted to return to his quarters in the
“ Fleet, in a coach provided to carry him ; but com-
“ pell’d, in that sad condition and severe season, to go by
“ water.

“ After this, he was kept ten weeks in dirt and mire,
“ not being shelter’d from rain and snow. They shut him
“ up most closely 22 months : and he remain’d a prisoner
“ ten or eleven years, not suffer’d to breath in the open
“ air, until the Parliament of 1640. most happily deliver’d
“ him. When he came abroad, to prosecute his Petition
“ to that Parliament, he could neither go, see, nor hear.”

This account I have the rather transcrib’d, that I might set out Archbishop *Laud* in his proper colours, since he was the principal author of all this barbarity, however Dr. *Nichols* afterwards commends him for *his extraordinary learning and admirable piety*; in whom he says he can see nothing to be blam’d, but only an untimely zeal of *raising*

raising the honour of the Church, and endeavouring an uniformity of worship in a season which would not bear it.

I would only add, that tho' Dr. *Nichols* has very falsely represented the sense of *Leighton's* Book, yet he is to be excus'd, because 'tis evident he took his account from Dr. *Heylyn*, who has the very expressions the Dr. uses.* And 'tis no wonder to meet with the grossest misrepresentations of adversaries in that author. Indeed he led me into a mistake, by asserting he was a Doctor of Physic by profession, whereas he was a Doctor of Divinity.

In the next place Dr. *Nichols* makes heavy complaints of the warm disputes that happen'd MDCXXXIII. about the *Lord's Day*, and *Predestination*. †

That the true state of our case at that time may be rightly understood, I must observe to the reader, that the great design of Archbishop *Laud's* faction was to set up an *English*, and not an *Italian* kind of Popery. Hence they endeavour'd to bring in a multitude of the old superstitions and idolatries, and to secure intirely to themselves that power which had been taken from the Pope. And this I do not assert, barely from the writings of the Puritans, but from the speeches of our wisest and best Senators, made in the two Houses of Parliament; and from those matters of fact, which were fully prov'd at the condemnation of Archbishop *Laud*; and from the writings of Dr. *Heylyn*, and others of the same stamp with him. While this design of theirs was carrying on, that they might the easier, and without any disturbance accomplish it, they persecuted the Puritans with the utmost rage and barbarity, and at the same time stifled all books written against the Papists. The Bishops Chaplains, without whose leave no book could then be publish'd, or old one reprinted, would grant their licence to no book, without first reading it, and blotting out, or at least altering whatever they found therein said against the Papists: which was an art they borrow'd of the Papists, whose *Indices Expurgatorii* are used just in the same manner. But whatever restraint was laid upon the books of Protestants, those of Papists, written in the behalf of their superstition, were publish'd without any difficulty: and indeed all things were manag'd according to their hearts desire. Al-

* See Life of Laud, p. 198, † Pag. 43, 44, 45.

tars were every where set up, rail'd in, and men requir'd to pay their reverence to them, as of old to the Calves of *Dan* and *Bethel*; and abundance of other things, favouring of nothing but Romish superstition, were every where injoin'd; and all such were barbarously worry'd, who would not tamely submit to those arbitrary and lawless impositions.

Moreover, the Papists judging *Arminianism* would prove the most sure remedy against our Heresy, and that they might with more safety spread that doctrine, flock'd hither in great numbers. Nor were they deceiv'd in their expectations, for it soon took deep root, and brought forth much fruit; as appear'd not only by experience, but by the testimony of a *Jesuit*, whose Letter concerning it was happily intercepted. In a very short space of time, multitudes of the Clergy were leaven'd with that doctrine. So easily did they yield themselves a prey to the Papists, who shew'd themselves rigid and sour enough to the Puritans. But yet several brave men, both among the Bish-ops and inferior Clergy, famous for learning and piety, earnestly oppos'd and refuted this new doctrine to the satisfaction and joy of many good men. But these innovators distrusting the success of that kind of contest, be-took themselves to a much more politic device; which they afterward were displeas'd with, when they saw it turn'd against themselves, in the reign of King *James II.* They abusing therefore that interest they had with King *Charles*, persuaded him to interpose his authority in this controversy, and utterly to forbid all handling these points of Divinity. The King comply'd with their desire, thinking perhaps, and as they without all doubt cunningly suggested to him, that by this means he should consult the peace and agreement of his subjects. Hereupon concluding they had gain'd their point, they became most intolerably insolent and arbitrary in their management. They shut the pulpit and the press against the *Calvinists*, but left both wide open to the *Arminians*. And if a *Calvinist*, with ever so great modesty, declar'd his judgment; he was presently accus'd of contemning his Majeity's authority, and was sure to suffer severely for it: whereas an *Arminian* might, without any hazard, not only declare his judgment; but use the sharpest invectives against those that differ'd from him. And by this means the old doctrine of the Church of *England*, which had been receiv'd from the time of her

first Reformation, was supplanted by these new schemes. They borrow'd another stratagem likewise from the *lappitis*, and by introducing ignorance and impiety, endeavour'd to prepare men for the embracing any kind of superstition. For this end afternoon Sermons on the Lord's Day, and all Lectures on the week days were put down. Ministers were commanded to hear children the Catechism on the Lord's Day, but were not allow'd to add any explication of it. In the room of these afternoon Sermons, on the Lord's Day, were substituted games, and dancing, according to the laudable example of the antients, whether Christians or Pagans it matters not.

To promote these, a Royal Declaration was put forth by the Church's Martyr, and all parochial Ministers were requir'd to publish it in their congregations. Who now can wonder that such proceedings should cause disturbance? It could hardly happen otherwise, and especially in our nation at that time, when all pious men bore an implacable hatred against Popery, and whatever had any tendency thereunto.

Between the Churchmen and the Puritans there had been no controversy in matters of doctrine, from the beginning of the Reformation to this time, as appears by the writings of both sides, and is attested by *Bishop Carleton*, and *Mr. Crackanthorp*. And therefore all the disturbances that follow'd are intirely owing to the ecclesiastical innovations of some Bishops, and their wicked attempts to undermine our civil liberties.

The opinion of the Puritans concerning the Lord's Day, was the same with that of the old Church of *England*; as appears by the Homilies, and that Prayer which in their Liturgy they teach the people to use, after the reading of the fourth Commandment: *Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.* For who would teach the people to pray after that rate, if he thought the law itself was abolish'd? Nay, and when *Bishop Barlow* represents *Dr. Raynolds*, as complaining in the *Hampton Court Conference* of the profanation of the Lord's Day, and desiring a Reformation of that abuse, he says: "Unto this " he found a general and unanimous assent." *

The writings of those who abet these proceedings, make it very probable, that one chief design of them was to establish their own authority. They endeavour'd, upon this account, to make the religious observation of the Lord's Day depend upon the same authority with their own prescrib'd Fast's and Festivals. They chose therefore that the Lord's Day should be abominably profan'd, rather than their own institutions should be neglected. Wherein they follow'd the venerable example of those, who made the commandment of God of no effect by their tradition.*

I don't think it worth while to inquire, whether this were owing to Archbishop *Laud*'s advice, or not. 'Tis certain, at that time nothing hardly was done, which he was unacquainted with, or disapprov'd. And if the King's administration in this matter was amiss, the fault, according to our laws, fell upon *Laud*, who publish'd the Declaration, and sent it about, when he should have rather dissuaded his Majesty from those proceedings. And what was *Laud*'s opinion, may be easily gather'd from his treatment of Judge *Richardson*, for discouraging the profanation of the Lord's Day, and suppressing the tumults occasion'd thereby. Dr. *Nichols* says: *This Proclamation might in some measure be defended.*† But there being no strength in his arguments, I shall content myself with saying, it ought in all respects to be condemn'd. And the Puritan Ministers acted honestly and bravely, in refusing to publish it in their congregations: and had as good reason (to say the least) on their side, as the Ministers of the Church of *England* had since, for refusing to read in the Churches King *James* the Second's Declaration for liberty of conscience.

Finally, we appeal to all Foreigners of whatever persuasion, *Calvinists* and *Arminians*. Let them read over the *XXXIX Articles*, and then give judgment, who are in the wrong; whether the Puritans, who subscribing those Articles, embrace the Calvinistical scheme; or the *Conformists*, who put an Arminian meaning upon Articles, which assert the Calvinian doctrines, and subscribe them in a sense quite contrary to the words wherein they are express'd.

Some

Some disputes arose between the King and Parliament, concerning the extent of the prerogative, and the rights of the people; the Episcoparians, for the most part, take the side of the Court, and the Puritans stand up for the People.*

The Episcoparians then took the side of the Court, because the Court took theirs, and was for advancing the Clergy, that the Clergy might advance the prerogative. For they use to regard their own interest more than the merits of any cause. And the same party, who in King Charles the First's time took the court side, afterwards in the reign of King James II. when the like controversy arose concerning the liberty of the people, wherein they saw their own interest at stake, took the other side, and stood up for the people. But pray mind what follows, and see how prettily he strokes his own party, and lashes ours.

But no Tribunitian power ever blow'd up such fires in a commonwealth, and so stirr'd up the people to popular fury, as many (it grieves me to mention it) of the Puritanical Ministry. But with the good leave of these Gentlemen; who were they that set up themselves for such Censors? who, that occasion'd popular fury? They who taught the people to obey the King, and the laws of the land; or they who told them they must obey the King, in opposition to the laws? Who blow'd up fires? They who defended the rights of the people, which were unjustly invaded; or they who endeavour'd in their sermons utterly to overthrow all such rights? 'Tis notorious to all the world, that the Episcopal Ministers first attempted the subversion of our laws and civil liberties; and that the Puritans never attempted to meddle in that controversy, till they were thus provok'd by their adversaries. And since King Charles I. would never have invaded the liberties of the people, if he had not rely'd upon the assistance and defence of his ecclesiastics; they surely, above all Men, deserve the honour of being stil'd incendiaries. But our Author goes on:

The great fault indeed of some of our Clergy was, that they taught an obedience to the Prince, farther than perhaps was agreeable to the constitution of a free people. How happy

py is it for us, that our Adversaries will vouchsafe to own, they ever did any thing amiss! And truly, I should think, our Author was much to be commended for his ingenuity, if he did not presently endeavour to extenuate what he here calls a *great fault*. But let us see how he excuses them :

But then this was done at a time when on both sides their passions were too much heated by contentions : If their passions were heated on both sides, this will as well excuse the Puritans (if any fault be charg'd on them) as it will the Episcoparians. But whence are we to derive the original cause of all that heat? Who were the men who first meddled with those matters? this was done by men who were by profession Divines, and who had not a sufficient insight into the laws of the nation : The being by profession Divines, do's not more serve to excuse them, than their Adversaries. And if they had not sufficient insight into the laws of the nation; why were they so busy in meddling with what they did not understand? But besides that, those ecclesiastics pretended great skill in civil matters; they treated this not as a civil, but a theological dispute; and, which was a most horrid impiety, they father'd their monstrous opinions upon the ever blessed God, and with the utmost confidence asserted, they were to be believ'd upon pain of eternal damnation. this was done when Christian Brethren, and the dearest friends, were just running in to worry one another with bloodshed and slaughter. But how came we to be in any such danger? Whom will our Adversaries accuse, as the authors of all this? The Puritans, who defended the laws of the nation; or those, who had but little skill in, and much less love to them? Our Adversaries preach'd their deadly doctrine just at that very time, when there was more especial occasion to inculcate the contrary. Just as they lately preach'd up Passive Obedience and Nonresistance, like furies, in the reign of Queen Anne, when there was not the least shadow of any danger; but were as silent about it generally, as tho they had never heard of such doctrines, when a rebellion was actually rais'd against his present Majesty King GEORGE. Our safety and liberty is lost, and there's an end of all meetings of Parliaments, and the nation must be reduc'd to the most miserable slavery, whenever a King shall have it in his power to lay taxes upon his people, without the consent of the Parliament. And whenever any Prince attempts

tempts it, 'tis the indispensable duty of all that love their country to oppose it. When the laws of the nation, and the rights and privileges of the people are in danger of being subverted, then is the time for men to stand up in the defence of them: as our Adversaries at length acknowledg'd in the reign of King *James*, when they themselves follow'd the noble example the Puritans had set them. And tho it must be own'd, a civil war is attended with very grievous calamities; yet 'tis to be prefer'd far before slavery, which is attended with much worse.

Now if a pious mistake ought ever to be forgiven, this error of the Churchmen ought to be pardon'd, by which they endeavour'd to quench that fire which was breaking out in the state, and to prevent the impending ruin of the Church. What shall one make of those men, who esteem the mistakes of their own side as *pious*, and traduce the honest and noble actions of their Adversaries as horrid crimes? But let their *mistake* be esteem'd *pious*, and such as *ought to be pardon'd*: when men confess themselves in a fault (and, as our Author has call'd it, a *great* one) we are not backward to forgive. But our Adversaries will by no means forgive the Puritans, that they defended the laws of their country; tho they were in *no mistake* at all, not so much as a *pious* one.

And truly herein we glory, and, with our Adversaries good leave, reckon 'twill turn to our everlasting honour, that our Ministers undertook the vindication of the laws and liberties of their country. But the Episcopal Ministers were they, who first attempted to persuade their country men to take upon their necks the servile yoke; they were the men, who first call'd the rights of our Parliaments in question; they first preach'd up the absolute and unlimited power of our Kings, and pav'd a way to the most grievous tyranny of our Princes, and the vilest servitude of the people.

This was the course taken by *Manwaring* and *Sibthorp*, those vile wretches, whose memory is become accursed to posterity. By this art they merited their preferment, the former to a Bishoprick, the latter to a fat living.

But it may perhaps be objected, these were private Clergy-men, and the whole body of the Clergy is not to be reproach'd with the conduct of one or two particular persons. Let us then hear the representative bodies of the whole *English* Clergy, I mean the two Convocations of *Canterbury* and *York*,

York, which, in the year 1640, declar'd themselves of the same opinion. "The most high, *say they*, and sacred order of Kings is of divine right, being the ordinance of God Himself, founded in the prime laws of nature, and clearly establish'd by express Texts both of the Old and New Testaments. A supreme power is given to this most excellent order by God himself in the Scriptures, &c." * If this were true, not only the several commonwealths abroad, but our own Parliaments here at home, would be contrary to divine institution. A little after they have this Paragraph : "For subjects to bear arms against their Kings, offensive or defensive, upon any pretence whatsoever, is at least to resist the powers, which are ordained of God. And tho they do not invade, but only resist, St. Paul tells them plainly, *They shall receive to themselves damnation*". And afterwards the whole body of the Clergy are requir'd to preach this doctrine, or these *pious mistakes*, as our Author calls them. Hence our Adversaries have used to boast, that this was the doctrine of the Church of *England*, and to triumph in it, as a glory peculiar and appropriated to themselves. Nor were they therein in the wrong, or much envied by us. But when they saw occasion to act upon other principles, in the reign of King *James II*, they for shame ceas'd their clamors and reproaches upon that head for a considerable time, till toward the latter end of Queen *Anne's* reign : and then they renew'd them with greater fury and madness than ever. But since the happy accession of his present Majesty King *GEORGE*, they have laid aside their doctrine again. So occasional are these Gentlemen in their opinions and practices.

What follows in our Author is an harangue, wherein he sets out the behaviour of the Puritan Ministers according to the fancies of those of his party, from whom he borrow'd these things. These are not the applications of the Ministers themselves ; but the strain'd and forc'd interpretations their adversaries put upon their words, even contrary to their express declarations. Thus they commonly deal with *Leighton*, as I shew'd before. And since the Ministers always testify'd their respect to the King, however displeas'd they were with the abuses of his Ministers, and

and the male-administration, I shall not think it worth while to consider his general charges, till I see some particular proofs alledg'd. I own the Ministers heartily espous'd the Parliament side, and went as far as they went in the cause; but neither of them had any designs against the person of the King. And doubtless this is to be remember'd to their honour. And had it not been for the noble stand, then made by the Parliament, and the greatest part of the nation that fell in with them, we must have been utterly inflav'd. I will not deny, that the Ministers in their sermons earnestly recommended to the people the cause, the Parliament had undertaken. And if they exceeded in meddling beyond their function with state affairs; yet I shall not believe, before I see it prov'd, that the Puritan, or those afterward call'd Presbyterian, Ministers can be charg'd with taking the wrong side, or advancing any thing inconsistent with the laws of our country.

*Evil men and seducers, the Apostles says, wax worse and worse :** and so it prov'd with our Adversaries, their superstitions and approaches to *Rome*, their persecution and violence were now much advanc'd. Many things might be produc'd of this nature. Private Clergymen set up Images, plac'd their Communion Tables altarwise, and forc'd people to the idolatry of bowing to them; press'd their people to confess their sins, and preach'd up their own power of absolving. If any op:os'd them, they fell under their wrath and fury. Ministers were silenc'd, sequester'd, and depriv'd; and the Laity excommunicated, imprison'd, plunder'd and ruin'd. A son was excommunicated for repeating a sermon to his own father, who was under the sentence of excommunication.†

The Articles against Bishop *Wren* are very remarkable, for the account they give of his superstition and tyranny. But I shall only mention two of them :

Art. 13. " That during the time of his being Bishop of *Norwitch*, which was about two years and 4 months, " there were, for not reading the second service at the " Communion Table, set altarwise, for not reading the " Book of Sports, for using conceiv'd Prayers before and " after sermons, and for not observing some other illegal
" inno-

“ innovations, by him and his under Officers, by and
 “ upon his directions and injunction, sundry godly, pain-
 “ ful, preaching Ministers, to the number of fifty, ex-
 “ communicated, suspended or depriv’d, and otherwise
 “ censur’d and silenc’d, to the undoing of many of them,
 “ their wives and children. They could not be absolv’d
 “ without giving promise to conform to his directions,
 “ *editis & edendis*; by means whereof some Ministers were
 “ forc’d to depart this realm; and others of *Norwitch*,
 “ to remove into other peaceable Diocesses; and some of
 “ them so prosecuted, as hath been suspected to be the
 “ cause of their deaths. The terror of which proceed-
 “ ings hath caused other Ministers to leave their Cures,
 “ and go away: and if a stranger preached at the Cure of
 “ such a Parson suspended, the Churchwardens, permit-
 “ ting such Parson so to preach, were enjoin’d penance,
 “ and otherwise troubled.”

Art. 16. “ That by reason of rigorous prosecutions, &c.
 “ many of his Majesty’s subjects, to the number of three
 “ thousand, many of which used trades, spinning, wea-
 “ wing, knitting, and making of cloth, stuff, stockings,
 “ and other manufactures of wool, some of them setting
 “ an hundred poor people on work, have remov’d them-
 “ selves, their families and estates into *Holland*, and other
 “ parts beyond the seas, and there set up and taught the
 “ natives there the said manufactures, to the great hin-
 “ drance of trade in this kingdom, and to the impo-
 “ verishing, and bringing to extream want, very many
 “ who were by those parties formerly set on work, to
 “ the great prejudice of his Majesty and his people.”*

By this specimen we may judge what case the nation was in, by reason of many such Bishops at that time.

This year Dr. *Bastwick*, Mr. *Burton*, and Mr. *Prynne* were releas’d from their imprisonment. † I shall therefore here give as concise an account as I can of their long and grievous sufferings.

Mr. *Burton*, a Divine, and Mr. *Prynne*, a Lawyer, had anger’d the Arminian party by the Books which they had publish’d against them; and were therefore prosecuted in the High Commission, but deliver’d by Prohibitions from the Temporal Courts. This exasperated *Laud* and his party,

* *Ibid. p. 353.* † *See the new Discovery of the Prelates Tyranny.*

party, who watch'd for an opportunity of being reveng'd.

In the year 1632, Mr. *Prynne* publish'd a Book against *Interludes*, intituled *Histriomastix*, licenc'd by *Archbishop Abbot's* Chaplain. Six weeks after, the Queen acted a part in a *Pastoral* at *Somerset House*. And there being some passages in the Book against Women Actors, and particularly in the Table at the end of the Book, a reference made in these words : *Women Actors notorious whores* : it was suggested to their Majesties, that these were design'd against the Queen. At which they were incensed, till they were better inform'd of the Book's being publish'd before any one thought of the Queen's acting. Upon this Bishop *Laud* set Dr. *Heylyn* to collect such passages out of the Book, as might draw him into question for suppos'd scandals therein of the King, Queen, state and government of the realm. " After this, says *Heylyn himself*, the collector receiv'd a further order to review his Notes, and deduct out of them such logical inferences and conclusions, as might, and did naturally arise on these dangerous premises." *

Upon this he was imprison'd by a warrant utterly illegal, no mention being made in it of the reason of his commitment. Bishop *Laud's* hand was to the warrant, and he procur'd this barbarous sentence to be pass'd upon him in the *Star Chamber* : That he should be committed to prison during life, pay a fine of 5000*l.* to the King, be expell'd *Lincolns Inn*, dishar'd and disabled ever to exercise the profession of a Barrester, be degraded by the University of *Oxford* of his degree there taken ; and that done, be set in the pillory at *Westminster*, with a paper on his head declaring the nature of his offence, and have one of his ears there cut off, and at another time be set in the pillory in *Cheapside*, with a paper as aforesaid, and there have his other ear cut off, and his Books at the same time burnt before his face. And all this was done upon Dr. *Heylyn's* inferences and conclusions : and no passage of his Book was laid in the information brought against him. But the punctilio's of law were a trifle to those men, who bid open defiance both to justice and humanity. The Queen interceded with the King to remit the execution of the sentence ; but *Laud's* interest was such, as that he got

got all the corporal punishment inflicted to a tittle. And presently after, contrary to law, seiz'd a cart-load of his books. And when *Prynne* complain'd of it, *Laud* falsely deny'd in open court, that his hand was to the warrant, and promis'd present restitution of the books ; but under-hand gave order to detain them till they were extended, and sold toward paying his fine in the *Star Chamber*.

While he lay in prison, Dr. *Bastwick*, a Physician at *Colchester*, publish'd a Book, call'd : *Elenchus Religionis Papistice* : with an Addition thereunto, call'd : *Flagellum Pontificis & Episcoporum Latialium*. He declar'd in his Preface, he meant not such Bishops, as acknowledg'd their authority from Kings and Emperors. In his Book he argued the parity of the Bishop of *Rome*, and all other Bishops and Presbyters. Hereupon a Pursevant from the High Commission Court came and ransack'd his house, broke open his study, and carry'd away books, writings, letters and what he pleas'd. After a long and chargeable suit, he was fin'd 1000*l.* to the King, excommunicated, debar'd to practise Physic, his said books order'd to be burnt, and himself pay costs of suit, and be imprison'd till he should make a recantation. By virtue of this sentence he had lain two years in prison in the *Gatehouse*, when he wrote his *Apologeticus ad Praesules Anglicanos*, and his *Litany* : which exceedingly anger'd the Prelates, and begat him greater troubles.

Mr. *Bunton*, on the 5 of November 1636, preach'd two Sermons, *For God and the King*, Prov. xxiv. 21. 22. The design of these was to lay open the innovations, and arbitrary proceedings of the Bishops. But the stile and language of them was indecently severe, but yet deserv'd not so terrible a punishment, especially considering his zeal was provok'd by things scandalously evil. By the order of *Laud*, now become Archbishop, his house was broke open, his person seiz'd, and such books and papers as the Officer thought fit, taken away.

While these three lay in prison, there came out two Books ; the one intituled : *A Divine Tragedy, containing a catalogue of God's late judgments upon Sabbath-breakers* : the other : *News from Ipswich*. This latter expos'd the innovations of the Bishops, and particularly the extravagancies of Bishop *Wen*. There was no name to them, and the Bishops being not able to find the author, that they might be reveng'd on him, resolv'd to make *Prynne* smart

smart for it. And so they exhibited an information against these three Gentlemen at once in the *Star Chamber*, annexing these two last nam'd Books, and Dr. *Bastwick's* and Mr. *Burton's* to the information. Neither of these Books was particularly charged on Mr. *Prynne* in the information, nor was any witness produc'd to prove him the author, or disperfer of any of them. They were *sub-pena'd* to put in their answer. They had Counsel assign'd them, who being severely threaten'd, dared not subscribe their answer, and then their answer was refus'd, because it had not any Counsellor's hand to it. And proceeding by such base tricks, they took the information *pro confesso*. They were fined 5000*l.* each, to stand in the pillory, and have both their ears cut off. Mr. *Prynne* was to have the small remainders of his cut off; to be stigmatiz'd in both cheeks with *S. L.* and to be confin'd in *Carnarvan Castle* during life. Mr. *Burton*, to be depriv'd of his Benefice, degraded from his ministerial function, and degrees taken in the University, and confin'd to perpetual imprisonment in *Lancaster Castle*. Dr. *Bastwick*, to be close prisoner in *Lanceston Castle* in *Cornwal*. They were debar'd the use of pen, ink and Paper; none suffer'd to come at them, not so much as the wives of the two latter. By sending them to such remote places, they propos'd to put them to the greatest hardships. But as revenge is an insatiable passion, they could not be content herewith; but contrary to the sentence given, they order'd them, in an extrajudicial, arbitrary manner, to be transported; *Prynne* to *Jersey*, *Burton* to *Guernsey*, and *Bastwick* to the Island of *Scilly*. In their several confinements they met with barbarous usage, which continued till the Parliament did them right. The noble behaviour of these three persons, when they suffer'd, is too long to be transcrib'd, but well worth reading: my design is to lay open the persecutions of that time.

I cannot omit mentioning the barbarity used upon the occasion of Mr. *Prynne's* journey to *Carnarvan*. * Being at *Coventry* in his way, on a Lord's Day, he went to Church, and some of his friends (asking leave of his keepers, who said they had no orders to the contrary) visited him. For this Archbishop *Laud* sends a messenger

P

for

for them, and when he had check'd them, and put them to two or three hundred pounds charge, he dismiss'd them.

But his friends at *Chester* could not come off so easily. Mr. *Calvin Brewen* accidentally overtaking him upon the road, rode with him into *Chester*. He, and some of Mr. *Prynne*'s acquaintance, came to see him in his inn, and next day went with him to buy some bedding and furniture for his chamber at *Carnarvan*, where such things could not be gotten. And when he went out of *Chester*, some three or four of his friends conducted them over the washes, which were dangerous (none of his guard knowing the way) they brought them on four or five miles, and bestow'd a cup of wine and some cold meat upon his guard, and so went back.

This the stillest Churchmen in the nation, ever since Dr. *Sacheverel's* famous progress, must own to be a trifle of an offence; and yet for this they were treated very hardly. The Bishop of *Chester* order'd his Clergy to preach against them, and sent a complaint of it to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. By his direction they were put into the High Commission at *York*, and there fined; some 500, some 300, some 250 pounds. They were imprison'd, and forced to enter bond in 300*l.* apiece, to stand to the farther order of the Court, and to make such a public acknowledgment of this great crime, both in the Cathedral Church at *Chester*, before the congregation there, and likewise in the *Town Hall* before the Mayor, Aldermen, and citizens, as the Commissioners should prescribe them. When I read such things as these, and consider that our Blessed Saviour well understood with what an implacable bitterness his Disciples would be persecuted, I the less wonder that so much notice will be taken in the great day of those, who, *when his brethren were in prison, came to them.** I wish men of a persecuting spirit would seriously consider the other part of the representation of the proceedings of that day.

In this year was the dreadful massacre in *Ireland*, wherein two hundred thousand Protestants were murder'd. "The Rebels pretended they had the King's commission for what they did. Many thought

“ thought they bely’d the King herein ; till afterwards, in
“ the reign of King *Charles* the Second, the Marquess of
“ *Antrim*, a ringleader of the Rebels, sued to have his
“ estate, which had been sequestred, restor’d to him.
“ The Duke of *Ormond* and the Council in *Ireland* judg’d
“ against him, as one of the Rebels. Whereupon, he
“ brought his cause over to the King, and affirm’d, that
“ what he did was by his Father’s consent and authority.
“ The King refer’d it to some worthy Members of his
“ Privy Council, to examine what he had to shew.
“ Upon examination they reported, that they found
“ he had the King’s consent, or Letter of instructions
“ for what he did : which amaz’d many. Hereupon
“ King *Charles* wrote to the Duke of *Ormond* to restore
“ his estate, because it appear’d what he did was by his
“ Fathers order, or consent. The Lord *Mazarine*, and
“ others in *Ireland*, not fully satisfied with this, thought
“ fit so far to prosecute the matter, as that the Marquess
“ of *Antrim* was forc’d to produce in the House of Com-
“ mons a Letter of K. *Charles* I, by which he gave him order
“ for the taking up arms, which being read in the House
“ produc’d a great silence.” * He that would be satisfied
in this matter, should read the Letter which K. *Charles* II.
wrote to the D. of *Ormond*, and the Lords of the Coun-
cil in *Ireland*, which Mr. *Ludlow* has publish’d in his *Me-
moirs*. † I shall only transcribe the account the King gives
them of the report of the Lords of the Privy Council, to
whom he had refer’d the examination of that matter.
“ Our Lords Referees, after several meetings, and having
“ perus’d what had been offer’d to them by the said Mar-
“ quess, have represented to us, that they have seen se-
“ veral Letters, all of them of the hand writing of our
“ Royal Father to the said Marquess, and several instru-
“ tions concerning his treating and joining with the
“ *Irish*, in order to the King’s service, by reducing them
“ to their obedience, and by drawing some forces
“ from them for the service of *Scotland*. And that be-
“ side the Letters and Orders under his Majesties hand,
“ they have sufficient evidence and testimony of several
“ messages and directions sent from our Royal Father,
“ and our Royal Mother with the privity and direction of

" the King our Father ; by which they are persuaded, that
 " whatever intelligence, correspondence, or actings the
 " said Marquess had with the confederate *Irish* Catholics,
 " was directed or allow'd by the said letters, instructions
 " and directions; and it manifestly appear'd to them, that
 " the King our Father was well pleas'd with what the
 " Marquess did, after he had done it, and approv'd the
 " same." This Letter was read twice in one day in the
Court of Claims in *Leland* before thousands of people, and
 among the rest a person of quality, whose papers I have
 used, who then took a copy of it ; and heard eight of
 the twelve qualifications (any one of which being prov'd
 against a person, he was to be declar'd nocent, and his
 estate forfeited) prov'd upon him by substantial evidence ;
 as that by his commission many thousand head of cattle
 were driven away, and the people murder'd ; that in the
 town of *Cashel*, near *Clonmel*, in the county of *Tiperary*,
 by his commission 1200 throats of men, women, and chil-
 dren were cut in one night, in cold blood ; with others of
 the same nature. But the Commissioners would not hear
 any more, Sir *William Dumvil* saying, the design was to
 wound the King thro the Marquess of *Antrim*'s sides.
 And tho he was general of the army of the *Irish* Rebels,
 and the Duke of *Ormond* of the Protestant army, they
 two were both declar'd innocent in one day.

This accident of *Leland*, my Lord *Clarendon* tells us, was of infinite disadvantage to the Kings affairs.* Nay, he says : " It was *Leland* that drew the first blood, and " if they had not at that time rebell'd, and in that man-
 " ner, 'tis very probable, all the miseries which afterwards
 " befell the King, and his dominions had been prevented." †
 He says : " It was insinuated into the minds of the people,
 " that this rebellion was contriv'd and fomented by the
 " King, or at least by the Queen, for the advancement of Po-
 " pery ; and that the Rebels publish'd and declar'd, that they
 " had the King's authority for all they did. *He owns*, this
 " made more impression upon the minds of sober and mode-
 " rate men, than could be then imagin'd, or can yet be be-
 " liev'd." ‡ Yet he call's it a calumny, without the least sha-
 " dow or colour of truth. But whether he says this with as
 much reason as assurance, the reader must judge. And that
 there

there was at least *some colour or shadow of truth* in this, seems plain from what is related by himself. It was certainly a very considerable circumstance the Parliament took notice of: "That the Proclamation where-
" by they were declar'd traitors, was so long withheld,
" as to the second of *January*, tho the rebellion broke
" forth in *October* before; and then no more than forty
" copies appointed to be printed, with a special command
" from his Majesty not to exceed that number, and that
" none of them should be publish'd, till his Majesty's
" pleasure were further signified; as by the warrant ap-
" pears: so that a few only could take notice of it, which
" was made more observable by the late contrary pro-
" ceedings against the *Scots*, who were in a very quick
" and sharp manner proclaim'd; and those Proclamations
" forthwith dispers'd, with as much diligence as might be,
" throughout all the kingdom, and order'd to be read in
" all Churches, accompanied with public prayers and
" execrations."* The King's answer to this seems very
unsatisfactory. † And all those reasons which his Majesty
alleges for these kind of proceedings in the *Irish* business,
had no manner of influence upon him in the less dangerous
affair of *Scotland*; and this he seems to have been sensi-
ble of, and therefore would not meddle with the compa-
rison, or attempt to give a reason for the difference of his
conduct. Besides, we have the more reason to believe the
account K. Charles the Second's Letter gives us, from what
my Lord *Clarendon* himself relates of the carriage of the
King toward the Marques of *Antrim* afterward. For two
years after the rebellion, when the King was at *Oxford*, he
employ'd this Earl of *Antrim*, together with *Daniel O Neile*, another Papist, to go and make levies of the *Irish*
to transporth them into *Scotland*, as they actually did. ‡
And for his encouragement he then created him a Mar-
ques, as *O Neile* was made at the same time Groom of
the Bed-chamber. And I hardly think any Man will much
credit his Lordship, that *Antrim*'s correspondence with
the rebels was not known, when he came to *England*. †
But I make no doubt my Lord *Clarendon* was one of the
Lords Referees, spoken of in K. Charles the Second's Let-
ter, and understood this matter better than his History,
as it now appears, would make us believe.

But be that as 'twill, 'tis certain the *English* were struck with a great dread; partly by the massacre itself, and partly by the threatenings of the *Irish* cut-throats; who openly declar'd, that as soon as they had dispatch'd the small remnant left in *Ireland*, they would come into *England*, and deal in like manner with the Parliament, and *English* Protestants.

What our author says about the civil war, is, I think, foreign to our matter; since the cause of civil liberty, rather than religion, was the occasion of it. It cannot seem strange, if a civil war be accompany'd with dismal calamities; but yet slavery, as I said before, is attended with worse. I pass over what he says of rabbles, whose defence I will never undertake; altho 'tis very certain they were provok'd to what they did by the cruelty of some Bishops, who in cold blood acted as bad as any thing done in that disturbance. And if the Translator ever took any liberty, he should have done it here, modesty requiring him to pass over these rabbles and tumults in silence; since he knows in his conscience, his own party have lately, without any shadow of a provocation, abundantly exceeded all that was ever done before of that kind in this nation.

But however I pass over these things, I think I ought to do justice to the memory of a Minister injur'd by him.

Burgess, says he, a Puritan Minister, irritates a rabble which he had brought out of the city, in the head whereof he himself appears, which lays siege to the doors of the Parliament House, where roaring against the Bishops and their friends, and threatening them with hard words, so scares them, that they had not the liberty of giving their suffrages as they would.* I doubt not our Author is mistaken herein. Neither Heylyn, Fuller, nor my Lord Clarendon give this account of him. And indeed the ringleader of that rabble, that petition'd against the Bishops, was Sir Richard Wiseman, who was himself slain by a stone from off *Westminster Abbey Walls*. And if those, who then oppos'd High Church, did ill in coming so tumultuously to the Parliament House; why did High Church, who so freely blame them, afterwards follow their example, during the trial

trial of their late incendiary? And why have mobs and tumults been encourag'd thro the whole nation ever since?

I cannot here forbear transcribing a part of my Lord Digby's Speech upon the occasion of this Petition. A great stickler he was for Bishops, and was in that very speech earnestly pleading in their behalf; but yet so flagrant and notorious was their tyranny, that he could not speak of it without indignation. Being a friend, his testimony may be the more readily believ'd, since it cannot be thought, he would beyond truth aggravate the crimes of those he was pleading for.

" Mr. Speaker, says he, you see in what plain language
 " I have set forth unto you the faults of this Petition;
 " notwithstanding, as great as they are, so they may not
 " obtain any seeming countenance from us, I find myself
 " willing to have them pass'd by; especially when I con-
 " sider how naturally prone all mankind is, when it finds
 " itself oppress'd beyond all patience, to fly unto extreams
 " for ease; and indeed I do not think any people hath
 " been ever more provok'd, than the generality of *England*
 " of late years, by the insolencies and exorbitances of
 " the Prelates.

" I protest sincerely, Mr. Speaker, I cannot cast my eye
 " upon this Petition, nor my thoughts, on the practices
 " of the Churchmen, that have govern'd it of late, but
 " they appear'd to me as a scourge employ'd by God upon
 " us, for the sins of the nation; and I could not but
 " think of that passage in the Book of Kings: *He that*
" escapeth the sword of Hazael, shall Jehu slay; and he
" that escapes Jehu, shall Elisha slay.

" Methinks, the vengeance of the Prelates hath been so
 " layed, as if 'twere meant, no generation, no degree,
 " no complexion of mankind should escape it.

" Was there a man of nice and tender conscience? Him
 " they afflicted with scandal in *adiaphoris*, imposing on
 " him those things as necessary, which he thinks unlaw-
 " ful, and they themselves knew to be but indifferent.

" Was there a man of legal conscience, that made the
 " establishment by law the measure of his religion? Him
 " they netted with innovations, with fresh introductions
 " to Popery.

" Was there a man of a meek and humble spirit? Him
 " they have trampled to dirt in their pride.

“ Was there a man of a proud and arrogant nature ?
“ Him they have bereft of reason, with indignation at
“ their superlative insolence about him.

“ Was there a man peaceably affected, studious of the
“ quiet and tranquillity of his country ? Their incendiary-
“ ships have plagued him.

“ Was there a man faithfully addicted to the right of
“ the crown, loyally affected to the King’s supremacy ?
“ How hath he been gall’d by their new oath, a direct
“ covenant against it ?

“ Was there a man tenacious of the liberty and proper-
“ ty of the subject ? Have they not set forth Books, or
“ Sermons, or Canons destructive to them all ?

“ Was there a man of a pretty sturdy conscience, that
“ would not blanch for a little ? Their pernicious oath
“ hath made him sensible and wounded ; or, I fear, pre-
“ par’d him for the Devil.

“ Was there a man that durst mutter against their infor-
“ mations ? He may inquire for his *lugs*, they have been
“ within the Bishops visitation : as if they would not on-
“ ly derive their brandishment of the spiritual sword from
“ St. Peter, but of the material one too, and the right to
“ cut off ears.

“ Mr. Speaker, as dully, as faintly, as unlively, as in
“ language these actions of the Prelates have been ex-
“ press’d to you ; I am confident there is no man hears
“ me, but is briⁿfull of indignation.

“ For my part, I profess, I am so enflam’d with the
“ sense of them, that I find my self ready to cry out with
“ the loudest of the 15000 : Down with them, Down
“ with them to the very ground.” *

Our Author next complains of twelve Bishops being im-
prison’d, upon their protesting against the acts made in
their absence. But as this was done by the Parliament, so
there is no body now, who pretends to justify the pro-
testation of the Bishops, nor does my Lord *Clarendon* him-
self. And as to Archbishop *Laud*, whom he commends
in the next passage ; I leave it to every one to judge as he
sees cause. I own, I look upon him to have been most
superstitious, haughty and cruel, and the prime cause of all
the distractions at that time. And let but the reader re-
view

view my Lord *Digby's* speech, and remember that the Archbishop was the ringleader of the Bishops, and then he may form a truer notion of him, than our Author seems to have done.

*And now all England was defil'd with civil blood : **
Which cannot be strange in the time of a civil war. *neither are the Churches spar'd in the unnatural rage.* 'Tis no unusual thing for soldiers to spoil Churches. The Royalists then did the same. † The like was done by our soldiers, who were Churchmen, after the famous battle at *Hochstet.* And what can any man say in defence of that ungodly fury, which has rag'd now for several years in our High Churchmen ; who have made it their practice to commit felony, treason and sacrilege in spoiling our Churches ? But I would here further observe, that our parish Churches were horribly polluted with abundance of superstitious trinkets retain'd in them, or then lately brought in, under a pretence of adorning them. And there being an order of Parliament for the removing such kind of things, there could so far be no hurt in it. || *For oftentimes the glass windows of Churches, painted with the most exquisite art, are broken by the rabble, or the soldiers ; some of the Puritanical Ministers, who were Chaplains in the army, at the same time standing by, and exhorting them to it.* I don't remember to have met with this charge upon the Puritanical Ministers in any of our Historians. But supposing it true, that they did this by the order of the Parliament, and did it without any tumult ; I think it should be look'd upon as matter of commendation, rather than disgrace to them. And herein they really follow'd the example of our old Reformers. So Mr. *Strype* tells us, in a visitation, in the year 1559 : " They took care to " have all the utensils, and instruments of superstition and " idolatry demolish'd, and destroy'd out of the Churches, " where God's pure service was to be set up ; such as the " *Roods*, that is the Images of Christ upon the Crofs, " with *Mary* and *John* standing by ; also Images of other " Saints, Tutelaries of the Churches, to whom they were " dedicated ; Popish books, Altars and the like ; as know- " ing, that while these things remain'd, the practices of " idolatry must almost necessarily be continued among the " igno-

“ ignorant people, and the Reformation of religion be
 “ greatly obstructed.” * ‘Tis really a great disgrace to a
 Reform’d Church, to retain idolatrous pictures in their
 temples; such as that at *Salisbury*, which represented God
 the Father under the form of an old man, toward which
 an old woman used to make a cursy. This was broken
 by Mr. *Sherfield*, who was miserably harras’d by Arch-
 bishop *Laud* upon that account, and had at last a fine of
 1000 *l.* laid upon him for it. I wish our Adversaries
 would let us know, by what antiquity they defend them-
 selves, in retaining and setting up such things. The pri-
 mitive Christians had no such pictures in their places of
 worship. The first we read of was at *Anablatha*; con-
 cerning which ’tis worth while to hear what *Epiphanius*
 says : “ I found there, *says he*, hanging at the door of the
 “ Church, a veil with the Image of Christ, or some Saint
 “ (I don’t well remember which) painted upon it. When
 “ therefore I saw this, that the image of a man hung
 “ there, contrary to the authority of the Holy Scriptures,
 “ I tore it down, and advis’d those who had the care of
 “ the Church, that they should rather make it a winding
 “ sheet for some poor body that was dead.— Please to
 “ accept this veil, which I have sent by the bearer; and
 “ give order, that hereafter no such veils, as are forbid-
 “ den by our religion, be set up in the Church of Christ.
 “ For it becometh your goodness, to be the rather careful
 “ about this matter, that you may take away that occasi-
 “ on of scruple and doubting, which is unfit for the
 “ Church of Christ, and the people committed to your
 “ charge.” † And since the *Homilies* very much com-
 mend this example of *Epiphanius*, I can’t imagine why
 the Church should be angry with the Puritans for follow-
 ing it. But these *windows* were painted with *exquisite art*.
 And therefore I suppose that ancient complaint is renew’d,
Matth. xxvi. 8 : To what purpose is this wast? These com-
 plainers are most concern’d about the cost and worth of
 these things; while the Puritans, above all, minded the
 honour of our Redeemer, and the purity of Christian
 worship. And truly, when pernicious things are to be de-
 stroy’d, no regard is to be had to the exquisiteness of the
 art discover’d in them, or to the price of them, *Acts xix. 19.*

What

* Life of *Grindal*, p. 25. † Letter to *John of Jerusalem*.

What follows in our Author concerning the plundering of Churches, if it is all true, is not strange, as I said before, in a time of war. The same, or worse, was done by their own side not long since, in the war in *Bavaria*, and at the Fort *St. Mary*. As to the *Vestments* of the Clergy, the use of them was abolish'd, and to what purpose they should be preserv'd I don't understand; unless any should esteem them so sacred, as some have done, who were for burning old *Surplices* that were worn out; lest such holy garments should be profan'd, by being apply'd to any common use.

Our Author next comes to the *Solemn League and Covenant*, which, he says, was an oath MDCXLIII. which the Puritans oblig'd themselves by, to extirpate the order of Bishops, and to reform the government of the Church according to the *Presbyterian discipline* of the Church of Scotland.* This is a mistake, which I shall rectify in the words of Mr. *Baxter*. " This Covenant, says he, was propos'd by the Parliament to the consideration of the Synod at *Westminster*. The Synod stumbled at some things in it, and especially at the word *Prelacy*. Dr. *Burgess* the Prolocutor, Mr. *Gataker*, and abundance more declar'd their judgments to be for *Episcopacy*, even for the antient moderate *Episcopacy*, in which one stated President, with his *Presbytery*, govern'd every Church; tho not for the *English* *Diocesan* frame, in which one Bishop, without his *Presbytery*, did, by a Lay Chancellor's Court, govern all the *Presbyters* and *Churches* of a *Dioceſſ*, being many hundreds; and that in a secular manner, by abundance of upstart secular Officers, unknown to the primitive Church. Hereupon grew some debate in the Assembly; some being against every degree of Bishops, (especially the *Scotish Divines*) and others being for a moderate *Episcopacy*. But these *English Divines* would not subscribe the Covenant, till there were an alteration suited to their judgments: and so a parenthesis was yielded to, as describing that sort of *Prelacy* which they oppos'd, viz. [That is, *Church government by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other Ecclesiastical Officers depending on that Hierarchy.*] All which conjoin'd are mentioned

“tion’d as the description of that form of Church go-
 “vernment, which they meant by *Prelacy*, as not ex-
 “tending to the antient Episcopacy. When the Covenant
 “was taken, the Lords and Commons first took it them-
 “selves; and Mr. *Thomas Coleman* preach’d to the House
 “of Lords, and gave it them with this public explica-
 “tion: *That by Prelacy we mean not all Episcopacy, but*
 “*only that form which is here describ’d.*”* Thus far
 Mr. *Baxter*, who was himself of the same opinion with
 Mr. *Gataker*. And the generality of the *English* Presby-
 terians, as far as I can judge, don’t much differ from them,
 wishing the present very corrupt form of Prelacy were abo-
 lish’d, and the true antient Episcopacy restor’d.

This oath by an order of Parliament, who now acted without the King, was enjoyn’d to be taken by all Ministers of parishes, and those who refus’d it were to be ejected from their livings. By this Ordinance of the Parliament, in course of time, almost all the Episcopal Clergy were sequester’d or turn’d out. An hundred and fifteen were depriv’d in the city of London only, and in other parts of the nation some thousands.

If these things were all true, they might have pleaded for themselves, that herein they only follow’d the example the Episcopal party had before set them. And indeed, I am sorry that they imitated them so much as they did. For it must be own’d, that several, who deserv’d better treatment, were turn’d out upon this occasion. But ’tis utterly unreasonable to say, all that were then sequestred or turn’d out, met with this usage upon the account of their refusing the Covenant. Many of them were depriv’d for the most notorious crimes, which were sworn against them. And besides, Dr. *Heylyn* is an author who deserves very little credit, as I observ’d before: and yet he, if I mistake not, is the only writer, whose testimony Dr. *N.* is able to produce for what he here says.

*And now by the authority of Parliament, there is a Council of the Puritans conven’d, commonly call’d the Assembly of Divines. In which no Bishops are allow’d, [A great mistake: *Usher, Westford, Pridgeaux* and *Brownrig* were all Bishops, and yet call’d to the Assembly] but only some few Episcoparian Divines for countenance sake, are nominated; who,*

who, because the *Synod* was call'd without the King's authority, refuse to join themselves with that illegal meeting. To these were added some few of the Sect of the Brownists, or Independents; for at that time the Puritans thought it not improper to court their favour, for as much as they saw that they every day more and more grew into the esteem of the common people.* To which let us add, what he afterwards mentions: Some persons of *Eraftian* principles were join'd to them; men who were neither for *Episcopacy* nor *Presbytery*; but who were dispos'd to receive any government in the Church, which the Parliament thought fit to establish. To these some *Laymen* were likewise added: The Earl of Pembroke, and Lord Say, out of the House of Peers; Mr. Whitlock, and Mr. Selden, out of the House of Commons. This jumble of a *Synod* made their first Session the first of July 1643. †

The Assembly was not constituted according to the principles of either the *Episcopal*, or *Presbyterian* party. However, no man can with any modesty deny, they were a company of very excellent persons both for learning and piety. Our Parliament was now consulting about a Reformation in religion, wherein they thought they needed the advice of some *Divines*. And because they did not like a *Synod*, that should make *Canons* by their own authority, they themselves chose such *Divines* as they saw fit. They observ'd, *Divines* were much divided in their opinions, and thought it reasonable the arguments of every party should be weigh'd. Upon this account, they chose the most eminent men of each party, and call'd them to the Assembly. There were many *Eraftians* at that time; as their Principles had been formerly rise enough in the nation. *Archbishop Whitgift* himself goes much upon those principles, in his writing against *Cartwright*. He is said also to have licens'd *Eraftus*'s Book, and writ with his own hand, in one of the Books finely gilt, these words: *Intus quam extra formosior: More beautiful within than without*. But after our High Churchmen had got the whim of the Divine Right of *Episcopacy*, the number of his followers declin'd. Concerning the *Independents*, our Author has inserted here a pretty long account. But they will not easily allow, their

their principles were first started by *Brown*. I shall only give this short account of the rise of them.

The Bishops by their cruelty in persecuting all Protestants who differ'd from them, turn'd the minds of many both against themselves, and the manner of their worship. The Puritans thought a separation was very much to be dreaded ; and that they ought to try first what could be done by intreaties, supplications, and such like means. But those who had afterward the name of *Brownists* were more hasty, than perhaps was fitting, in setting up separate congregations. At least the Puritans were of that opinion, and therefore wrote earnestly against them. Whether they were right in this their opinion is to me very questionable, and therefore I will not here interpose my judgment. However that be, a great many of them wearied out with the oppressions and persecutions of the Bishops, left their dear native country, and fled into the wild and desolate regions of *America* ; where, in safety from the rage of the Bishops, they worship'd God according to their consciences, and set up a discipline that was not contemptible. *Cotton, Elliot, Hooker*, and many other most pious Ministers, were among the first that fled thither.

Our Author makes some severe reflections upon Mr. *John Cotton*,* who was a learned and pious man ; and therefore I shall say somewhat in his vindication, however I differ from him in many of his opinions. Mr. *Cotton* was not a *Brownist*, as indeed none of the Independents are. This is evident by an Epistle he prefix'd to Mr. *Arthur Hilderham's Lectures upon the Fourth of John*, wherein he has these Words : “ Yea, and that one Letter of his [Mr. *Hilderham's*] to a Gentlewoman against the separation, “ which without his consent a Separatist printed and “ refuted, hath so strongly and clearly convinced the “ iniquity of that way, that I could not but acknowledge “ in it both the wisdom of God, and the iniquity of the “ Separatist. — In which respect, I conceive, it was, that “ the industrious Dr. *Willet* stileth this our author : *Schismatistarum (qui vulgo Brownistarum) malium : The hammer of Schismatics, whom they commonly call Brownists.*” This Letter was writ in the year 1629, the year before

before he went for *New England*, according to Dr. *Nichols*. And in the year 1648, he says his judgment was not alter'd in what he had writ in that Preface. *

In the Treatise I have now last cited, Mr. *Cotton* has publish'd a most modest defence of himself against such kind of accusations which our Author suggestts. As to the charge laid against him about Mrs. *Hutchinson*, he answers: That at her first coming, she was well respected and esteem'd of him, not only because her self and family were well belov'd in *England*, nor only because she and her family went over thither for conscience sake; but chiefly for that he heard she did much good in their town, in womens meeting at childbirth travells, &c. After this she turned aside, not only to corrupt opinions, but to disesteem generally the Elders of the Churches, and with cunning arts spread her notions. † This change of hers was long hid from him, and much longer the evidence of it: altho he try'd to discover her, and dealt freely with her concerning several things he dislik'd in her. Not long after, he heard by some of the neigbouring Elders, that Mrs. *Hutchinson* propagated her errors, as tho' they were asserted by himself; whereupon he dealt with her and her associates again, declaring those opinions were erroneous, and that he was unjustly pretended to be the author or encourager of them. They, on the other hand, said, they neither held such tenents themselves, nor had they ever father'd them upon him. Mr. *Cotton* reported their answer to his Brethren; and ask'd them, if any two of them, or of their neighbours, could bear witness in this case? They answer'd, they had but one. He then desir'd their advice what he should do. They advis'd him publicly and privately to bear witness against their errors. This he did; and then the followers of *Hutchinson* pretended he said another thing to them in private. At length the Ministers, and especially Mr. *Cotton*, thought it proper to call a Synod. Fourscore of her opinions were propos'd to the Synod to be examin'd by them; and Mr. *Cotton* declar'd his judgment openly before all the assembly: That he esteem'd some of the opinions to be blasphemous; some of them heretical; many of them erroneous; and almost all of them incommodiously express'd.

press'd. *Hutchinson* therefore was requir'd to retract them. She did so, but the perfidious wretch at the same time declar'd, she had never held them. Of this most impudent falsehood she was presently convicted, and then cast out of the Church; Mr. *Cotton* and the whole Church, except her own Son, voting for it. So that our Author had little reason to represent the Independents, as esteem-ing her famous for *revelations*; or to say, she was the constant companion of Mr. *Cotton*, as formerly Maximilla was of *Montanus*.

It must be own'd, that the ingenious and learned Mr. *Ainsworth*, and some other of the old Brownist writers used many expressions in their writings against their adversaries, which were scandalously harsh and severe: with which it would be very unreasonable to charge the Independents in after times. They only now differ from us in some notions relating to the discipline of the Church; and that difference daily abates. Nor is Mr. *Spanheim* mistaken in his judgment, who calls them, *pious and orthodox*; * and says, they only differ from the Presbyterians in what I just now mention'd.

That some Laymen were added to the *Assembly of Divines* was no new thing in *England*. In the reigns of King *Henry VIII*, and K. *Edward VI*, there were xxxii Commissioners appointed to draw up a body of Ecclesiastical Laws: and these were partly Clergymen, and partly Laymen, as is well known. And besides that, ecclesiastical laws are daily made by our Parliaments, which consist of some Bishops, and the rest Laymen. And therefore there is no reason, any reflection should be cast upon the Assembly upon that account. But let us come to the acts of this Assembly.

After a great deal of pains and study, says the Doctor, they set forth a *Catechism*, for children at school to learn. † This is a mistake. The *Larger Catechism* was design'd for the use of such as were more advanc'd both in years and religion. 'Tis known by experience, that a catechetical way of instructing is above all others the most useful: whence it has been practis'd in all ages. The Assembly therefore, consulting the edification of all sorts of Christians among us, not only drew up a *Shorter Catechism* for children, of which afterwards; but this which was more

* *Elench. Controv.* p. 90. † *Pag. 57.*

more full and large, for the use of others: wherein they had good precedents, both among Foreign Divines, and those at home of the Episcopal persuasion. And to say nothing of *Cyril*, and the primitive Christians; *Archbishop Usher*, a person of admirable judgment and piety, publish'd several Catechisms: one very short, of 34 Pages, in small *Duodecimo*; another of 52 Pages, bound up with the former; a third 451 Pages, in *Folio*. It would be endless to reckon up all the Episcopal Divines, who have publish'd their catechetical institutions, which have been larger than this Catechism of the Assembly. For, indeed, it contains but 81 Pages, in *Duodecimo*. Our Author's censure therefore of this work is very unjust, when he says: *But as the work went on, it had grown to such a bulk, that people [he means some buffoons of his own party, who praise that in themselves which they ridicule in their neighbours] could not chuse but smile at the oddness of the contrivance; that they should order those things should be committed to such tender memories, which the composers thereof had, for many years, been taking in writing from the Lectures of Scholastic Professors.* What hurt these Professors have done our Author I can't tell, but I find he has a lash for them, * as often as they come in his way. And what do's it signify of whom the Divines in the Assembly learnt the matters they taught, provided they were truths proper to be taught? But 'tis not hard to guess what is design'd by this suggestion, *viz.* That those poor souls of Divines had nothing to say, without looking first into the notes they had taken from others. And if that, as our Adversaries seem to think, is the general unhappiness of *Calvinists*, I can't see how the Assembly can be excus'd; since 'tis certain they were all such. They defended the hated doctrine of *Calvin*, against the *Jesuits*, and *Bishop Laud's* faction: and this was a crime never to be forgiven. Judge whether it be not so by what next follows.

But the fault was yet less pardonable, in that the most perplext points of Divinity, concerning Predestination, the secret Will of God, &c. should be therein propos'd to be discuss'd by School boys, with which the wits of the most learned Theologues, whenever they treat of them, are for the most part puzzled and confounded. So that what the Arminians

Q

nians practice daily with much praise and commendation, must in *Calvinists* be esteemed a great crime. And yet whatever the crime be, the Assembly might learn it from those of the Episcopal persuasion. Just in the same manner are these things handled in a Catechism set forth by K. Edward the Sixth's authority; and by another printed in the year 1607, which used to be bound up with our Bibles. Both which are printed by Mr. Prynne, in his *Antiarminianism*. Nay, and in the common Church Catechism boys are taught to believe, that the *Holy Ghost sanctifies all the elect people of God*.

Our Author thus goes on: *Therefore to rectify this mistake, the Synod enjoins that this long Catechism should be ab. idg'd. But now these difficult points of Divinity being but lightly touch'd upon, they are render'd the more obscure.* This Catechism was indeed design'd for the use of children; but what greater obscurity there is in this, than the other, I can't imagine, and question very much whether any one can tell me. Altho I will not vindicate every expression in it, yet in the main I will venture to commend it, as the best and most orderly summary of religion I have met with, considering the bigness of it. Let the Foreign Divines compare it with the Catechism in the Book of Common Prayer: I am sure we need not fear their verdict. 'Tis translated into *Greek* and *Latin* by Mr. *Harmar*. And what reputation it gain'd among pious and learned men, we may guess by what Mr. *Hickman* says of two famous Divines: "When a copy of it was sent to Mr. *Peter Du Moulin*, he return'd this answer, that he never saw a more perfect Catechism; nor did *Archbishop Usher* less esteem it." *

I shall not need to say much of the *Directory*; in which our Author can discover nothing to find fault with, but that *all Forms of Prayer* are banish'd, out of disregard to the *English Common Prayer Book*: † which is a pretty strong presumption the Book is very compleat and useful in its kind.

After this, much time is spent in settling Church discipline, and in establishing the Parochial, Classical and National Assemblies. But in all this affair, their labour is but lost; for our English people, being impatient under lordship, do with

with great reluctance receive this discipline. That their labour was not quite lost, our Author immediately confesses, when he says: *This discipline the people of London receive at first with some readiness, those in several market towns not appearing very averse to it; but the country parishes do hardly any where receive it.* 'Twas the observation of Bishop Parker and Dr. Goodman, that the inhabitants of cities and market towns were more commonly addicted to our principles, than those who dwelt in country villages. And upon a diligent inquiry into the abstruse reasons of this difficult point, they at last concluded, this must be owing to the too great increase of trade in the nation. For while poor countrymen, who weary'd themselves with their hard daily labour, had little inclination to trouble themselves about the discipline and ceremonies of the Church; the inhabitants of cities and towns living at their ease, and having time upon their hands, indulg'd their curiosity. They therefore with all humility mov'd, that for the sake of their ceremonies, our Parliament would find out some speedy remedy against this evil, and lay some restraint (as they thought fit) upon trade. Such was the fondness our Adversaries then had for their ceremonies, that they would have gladly sold the most useful thing in the nation for them; tho they were dear at the price of one single halfpenny. Nor was this the only time, when they were prefer'd to trade, to the unspeakable prejudice of the nation.

Now tho there were at that time, as there are still, many of the inhabitants of villages, who were on our side; yet it cannot be deny'd that the number of these was less in proportion than of the other: of which various reasons might be given. Men of their employment and conversation are not commonly very quick and ingenious; nor so apt throughly to consider and examine things foreign to their ordinary callings. Besides, the greatest profanation of the Lord's Day, during the tyranny of Archbishop Laud, was in these villages; where the people minded little else, on that day, but sporting and gaming. Hence as mens minds are more addicted to pleasure, than to virtue and piety; these country people did not much care to have this yoke put upon them. Nor can this seem strange to those who are vers'd in the histories of ancient times. Thus when under the encouragement of the first Christian Emperours, our religion

spread itself far and near in a very short space in cities ; the inhabitants of the villages stood out the longest and most stiffly in their superstition. Whence those who embrac'd not the Christian religion, are frequently by *Augustine*, and other Fathers, as they are with us to this day, term'd *Pagans* : the name being deriv'd from *paganus*, which signifies a *village*. The judgment therefore of such *Villagers* or *Pagans* cannot justly be interpreted to the prejudice of our cause, unless it be likewise to that of Christianity itself. Taking our leave therefore of these *Pagans*, let us return to our Author.

This was the state of religion at that time in England, after the Church was overthrown : the Presbyterian Ministers being promoted to the best preferments of the Church, the meaner livings fill'd by men who had been formerly bred to trades. *

If the circumstances of our Ministers became now a little more comfortable, our Adversaries have no reason to envy them, considering how long and grievously they had suffer'd before thro' their instigation. And since the Episcopal Clergy so greedily hunt after the best preferments, I can't imagine, why our Author should blame the Presbyterian Ministers for accepting such, now the obstructions being remov'd, they could do it with a good conscience : especially since they behav'd themselves well in those preferments, being so diligent in feeding their flocks rather than themselves, as that they appear'd well to deserve the preferments, however good they were. True piety, I think, hardly ever flourish'd more in the latter ages than at that time. And yet I don't deny that some things were then out of order ; which may well be imputed to the unsettled condition of the nation at that time, and especially to the exorbitant power of *Cromwell*.

Hence some tradesmen and Sectaries got into livings, which the Ministers were troubled at, but could not hinder : however it having been the practice of the Church to admit such in Queen *Elizabeth's* reign, 'twill be prudent in our Adversaries, not to aggravate this matter too much.

But the pulpits do not thunder now, as heretofore, against Pluralists ; the Puritans at that time being pleas'd to favour

your themselves, who being possess'd of three or four Benefices, which several of the Episcopal Divines had been sequestered from, or depriv'd of, live in great ease and splendor. This is the first time I have heard the Puritans thus charg'd, and then I will believe the charge to be true, when I see it prov'd : viz. That the Presbyterian Ministers (for I am not concern'd in the Sectaries) held at the same time more good livings than one, lying at such a distance, as that they were not able themselves conveniently to serve them. Every body knows the income of some livings in *England* is so small, as not to be sufficient to maintain a Minister : whence sometimes one Minister serves two livings which lie near together : nor do I remember that any of the Puritan writers ever spake a word against this practice. But they always, and in my judgment deservedly, esteem'd it a great wickedness, for one Minister to have two or more fat livings ; one perhaps in the North of *England*, another in the South, another in the East ; the profits of all which he receiv'd, tho' he serv'd himself but one, putting off the rest with some mean Curates, hir'd with sorry stipends.

But in the mean time that these men fared so finely, the poor Episcoparians liv'd as hardly. For the rusty Gowns which they were forc'd to wear, render'd them a jest to the Fanatic rabble : they being forc'd either to get their victuals at great mens tables, or to keep some poor little school for their livelihood. Let any of our Adversaries now suppose the Ministers of that time to answer this objection, as *Whitgift* answer'd *Cartwright* in the like case : " What commodities you want, that we have, we can-
" not conjecture : your meat and drink is provided with
" less trouble and charges unto you, and in more delicate
" and dainty manner, than ours is : your ease and plea-
" sure ten times more, you do what you list, go when
" you list, come when you list, speak when you list, at
" your pleasure. What would you have more ? I know
" not why you should complain, except you be of the
" same disposition with the *Franciscan* Friars, who when
" they have fill'd their bellies at other mens tables, were
" wont to cry out and say : *How many things are we
" forc'd to endure ?*"* Would not any man think such an

swer barbarous? I own I should, and would not have again mention'd that passage; but that, by bringing it in apply'd to their own case, our Adversaries may see how we have been dealt with. But as to the thing it self; we can truly say, we are heartily sorry that several learned and pious Ministers were then turn'd out; tho they were not so many as is pretended by our Adversaries, who have lately stretch'd their wits and consciences to increase their number, and to make Saints of them: whereas a multitude of them (as I observ'd before) were turn'd out for the most flagrant wickedness depos'd upon oath against them, which, out of a regard to the honour of our country, and our Adversaries themselves, we chuse not particularly to mention, unless they will force us to it. But the temper of the Parliament was, in one thing admirable: for they order'd the ejected Ministers (whatever the cause of their ejectment was) should receive a fifth part of their former income. If we consider the succeeding times, we shall find the Episcopal Gentlemen to have acted with a very difterent temper. In the year 1662, upon the Restoration of King *Charles*, when the Presbyterians were turn'd out of their livings; the Episcopal party, destitute of all compassion, allow'd them not the least farthing: nay, on the contrary, soon after, in the year 1665, they banish'd them from cities, market towns, and their own houses; and then grievously harass'd, imprison'd and plunder'd them. But they are the rather to be excus'd in using us so; since upon occasion they scruple not to use one another in like manner. Thus when several Bishops, and many of the Clergy, lost their livings, because they adher'd to the receiv'd doctrine of the Church, and refus'd to swear allegiance to K. *William* (which they could not honestly do, if there had been any truth in that doctrine) they had not the least provision made for them by law.

And after it was observ'd, that they maintain'd themselves and families by this painful employ, it was forbid by a new sort of cruelty, that any of them for the future should keep any school. Now allow this for truth, and let it pass for a sort of cruelty. Yet how can it be call'd a new sort of cruelty. Let any man but look into the Canons of the Church, and particularly those of 1603, and he will find this cruelty as old as those Canons. For 'tis there expressly forbidden, that any man should

should teach school without subscribing.* And had it been a new sort of cruelty, it would have been prudent to have pass'd it over in silence, since the Episcopal party soon after practis'd it themselves, as may be seen by the *Act of Uniformity* in 1662. Which yet had not cruelty enough in it to satisfy our Adversaries, who therefore endeavour'd to advance considerably farther in the *Schism Act*, in the year 1714; which came in force on the ever memorable *First of August*.

In the next place our Author treats of the MDCXLVIII. *beheading K. Charles*; which being a matter known to every one, I need say nothing of it. But since he represents the Puritans, as repenting of what they had done, after he was dead, I shall vindicate them from his calumnies.

The Puritans now being awaken'd by this horrid act, seem to repent of what they had done. Whether they were more griev'd for the miseries which they had brought upon their country; or for the loss of their power, which was now got out of their hands, into the those of Sectaries; is a matter not very easy to be determin'd. If we will believe Mr. Milton, who seems to have had as certain a knowledge of those times as any one, he tells us, this fit of love to the King was only out of hatred to the Independents. †

'Tis an easy matter enough to determine who were the causes of those tumults and confusions. 'Tis an easy matter enough for any, but our Adversaries (who pretend to search our hearts and know all things) to determine for what the Puritans were then griev'd. The case was really thus: When *Cromwell* and his party were contriving to put the King to death, they imprison'd several Members, who were most likely to oppose them, others they excluded the Parliament House: whereupon many others for fear forsook it. The Parliament being thus modell'd according to *Cromwell's* desire, King *Charles* was without any great difficulty found guilty. As soon as the Ministers of *London* saw this, they put forth a printed Declaration, sign'd by 58 of them, wherein they thus testify their judgment: "As for the present actings at "Westminster, since the time that so many of the Mem- "bers were by force secluded, divers imprison'd, and

Q. 4

" others

“ others thereupon withdrew from the House of Commons (and there not being that conjunction of the two Houses as heretofore) we are wholly unsatisfy'd therein; because we conceive them to be so far from being warranted by sufficient authority, as that in our apprehensions they tend to an actual alteration (if not subversion) of that which the Honourable House of Commons, in their *Declaration of April 17, 1646*, have taught us to call, *The fundamental constitution, and government of this kingdom*, which they therein assure us (if we understand them) they would never alter.”

“ Yea, we hold our selves bound in duty to God, religion, the King, Parliament and kingdom, to profess before God, Angels and men, that we verily believe that which is so much fear'd to be now in agitation, *the taking away the life of the King*, in the present way of trial, is not only not agreeable to any Word of God, the principles of the Protestant religion (never yet stain'd with the least drop of blood of a King) or the fundamental constitution and government of this kingdom; but contrary to them, as also to the *Oath of allegiance*, the *Protestation of May 5. 1641.* and the *solemn League and Covenant.*” Whereupon they earnestly exhort all to beware of perjury, and “ to pray that God would restrain the violence of men, that they may not dare to draw upon themselves and the kingdom the blood of their Sovereign.”

And now since the Ministers declar'd their judgments, by this public act, in the very critical time, and to the great hazard of their lives, to what purpose is it to appeal to Mr. Milton? Or what will his testimony signify with wise men? Mr. Milton, pretending to search the hearts of the Presbyterian Ministers, has here most unjustly, and only upon conjectures condemn'd them, whom he continually treats as adversaries. If Mr. Milton seems to have had as certain a knowledge of those times as any one; I hope he had no certain knowledge of the secrets of the hearts of the Puritans. Had the Episcopal Ministers dar'd to have publish'd such a Declaration at London, being in the midst of their enemies, and lying at their mercy, how would their fidelity and bravery have been extoll'd to the skies by their own party? But 'tis their common practice to put a perverse and malicious construction

struction upon such actions in us, as they would extravagantly applaud in themselves. Further, by the place our Author cites from Mr. *Milton* 'tis evident, that Declaration was publish'd before the King was beheaded. But there is no need to transcribe his words, since the thing is certain, from what I have already said. So that 'tis really base to represent them as not *awaken'd*, till after that *horrid act* : when 'tis so evident they remonstrated against it, before it was committed. And if Mr. *Milton*, as they seem to allow, when it will serve their purpose of calumniating their adversaries, had such *a certain knowledge of those times* ; and they esteem him a sufficient witness against his adversaries, not barely when he speaks upon conjectures, but when he relates matters of fact ; I am sure they must be sensible they often draw K. *Charles* in very false colours. Let any man read the 4 and 12 Chapters of his first *Defence*, and he will be satisfy'd of the truth of what I say. If then they will allow him to be a false witness, when he speaks of King *Charles* ; why should they not own the same thing, when he speaks of our Ministers ? Our Author next makes a long complaint of the several Heresies, which sprung up during the *Interregnum*. This cannot with any justice be attributed to the Presbyterians. 'Tis what has frequently happen'd, when the Church's circumstances, have been favourable and prosperous. Their most subtil enemy, the Devil, is then busiest in sowing his tares, when he sees God's good seed sown in greatest abundance. 'Tis owing to his wicked policy, that the credit of religion (as often as it began to flourish) has been weaken'd by the Heresies which have sprung up, and the tumults which have been rais'd. The souls of good and pious men are hereby disquieted and tormented : others, who were ready to embrace Christianity, are made more doubtful and wavering, and become at length utterly prejudic'd against it. Who does not know, that the greatest mischief befel the Christian religion, when it first appear'd in the world, by the numberless Heresies which then were started ? Great tumults, and a variety of religious contentions attended the conversion of the Roman Emperours to the Christian Faith ; of which the Pagans made great complaints.

plaints. In like manner the Papists blame the Reformation for the tumults of the Anabaptists at *Munster*, and the several Heresies which have risen since *Luther*. And in imitation of such examples, our Adversaries would impute to us the cause of those Heresies, of which we have always declar'd the utmost abhorrence. There is indeed little reason to wonder, so many Heresies should then spring up; if we consider it was during the time of the civil war, when soldiers, and such like unskilful persons, undertook to be the Preachers of religion. Nor were there wanting such at that time, as endeavour'd craftily to foment religious divisions and contentions in the nation. This was not done only by Popish emissaries, but by others who wrote, after their base copy. Thus Dr. *Jeremy Taylor*, who was afterward Bishop of *Down* and *Conner*, at that time pleaded strenuously the Anabaptists cause. What his design herein was, I had rather the reader should learn from one of their own side, than from me. Thus then Mr. *W. Wall*, a learn'd writer, to whom the nation is much indebted, for the pains he has taken in his *History of Infant Baptism*, represents Bishop *Taylor*'s design: " 'Tis generally suppos'd that he did this with a politic intention (commonly practis'd by those of the Church of *Rome*) to divide the Adversaries of the Church of *England* among themselves; and to that end put arguments into the mouth of one sect, in order to puzzle the other. A sort of prevaricating in the things of God, which few Protestants or sincere Christians will account justifiable upon any account whatever." *

And tho much mischief was done to religion by those Heresies; yet that true piety was much increas'd in those times cannot with any modesty be deny'd. And unless religion had then taken deep root in mens hearts, what occasion would there have been to use so much art and industry to corrupt mens manners after the Restauration? Farther, if the Heretical opinions, then scatter'd among the common people, must be charg'd upon the Presbyterians; upon whom shall we charge the not less Heretical and pernicious opinions, which have abounded in the nation, ever since the Church of *England's golden days*

days have appear'd? If a true account was taken, the number of Heretics would not perhaps prove less now, than it was then in those confus'd times. However 'tis notorious all manner of wickedness (the worst Heresy) which was much discourag'd and suppress'd in the *Inter-regnum*, came in like a flood together with the Hierarchy.

I have prov'd the Presbyterians oppos'd the cutting off K. Charles I. I will now shew they were not less true and faithful to his Son when he was gone. For when *Cromwell* requir'd all to abjure monarchy, and to swear to be true to his new commonwealth; many of them refus'd it, and exhorted their countrymen not to do it; altho many of the episcopal sort not only swore themselves, but wrote arguments in defence of the prescrib'd oath; as is attested by Mr. *Baxter*. * With their plausible and subtile glosses they varnish'd over what they disapprov'd. Then was invented the nice distinction of *De facto*, and *De jure*, not to be met with among all the subtleties of the Schoolmen; and by the help of it, they dispens'd with their taking the *Engagement*, and promising to be true and faithful to the commonwealth, as 'tis now establish'd, without a King or House of Lords. According to this distinction many of the same kidney swore to King *William*, as a King *de facto*, but not *de jure*, as they are not ashame now to own: so well have they learnt the Jesuitical doctrine of equivocation, and to make a jest of an oath, one of the most sacred things in the world.

After this the *Scots* Presbyterians call'd in the King, and crown'd him, when he had taken the *solemn League and Covenant*, and made an acknowledgment of his Father's sins. Upon this *Cromwell* invaded them. The *English* Presbyterian Ministers then had a meeting, wherein they consulted how they might best raise Money for his Majesty's use; but their design taking air, they were in great danger. Two of them fled abroad; eight were sent to the *Tower*; among these was Mr. *Christopher Love*, a man of excellent piety; who was condemn'd for it, and died with great courage and magnanimity. Mr. *Gibbons*, an honest Gentleman, was beheaded with him for the same cause.

After

After Cromwell's death, the nation was miserably distract'd and unsettled ; and then the Presbyterians made another vigorous attempt to restore the King. Sir George Booth, and Sir Thomas Middleton rais'd an army in Cheshire. But, the *Cavaliers* not assisting them, they were soon routed by *Lambert*. Afterwards General *Monk* march'd his army out of *Scotland* into *England*, declaring himself to be against monarchy, and for a free commonwealth. But after he came to *London*, upon the urgent persuasions of the Presbyterian Ministers, he alter'd his mind, **MDCLX.** and declar'd for the King. The old Rump Parliament being dissolv'd, a new one was call'd ; who presently appointed a day of fasting and prayer for themselves. The House of Commons chose Mr. *Calamy*, Dr. *Gauden*, and Mr. *Baxter* to preach to them. They all earnestly exhorted them in their Sermons to restore his Majesty. The next day being the 1. of *May*, the Parliament voted the King home again, without the least opposition.

Certain Divines, and others, were then sent by the Parliament and City to him into *Holland*. The King knowing of their coming, and being satisfy'd the only hope he could have of recovering his dominions lay in them, craftily contriv'd how he might delude them and secure their favour. He therefore so order'd it, that the Ministers, when they first came, should be put into a room, where they might hear his Majesty (retir'd in the next room, and as not acquainted with their arrival) earnestly praying to God, and professing before him his sincerity in the Protestant religion, and his honest resolutions of advancing it. These plain hearted Ministers, who understood nothing of intrigue, were transported immediately with the prospect they had of the happy times they should see under the reign of so very religious and godly a Prince. After this he publish'd a Declaration from *Breda*, Apr. 4, wherein are these words :
" We do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and
" that no man shall be disquieted, or call'd in question
" for differences of opinion, which do not disturb the
" peace of the kingdom ; and that we shall be ready to
" consent to such an Act of Parliament, as upon mature
" deliberation shall be offer'd to us, for the full granting
" that indulgence." The Royalists also then were very liberal in their promises, tho they never perform'd the least

least tittle of them. "Dr. Bates takes notice that the
"Act of Uniformity was pass'd after the King had in-
"gag'd his faith, and honour, in his Declaration from
"Breda, to preserve the liberty of conscience inviolate;
"which promise open'd the way for his Restoration; and
"after the Royalists here had given public assurance,
"that all former animosities should be buried, as ubiq;
"under the foundation of an universal concord." *

Few now doubt whether King Charles was a Papist at his Restoration. But he then thought his interest and authority not enough establish'd for him to attempt the crushing the Presbyterians; and therefore he seems at first to have seriously attempted the composing our differences; as likewise appears by his *Declaration* of 25 Octob. 1660; and by what my Lord Chancellor Hyde said in a Speech to the Parliament some time before.

But soon after, when he found the Episcopal party were so incens'd, as that they would rather run any hazards, than yield any thing at all to the complaints and requests of the Presbyterians; he seems to have thought he might be able to sink them, and so he alter'd his design, and in favour of the Papists, did all he could to increase and perpetuate our quarrels. The King in the *Declaration* last mention'd, promis'd many things to the Ministers; who very heartily thank'd him for them in an Address they presented. But when they look'd that the matter of the Declaration should be turn'd into a law, they found themselves sadly disappointed. All the Courtiers earnestly oppos'd it; and none doubted they did so by the King's direction. From that time affairs took a quite contrary turn; and the Presbyterians were well rewarded by the King and the Royalists for restoring them; according as Mr. Milton had truly forewarn'd them. "Wo be to you Presbyterians especially, says he, "if ever any of King Charles's race recovers the English sceptre. Believe me, you shall pay all the reckoning, &c." But let us now return to our Author.

*The divine favour once more began to shine out
bright upon the Church of England, and the former
storms being dispers'd, her golden days again
appear.* † None will wonder that the time our Adver-
saries

MDCLXII.

saries reckon their *golden age*, is esteem'd by us to have been an *iron one*. I am sure if a description was to be given of that time in the words of the old *Roman poet*, nothing would better suit it, than what he says of the *iron age*.

*Strait with a sudden and resistless rage
A flood of vice o'erwhelms the coming age :
Truth's banish'd from the vile degenerate race,
While heav'nly faith deserts th' unhappy place,
And modest virtue hides her hated face.
Instead of those th' infernal lake supplies
Infernal frauds, and fills the land with lies :
Rapine, and endless avarice succeeds,
And vanquish'd by her foes sincere religion bleeds.*

{

The depriv'd Bishops are drawn from their prisons and retirements : I would fain know what prisons the Restoration found them in ; unless they must be judg'd imprison'd, when they are restrain'd from persecuting their innocent neighbours. and the ejected Ministers are restor'd to their flocks : And a great many Ministers are ejected, and driven from their flocks. the Churches are adorn'd with their former ornaments : That is, Altars, Crosses, Pictures of God in the shape of an old man, &c. and the ecclesiastical revenues were given up, which had lately been sacrilegiously possess'd by private hands. If men are to be counted sacrilegious for buying or detaining such possessions, as once belong'd to the Church, a great many of our Adversaries, as is well known, are at this day sacrilegious.

As for the Puritan Ministers, who had unjustly invaded the livings of the Episcoparians, and those who had by their writings, sermons and persuasions, promoted the unnatural rebellion ; even those had not only no punishment laid upon them, but for nigh two years after the King's return they were suffer'd to enjoy the usurped Benefices. That the Puritan Ministers came not into the Churches, according to the usage and custom of the Church of England, is very true ; and not much to be wonder'd at, considering their usage was laid aside ; and unless they came in some other way, the people must have been without Ministers. And it would have been simple in the Puritans to have refus'd the livings for fear of breaking the Church's goodly Canons.

Canons. But that *they had unjustly invaded the livings of the Episcoparians*, as the turn is invidiously given in the Translation, is more easily asserted than prov'd. Were not those conditions unjust, which excluded them from livings before the civil war? And where was the injustice of their accepting livings, when such conditions were abolish'd? What *Puritan*, that is Presbyterian, *Ministers* he means, *that had promoted the unnatural rebellion*, I know not. I believe none of them went farther than the Parliament, as long as it continu'd free. And what was done by them I look upon to be a necessary defence, and not an *unnatural rebellion*. Further, tho the act of Parliament allow'd the Ministers to keep their livings near two years; yet the Churchmen were in several places so very officious as to get the start of the law in persecuting them, and getting them turn'd out. Besides, they were turn'd out of all those livings, from which any of the Episcoparians had been ejected, if the Ministers ejected were then alive; and that, whatever had been the reason or cause of their ejection.

While these *Matters were transacting by the state*, the *Ecclesiastics of the Church of England were contriving methods how the differences between the Puritans and us might be compromis'd*; and all the points in controversy between us might be friendly disputed in a conference. What the aim of the Ecclesiastics was, will easily appear. For our Author is not very consistent with himself in his account of these things. A little farther in his Book he speaks thus: *Nor indeed after the affairs of the state were settled, was it in the power of the Bishops to do any thing, but under the direction of the Court.* For there all endeavours for accommodation were held for *fanatical*. From what fountain these maxims were deriv'd, we did but too late come to the knowledge of. * This is honestly said, and as becomes a man of candor and ingenuity; saving that many of the Bishops wanted a willingness as much as a power to do any thing. But how were these Ecclesiastics contriving an accommodation, when from a simple fear of being counted *fanatical*, they would not use endeavours for it? If they really endeavour'd after peace, as I shall prove they did not, this excuse would be needless in their behalf:

half: but if they need to have such an apology made for them, 'tis a plain evidence they did not contrive how to end our differences in any such way. Nay, so far were they from it, that on the contrary, they contriv'd how they might offend our side,, and lay stumbling blocks in our way, that so they might widen and perpetuate the breach. Upon which account they not only refus'd to make easy alterations in our favour, but purposely alter'd some things to make them worse.

Therefore by virtue of a commission procur'd from the crown, a Conference is appointed to be held at London, in the Savoy.

Our Author here intiimates, that this Conference was procur'd at the desire of the Bishops: which is a mistake. It was promis'd in the Declaration I mention'd before. But when his Majesty apprehended he could gain his ends, notwithstanding our differences continued; he appointed indeed the Conference to put the better colour upon his own proceedings, and not with any design of healing our breaches. Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon*, the Bishop of *London*, and afterwards *Archbishop of Canterbury*, was the chief director on the Episcopal side; and, being well acquainted with the designs of the Court, order'd the Conference according to their hearts desire. The Ministers therefore presently, upon their first meeting, could easily guess, from what he said, the issue of the Conference. When they were met, *Archbishop Frewen*, of *York*, spake first, and laid, he knew nothing of the busines; but perhaps the Bishop of *London* knew more of the King's mind in it, and therefore was fitter to speak in it than he. The Bishop of *London* then told them, that the Conference had been sought by the Ministers and not by the Bishops: that the Ministers had desir'd alterations in the Liturgy, and therefore they [the Bishops] had nothing to say or do, 'till the Ministers brought in all they had to say against it in writing, and all the additional forms and alterations which they desir'd. By this proposal he doubtless design'd to delay busines, and wast time: he foresaw that disputes would arise, and when manag'd this tedious way would soon run out the four months space allow'd for the Conference, without doing any great matter in it. The Ministers earnestly oppos'd this motion, and urg'd the King's commission, which requir'd them to meet together, advise and consult. They said,

said, by conference they might perceive, as they went along, what each would yield to, and might more speedily dispatch, and more probably attain their end: whereas writing would be a tedious, endless business, and they should not have that familiarity and acquaintance with each others minds, which might facilitate their concord. But the Bishop of *London* resolutely insisted on it, not to do any thing, till they brought in all their exceptions, alterations and additions at once. He suppos'd the Ministers would never agree upon these things among themselves. The Ministers were forc'd to yield, and brought in their exceptions, &c. But Dr. *Nichols* seems offended, they should *find fault with innumerable particulars in the worship and discipline of the Church.* * But if the things were themselves faulty, they are not to be blam'd for what they did. And the Bishops might have made an advantage of this, to correct their admir'd book, and have form'd it to the greatest perfection.

Dr. *Nichols* is angry with Mr. *Baxter*, who, says he, *had so mean an opinion of our Liturgy* (which all Foreign Divines are *wont to esteem of*) that he did not think it capable of amendment; *but ventur'd to compose a new one, entirely of his own head, without retention of the primitive forms, and in a method different from any antient Liturgy.* The Foreigners esteem of the *English* Liturgy is greater in our Adversaries imagination, than in reality; and let them please themselves with it. As to what he says of Mr. *Baxter*, the case in short was thus: The very form of the English Liturgy was dislik'd by the Ministers, and they thought it much easier to draw up a new one, than to mend the old one. They therefore allotted this task to Mr. *Baxter*, who judg'd that the best way to obtain peace, was to draw up such a Liturgy, as would please all, who were not absolutely against forms of prayer in public worship. The readiest way to this, was to leave out every thing controverted and doubtful, and to express the forms in the very words of Holy Scripture. Mr. *Baxter*, being well vers'd therein, soon perform'd his task, disposing every thing into a very neat and handsom method. Our Adversaries complain, this was done in *a method different from any antient Liturgy.* But if they

R

have

have no better testimonies, than what are produc'd afterwards out of antiquity for Liturgies, they had much better let that matter alone ; for more impertinent and trifling ones cannot be collected about any thing. This Liturgy Mr. Baxter submitted to the Bishops correction and alterations. *But, says the Doctor, this, so mean a performance in respect of the establish'd Liturgy, and undertaken with so great a presumption, the Episcoparians do unanimously with contempt throw aside.** No man, unless he is greatly prejudic'd, will say the *performance* is *mean*. Nor can it be justly said to be *undertaken with a great presumption* ; since, the Bishops refus'd a friendly and free conference, and requir'd them to deliver in all they desir'd at once. But they may be excus'd in their contemning Mr. Baxter's Liturgy, since they treat all the foreign Liturgies in the same manner. Sure 'tis a great instance of *presumption* and haughtiness, that men cannot bear to have any Liturgy commended but their own ; and despise and slight all others, whether of foreigners, or their own country-men. And Mr. Baxter makes it plain, they despis'd that Liturgy without knowing what it was ; † and 'tis very easy to despise the best things in the world after that rate. The Ministers, together with their Liturgy, and their exceptions against the establish'd Liturgy, presented a Petition to the Bishops ; wherein they earnestly sued to them for peace. And in a word, they seem to have left nothing untried, which they thought would contribute toward the obtaining it. But all was in vain ; for they who were let into the secret of the Court, resolv'd to steer quite another course.

That this Conference had no better success Mr. Baxter, in his Life, wrote by himself, lays all the blame upon the managers of the Church side. And very justly, without all doubt ; since they would not make the least concession to the Ministers. Nor is it any wonder they did not, since they so tamely fell in with all the measures of the Court, as our Author presently acknowledges. If the Episcopal party had then as stoutly oppos'd the Popish designs of the Court, as the Presbyterians did, this Conference would have been attended with very good success.

Our

* Pag. 76. † Life, Part 2, p. 335.

Our Author is to be commended for his candour in acknowledging, that Bishop Morley, and Dr. Gunning drop'd some expressions, that were more hot than were becoming Divines.* As to Bishop Nicholson, whom Mr. Baxter commends, he was no Commissioner, and so with whatever temper he spake, it signifies little to our purpose. Bishop Gauden seems not to have been in the secret, and to have been a Man who had but little interest in his Colleagues. Dr. Pearson, as I have been inform'd, used to lay the blame of the ill Succes of that Conference upon Bishop Gunning. And now our Author comes to excuse those of his own side.

Nor indeed after the affairs of state were settled, was it in the power of the Bishops to do any thing, but under the direction of the Court. And why was it not as much in their power, as in the Presbyterians? Or what greater danger would the Bishops have incur'd thereby, than did the Presbyterians? Our Brethren abroad may hence learn, how easy and flexible our Adversaries can be upon occasion. However rugged they have shewn themselves toward the Dissenters; yet they can be as tame and pliable as may be to a Court, when they have any ends to serve by it. But now let us hear why the Bishops could do nothing:

For there [in the Court] all endeavours for accommodation, were held for fanatical. And what then? Does the divine command of following peace with all men † cease, whenever the Court is pleas'd to despise it? Surely the Apostle was not of this mind, who was not much mov'd at Festus his counting him mad;|| nor neglected any divine command, that he might gape after the favour of Courtiers. But the Bishops, unaccountably scar'd with an odd fear of being esteem'd fanatical, yield themselves to the direction and counsels of such as were carrying on Popish designs.

But our Author adds: *From what fountain these maxims were deriv'd, we did but too late come to the knowledge of.* We are glad our Adversaries did at length come to the knowledge of it. But I shall not easily believe, that several of the Commissioners, who were acquainted with the King's intentions, did not at that time know whence

these things were deriv'd. The despis'd Presbyterians were not so stupid, as not plainly to perceive at what King *Charles* was driving.

We may add further, that if the Bishops committed any fault in the point of moderation, ['Tis pity any doubt should be made of it] and did not make those concessions they might have done ; they are the more to be pardon'd, by how much their minds, which were irritated by the many injuries which they sustain'd from the opposite party, were not yet sufficiently cool'd. I cannot here but take notice of what our Author says of this matter, when he seems to be himself in a cooler temper toward us. "Indeed, had matters been made nag'd with tolerable temper, there might have been some good effect of this Commission, and an expedient have been found out to have given the Presbyterian Ministers some little satisfaction, so that they might have comply'd with reputation among their party ; whereby the separation, which has since ensued, might have been hinder'd. But the Bishops being provok'd by their long sufferings, and not brooking to have laws prescrib'd to them by those who had been the occasion thereof ; were not very forward to make any alterations which were propos'd by the Presbyterians, even in some things as might have deserv'd consideration ; refusing them so much as the change of *deadly sin* into *heinous sin*."* But whatever the Bishops had suffer'd, they should remember their Brethren had suffer'd first, and more at their hands ; and that should have soften'd their resentments. But since our Author frankly blames them for being then out of temper ; I wish we were worthy to know how long time will serve to cool them, and bring them into temper again. I don't see the Clergy are now any nearer to an healing temper than they were then ; and they, as well as the Bishops, are by our Author elsewhere made to bear a part of the blame. "By the management of some great persons, then in power, the minds of the Episcopal Clergy and zealous Conformists were so wrought up, upon the talk of these alterations, that the Bishops, who were concern'd in them, found it a difficult matter to manage the temper of their own friends." † So that the same temper continuing, and being much increas'd,

creas'd, tho now no provocation can be pretended, I can't see but the same men must bear the blame of the continuance of our ditterences, who were unquestionably the first causes of them. But let us proceed with our Author.

However, it could not but move any ones spleen to see Mr. Baxter, who had the principal share in this Conference, with so excessive a heat disturbing all calm and moderate proposals, and by tart expressions, and frivolous objections against our constitution, giving new provocations to the Episcopal Divines. I wish some instances had been alledg'd of this; for I can't find them in the account given of the Conference. Nay, 'tis plain our Adversaries spleen was mov'd, not by Mr. Baxter's excessive heat, but by the too great strength of his reasonings; upon which account they endeavour'd by their forgeries to lessen his credit. So Dr. Pierce, who was one of the Commissioners, afterwards publish'd malicious stories of his killing a man in cold blood, &c. which Mr. Baxter easily confuted. But let any Man judge, who were likely to have any ends to serve, by disturbing all calm and moderate proposals; and then he will see, 'tis but reasonable to attribute that disturbance to some of the other side.

*Neither could those reverend persons, many of which mov'd in the highest sphere in the Church, brook to have the Articles which the Presbyterians insisted on, not so much desir'd, as exacted and commanded: * This is an unreasonable cavil. For besides that the Commissioners had all equal authority with respect to the Conference, the Ministers out of their vehement desire of peace presented a molt humble Petition to them. and that by persons not only inferior to them in dignity, but in learning likewise: This it is for men to be the slaves of a party. They must judge of the proposals made to them, according as they are affected to the persons who make them, and not according to the intrinsic excellence and goodness of them. Tho, to say the Truth, I don't see what the Bishops could despise in the Commissioners of the Presbyterian side. That they were inferior to them in dignity, is indeed true; but upon inquiry, the reason will appear to be this, that the one*

had courted that honour, which some of the others (particularly Mr. Baxter and Mr. Calamy) had refus'd, when offer'd them. Had they accepted it, they had without doubt been equal to the Commissioners on the other side, not only in *dignity*, but in *learning*. *Who had in a manner devoted themselves, and sworn to destroy the constitution of the Church of England*: In what sense they swore to the *Covenant* I have already observ'd. But what next follows I do not believe: *who in their sermons had excited the governing powers, which were of themselves severe enough, against them*: On the contrary, Mr. Baxter oppos'd the ejectment of the Episcopal Ministers, as Bishop *Walton* of *Chester* acknowledg'd in the open Conference. *And for fifteen years together had been enriching themselves out of their preferments, whilst the rightful owners thereof had been starving*. 'Twere easy to retort this charge from the preceeding times, wherein the poor Ministers had been starving for many times fifteen years; but I only observe, that the Bishops, being led by anger and revenge, prevented the accommodating our differences.

Not long after a Convocation is call'd. Mr. MDCLXI. Pierce, an Episcopal Minister, and a man of good temper, says: "Great pains and care were used "to frame this Convocation to the mind of the High "Prelatical party; keeping some out, and getting others "in, by very undue proceedings."* Further the Convocation was not chosen immediately upon the King's coming in, lest the inferior Clergy should have been against the High party. But when many were turn'd out, that the old sequestred Ministers might come in; and the opinion of Reordination being set on foot, all those Ministers, who had been ordain'd, since the laying aside the Bishops, were deny'd their votes for members of the Convocation, they wholly carry'd their cause. So that it was properly enough a High Church Convocation. What their regard was to peace, may appear by this, that they would not so much as suffer the omission of reading the *Apocryphal Lessons*; nay, they made an addition to them, and upon their grave and learned consultation, prescrib'd the reading the sorry fable of *Bell and the Dragon*, which used not to be read before: which whether it was done with a design of edify-

* Conf. *Plea for the Nonconform.* Part I. p. 37.

edifying the people, or of exasperating those who had testify'd their dislike of such Lessons, they knew best themselves. And when Dr. *Allen* of *Huntingtonshire*, a Clerk in this Convocation, earnestly labour'd with Bishop *Shelton*, that they might so reform the Liturgy, as that no sober man might make exception, he was wish'd to forbear; for that what should be, was concluded on, or resolv'd. * The same Bishop is reported to have said: *Now we know their [the Ministers] minds, we will make them all knaves if they conform.* And at another time, when the Earl of *Manchester* told the King, while the *Act of Uniformity* was under debate, that he was afraid the terms of it were so rigid, that many of the Ministers would not comply with it: *I am afraid they will.*

The Dr. tells us: *The Liturgy being revis'd [by the Convocation,] the Parliament establish it by an Act, obliging all the Clergy who should enjoy any Benefice in the Church of England, to declare their consent to the use of it.* † And this they were oblig'd to do before *Bartholomew day, Aug. 24.* And yet it was but a very few days before that time, that the Book was publish'd. So that many of our Ministers complain'd, they were turn'd out, for not subscribing to a Book they had neither seen, nor could see in the limited time. A writer of one of the State Tracts says: "Not one man in forty could have seen and read "the Book, they did so perfectly assent and consent unto."‡ I know how this will be defended: *It was a matter expressly and solemnly establish'd by law.* || But if the truth was always to be told, he should rather say, the Clergy made most conscience of losing their livings. Our Author says: *A great number of Presbyterian Ministers partly out of shame, and not enduring to make a recantation of their error; and partly out of scruple of conscience to take a counter oath, suffer themselves to be depriv'd of their livings, according to the tenour of the Act, on the 24 of August, 1662.* But I don't see what shame could be left in men who, would declare their unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing contain'd and prescrib'd in a Book, they had not yet seen. Such men could not be troubled much with scruples of conscience. And in like manner they shew'd themselves men of wonderful easy consciences, that

they could subscribe another Declaration mention'd in the Act of Uniformity, which they were forc'd themseives afterwards to break thro. Which was a more remarkable instance of divine justice in exposing their treachery, than what our Author mentions, which only serv'd to illustrate the integrity of honest men, who *fear'd an oath*. When the time came, above 2000 Ministers chose to part with their livings, rather than injure their consciences. Nor do I believe, that any where in history an equal number of Clergymen, voluntarily leaving their all, for a good conscience, can be produc'd. And thus *Bartholomew Day*, famous before for the horrid Massacre of the Martyrs in *France*, was now made so by the sufferings of the *English* Confessors.

But 'tis worth while to shew here the base arts, whereby our Adversaries procur'd that inhuman *Act* to be pass'd in Parliament. I shall give an account of this matter from "Captain Tarrington, a man of an establish'd reputation, who in 1681. publish'd a full discovery of the first Presbyterian sham plot. In which discovery he declares he related nothing, but what he could prove by letters, and many living witnesses. Nor was his account ever publicly contradicted, He says: That many both of the Clergy and Laity, disliking the King's Declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, resolv'd to run things to the utmost height, and that some of the leading Churchmen were heard to say: *They would have an Act so fram'd, as would reach every Puritan in the Kingdom: and that if they thought any of them would so stretch their consciences, as to be comprehended by it, they would insert yet other conditions and subscriptions, so as that they should have no benefit by it.* To pave the way for it, they contrive a Presbyterian plot, which was laid in about 36 several counties. In *Worcestershire* several letters were drawn up, and deliver'd by Sir *John P.* to one *Richard N.* his neighbour, to convey them to *Cole of Martley*, who, with one *Churn*, brought them back again to Sir *John P.* from whom they came, making *Affidavit*, that *Cole* found the packet, left by a *Scotch* pedlar under a hedge. In this packet, when it was open'd, there were found several letters, discovering a conspiracy to raise a rebellion.

There

“ There were several letters to the Captain ; one from
“ Mr. Baxter of *Kedermminster*, intimating, that he had
“ provided a considerable body of Men well arm’d, which
“ should he ready against the time appointed ; and ano-
“ ther from Mr. *Sparry*, intimating, he had order’d him
“ 500 l. lodg’d in a friend’s hand, &c. Upon this, the
“ militia of the county was rais’d immediately, and the
“ city of *Worcester* fill’d with them the very night after
“ the packet was open’d. The next morning the Cap-
“ tain was seiz’d by a Troop of Horse, and brought
“ prisoner to *Worcester* ; and so also were Mr. *Sparry*,
“ Mr. *Oastland*, Mr. *Moor* and Mr. *Brian*, Ministers ; to-
“ gether with some scores of others. They were all kept
“ close prisoners for 10 days ; by which time (the Trained
“ Bands being weary) most of them were discharg’d,
“ paying their fees. But the Captain, Mr. *Sparry*, and
“ the two *Oastlands*, were still kept close prisoners in the
“ *George Inn* ; the Dignitaries of the Cathedral taking
“ care when the Train’d Bands retir’d, to raise 60 Foot
“ Soldiers (who had double pay, and were call’d the
“ the *Clergy Band*) to secure these criminals. And be-
“ sides the Sentinels upon each prisoner, they had a Court
“ Guard at the Town Hall of *Worcester*. There they per-
“ form’d one remarkable act of chivalry : A poor man
“ coming out of the country, to inquire after the wel-
“ fare of Mr. *Henry Oastland* his Minister, and speaking
“ to one of the Soldiers, he told him, that Mr. *Oastland*
“ was a traitor and a rebel, &c. The poor man stood up
“ for his Minister, and vindicated him ; whereupon he
“ was, with great zeal, carried to the Court of Guard.
“ He that presided there (who was no meaner man than
“ an *Apparitor*) commanded the old man to be tied neck
“ and heels, charg’d him with having a hand in the
“ Presbyterian plot, and threaten’d him with severe usage,
“ if he would not confess. The old man bore his wrath
“ with great patience, and gave him not a word in an-
“ swer. Upon which the man in authority was so en-
“ rag’d, that he put lighted matches between his fingers,
“ and burnt them to the very bone to make him confess.
“ At length, Mrs. *Yarrington* discovering the sham in-
“ trigue, by the acknowledgment which the person im-
“ ploy’d by Sir *J. P.* to carry the packet to *Cole of*
“ *Martley*, made to his brother, she gives notice of it to
“ her

“ her husband in his confinement, who immediately enters actions against those who imprison’d him. Being at last discharg’d, he comes up to *London*, and prevail’d with the Earl of *Bristol* to acquaint the King, how his Ministers impos’d upon him by such sham plots, &c. Upon this, the Deputy Lieutenants were order’d to appear at the Council Board. They endeavour’d to clear themselves, and desir’d to consult those in the country. But afterwards Sir *J. W.* who was one of them, arrests the Captain for high treason. He was again releas’d upon the Earl of *Bristol*’s procuring the King’s Privy Seal, and going down into the country, prosecutes his prosecutors. But within six months, persons were suborn’d to swear against him: *That he had spoken treasonable words against the King and government.* For this he was tried at the Assizes at *Worcester*, before Judge *Twisden*, and, upon a full hearing, was presently acquitted by the Jury. And one of the witnesses afterwards confess’d he had 5*l.* given him for being an evidence.” *

Having given this Specimen, I shall not transcribe what was done in other counties, where the like methods were purſu’d. Now the design of all these methods was, to possess the Parliament, that it was absolutely necessary to make a severe Act against the Presbyterians, as a most restless and seditious people. The King made use of these flirs, as a handle in his Speech to the Parliament, to provoke them to severity; and Sir *J. P.* and other Members in the House of Commons gave information of these dangerous plots. By these arts they procur’d the passing of the Uniformity Act, tho at last it was but by a very small majority. And thus the Church of *England* obtain’d that Establishment, in which they glory and triumph to this day.

Our Author next relates the *Rising of the Fifth Monarchy Men.* † But since we always abhorr’d the frantic actions of those murdering zealots, as much as any of our Adversaries; I cant see any reason he had to mention this in the History of our controversy.

And as little reason had he to speak of the next conspiracy, of some of *Cromwel’s Captains*, and others who had

had been Members of the Rump Parliament, with a design to put all power again into the hands of the Sectaries. Such a plot was not likely to be promoted by us, who have always been averse to those kind of men, nor are we charg'd by our Author himself with having any hand in it.

And now the Presbyterian and Nonconformist Ministers being hinder'd by the Act of Uniformity from preaching, they began to set up private Conventicles. * Herein they imitated the primitive Christians, who, in like manner, held their assemblies in private, when it was not safe for them to do it in public. And in no other sense could those full assemblies, our Author speaks of, be call'd Conventicles, than were the Christian assemblies under the Heathen Emperours. But we have learn'd patiently to bear their opprobrious language; tho' we could easily mind him, that if any Christian assemblies deserve the name of Conventicles, it will best belong to those, who set up a tyrannical government in the Church; or who, to its great prejudice and mischief are so mean spirited, as to put their necks under such a yoke. The Doctor acknowledges their congregations were then large, nor did they grow thin, till the Court by their arts had brought a deluge of Impiety upon the nation. It gall'd our Adversaries to see our congregations full, and their own thin; and therefore they had recourse, according to their usual manner, to the Popish weapons to advance their cause: and hereupon was that Statute made against Conventicles. Of the penalty of this law he gives a true account. *A Law, says he, is pass'd under the penalty of five pounds and three months imprisonment, That no person above sixteen years of age, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion, should be present at any public worship perform'd in other manner, than is allow'd by the Liturgy or practice of the Church of England. For the second offence the penalty is doubled. And the third time being convicted by a Jury, the offending party shall be banish'd to some one of the American Plantations [excepting New England and Virginia.]* So far is nothing but truth, tho' it be a barbarous one: what follows is false: *But this law, by reason of the great severity thereof, had no effect. † By reason of that law, not only Ministers, but Laymen, were sadly persecuted and had their houses*

houses plunder'd. It was a great hardship, that by this law a Justice of Peace had power to record a man an offender, without a Jury; and if he did it ever so unreasonably, the injur'd person could have no remedy. And considering what sort of men were put into the Commission of Peace by the Court; it could be no wonder that the sufferings of both Ministers and people should be then exceeding great.

This year the great Plague rag'd in *London*, MDCLXV. which swept off about 10000 persons a week:

and yet so much were men hardened and blinded, that they would not take notice of God's hand, or fear the vengeance of the Almighty. This appear'd in the behaviour of our Parliament, which being driven from *London* by the Plague, met at *Oxford*, and there pass'd a more severe Act against the Ministers, than any of the former; concerning which our Author thus discourses:

But as for the most part misfortunes irritate mens tempers, and make them peevish, so several of the ejected Ministers are accus'd, as if their pulpits were again thundering against the Church and the monarchy. I make not the least doubt, that what the Doctor speaks of, as happening for the most part, our Adversaries expected and hoped would have fallen out at that time: viz. that the Ministers, being irritated by the vile, barbarous and unchristian usage they met with, would be tempted to some extravagance, which might be improv'd against them, as an occasion of further severities. But missing their expectation, they would not wait for the formality of a provocation; but, without any offer'd by them, enacted the severest law against them. Had there been any evidence of the truth of this accusation, we should not fail to hear of it. And if there had been any thing more than rumours of this nature, 'tis very probable the witnesses were the same sort of suborn'd, perjur'd wretches, as those I mention'd just now, whose aid was made use of to blaken the Ministers, in order to obtain the Act of Uniformity. But our Author himself seems ashamed of this, and therefore endeavours to mollify it in his next words: *And to take matters in the mildest sense, some things were said by some of them with more freedom and less prudence, than were fitting to be utter'd by persons out of the favour of the government, or to be heard by their governors.* I wonder what things these were, and till they are alledg'd and prov'd

prov'd, I think no regard is to be had to such sham pretences. And if such kind of impertinent rumors, devis'd by adversaries out of spite and malice, be a sufficient ground for the making severe laws against men, no body of men in the world can be long safe. I am sure our Clergy at present, upon much better reason for their treatment of the government, may expect the severest laws to be past against them, if such kind of allegations should be allow'd to carry any strength in them.

'Twas objected likewise against them, that in the choice of Parliament Men, they did too officiously interest themselves; so that upon the death of a Member, oftentimes they should get a new one to be chosen, of not so hearty affections to the Church, or crown, as was desired. I would gladly know, what law was transgress'd by them, when they us'd their utmost industry in this matter. And what kind of persons did they make interest for? Were they such as were not capable of being chosen according to law? The only fault in this matter was, that they chose the most hearty friends to the *English* constitution; men who would secure the liberties of the subjects against the incroachments of the throne, or the Priesthood. Nor can any of them be charg'd with any worse designs against the Church, than that they were for inlarging it by bringing the Dissenters justly and honourably into it. They were in short such men, as have been always the truest friends of the nation, and to whom the preservation of it under God has been continually owing; while all the dangers that have ever threaten'd it have arisen from that kind of men, whom they zealously endeavour'd to keep out. So that really this hardship (to their honour be it spoken) was laid upon them only for their honesty, and their zeal for the happiness and welfare of their country. And if the opposing the crown in elections deserves such treatment, what must become of the *English* Clergy, many of whom have at this day, oppos'd the crown with a Witness, and have been pursuing measures, which, if they had succeeded, must have overthrown our whole constitution in Church, as well as state? And 'tis very remarkable, that when the poor Dissenters were so unmercifully treated for their faithful services to their country at elections, the Papists had free liberty to make what interest they could at them.

Upon these considerations, another *Act* of Parliament passed, that no Nonconformist Minister should live within five miles of any corporation town, unless he would take an oath, that he did not hold it lawful, &c. * The form of the oath I shall set down presently, a little more fully than the Doctor has done. But first let me take notice of the severity of the *Act* in what it forbade, which is too slightly set down by our Author. For if they refus'd the oath, they must not come (unless upon the road) within five miles of any city or corporation, or any place that sends Burgesses to Parliament, or any place where they had been Ministers, or had preach'd since the *Act* of Oblivion. The design of the *Act* was to overwhelm, and quite ruine Ministers with these new hardships and troubles. They seem'd to be displeas'd, that God was not as unmerciful as themselves; but was kind to provide for them, stirring up their friends to assist and relieve them; and that they might defeat the kindness of God and their friends, they endeavour to separate them from those, who us'd to succour them. Had they only intended, according to their sham pretences, to hinder their making interest in elections, why did they forbid them to come to such corporations as sent no Members? and why are they forbidden to come there at any time, when there was not, as well as when there was, any election? and why are they forbid to live where they had formerly liv'd, whether Parliament Men were chose there or not? 'Tis plain, the aim was to starve them, for no other reason, but because they were honest and pious men. However cruel the law was in its own nature, they, who were trusted with the execution of it, made it much more so. For when some of the Ministers had found out places for themselves, above five miles from corporations, which they took care to have exactly measur'd; they were driven from them upon this pretence, that the statute did not mean five statute miles, but so many according to common computation. And so great was the severity of that *Act*, that posterity would hardly believe our Adversaries themselves were capable of using it; if the memory thereof should not be preserv'd by the public records of the nation. The oath impos'd on them was this:

I

" I A. B. do swear, that it is not lawful, upon any
" pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the King:
" And that I do abhor that traitious position of taking
" arms by his authority against his person, or against
" those that are commissionated by him, in pursuance of
" such commission: And that I will not at any time en-
" deavour any alteration in the government, either in
" Church or state." Had our Adversaries perform'd their
oath to King James II. all the assistance of our good friends
the *Dutch*, and the Prince of *Orange*, had been in vain.
But blessed be God, they no sooner saw the doctrine
of that oath would undo themselves, as well as us,
but they very freely gave it up: whereby all the world
saw with what sincerity they swore to the truth of it.
And doubtless had they not been convinc'd that our Mi-
nisters used to take oaths with more sincerity and con-
science, than they have shewn themselves, they would ne-
ver have attempted to give them any trouble by imposing
such an oath upon them.

Most of the Nonconformists do take this oath. This is not
true. About 40 of them took it: twenty in *London*, after
the Judges had explain'd it, and one of them too
upon the Bench, in the softest sense possible; and about
twenty in the country: which is far enough from being
the most of the Nonconformists, who were in the whole
about 2000.

*But at that time several of the more sagacious, both of
them and us, began to smell out the arts of that Court.
Neither was it falsely suspected, that then they began to lay
snares, at the same time to deprive us both of our Re-
form'd religion, and our civil liberties. Which designs, a
few years afterwards, did appear in a clearer light.*

The first part of the oath is taken from a declaration
requir'd in the Act of Uniformity; so that if this serv'd
to discover the designs of the Court, our Adversaries might
have easily discover'd it long before. And yet however
visible our Author thought them to be at that time; 'tis
certain *Archbishop Sheldon*, and *Bishop Ward of Salisbury*,
two chief men among the Bishops, were eager sticklers
for the Act with all its notorious cruelty and wickedness.
The *Earl of Clarendon*, among the temporal Peers, was a
great promoter of this severity; as he was of all the other
afflictions, which were then laid upon us. But the justice
of God soon overtook him; and he was quickly after
forc'd

forc'd into banishment, in which also he ended his days. Concerning which I think Mr. *Baxter* makes this just observation : " It was a notable providence of God, that this man, that had been the grand instrument of state, and done almost all, and had dealt so cruelly with the Nonconformists, should thus by his own friends be cast out and banished ; while those that he had persecuted, were the most moderate in his cause, and many for him. And it was a great ease that befel good people throughout the land by his dejection. For his way was to decoy men into conspiracies, or to pretend plots, and then upon the rumor of a plot, the innocent people of many countries were laid in prison, so that no man knew when he was safe. Whereas since then, tho' laws have been made more and more severe ; yet a man knoweth a little better what to expect, when 'tis by a law that he is to be *try'd*. And 'tis notable, that he, that did so much to make the *Oxford Law* for banishing Ministers from corporations, that took not the oath, doth in his Letter from *France* since his banishment say, that he never was in favour since the Parliament sat at *Oxford*. " *

Towards the latter end of this year, came **MDCLXXI.** forth the King's Indulgence, whereby the King gave the Dissenters that liberty of worshipping God according to their consciences, which they had been depriv'd of by Act of Parliament. The Doctor is angry with the Dissenters for accepting the benefit of that Indulgence.

This occasion, says he, so illegally offer'd, all the different Sects of the Nonconformists do greedily lay hold of throughout the city, and the several market towns in the country ; the separate Meetings are set up, Ministers are provided for them, hearers are invited thereunto, and all things are carried on with as much spirit and alacrity, as if they had been countenanc'd by the law †.

And now if our Adversaries would deal ingenuously, they would not blame us so much for greedily laying hold of that occasion ; as themselves, for making us by their cruel persecutions stand in any need of it. And why, I pray, should not the Nonconformists lay hold of that opportunity ?

portunity? If a thief robs a thief, and renders me what I had been before rob'd of; is it unlawful for me to receive what is my own? The worshiping God according to the prescription of a man's conscience, is a right which no good citizen can loose. Since therefore the law itself, which forbade our doing so, was most unjust and unrighteous; what good reason could there possibly be, why we should not make use of that liberty, which is granted us both by the law of nature, and by the written law of God? What, or to whom do we offer any injury or wrong by all this? We know well enough, what their temper is: they never think themselves touch'd in the least, but they make the nation ring with their clamours, and cry out to Foreigners for speedy help and assistance. How then shall it be prov'd, that the Dissenters, alone of all mankind, ought to be so surly, as to refuse to accept of their natural and unalienable rights when offer'd them? I can't really imagine, what the design of this passage should be; unless our Adversaries would have had us forbear upon the royal indulgence to worship God according to our consciences; tho' we had done it in spite of their oppressive laws, and in much affliction and suffering. Do's any man think, we would be such fools, as to lay aside our worship, because the King exempted us from suffering upon the account of it? No, no, we were wiser than that comes to; and understood the temper of our Churchmen too well, to play such a foolish game. We know they who now are angry with us for taking the advantage of the indulgence, would have been the first men in the nation, to have persuaded the King to grant it, if we had shew'd we scrupled the making use of it.

*But in February the Parliament meeting, they voted down the King's Declaration as illegal, and call those to an account, who had advis'd the King to the setting it forth.**

The Dissenters truly thought, they had a just right to worship God according to their consciences; and yet they did not therefore think they were bound to defend the King's Declaration. When it became a matter of debate in Parliament, whether that Declaration was consistent with the laws of the land, or not; then they judg'd the liberties of the people, and the security of the constitution

were concern'd : it being a great hazard to allow the King a power of superseding one Act of Parliament by his own prerogative ; lest he should be tempted upon the same grounds to supersede whatever Acts he may think fit. The Dissenters therefore, tho' they had used the liberty, which the Declaration granted ; yet shew'd themselves zealous defenders of the people's rights against the King's absolute power of dispensing with the laws ; and therefore readily concur'd in voting the Declaration to be illegal. The Parliament did not enter upon this debate now, upon the account of their old grudge against the Dissenters. Their eyes were open'd to see farther into the design of those measures, which they had been advancing, in complaisance to the Court ; and they would have been glad to have had an opportunity to undo a great deal of what they had done. For after they had voted the Declaration illegal, on the 14 of February, " The House of Commons resolv'd, *nemine contradicente*, That a Bill be brought in for the ease of his Majesty's subjects, who are Dissenters, in matters of religion, from the the Church of *England*." Accordingly a Bill pass'd the House of Commons, but was stop'd in the House of Lords ; where the Bishops by their votes and interest could do a great deal to oppose the Dissenters, and advance the Popish designs of the Court. Thus the poor Dissenters, being depriv'd of the shelter of his Majesty's Declaration, were left by the Parliament to the storm of the severe laws which were in force against them, which by some Justices were rigorously put in execution ; but the greater part were then more moderate, and so the Dissenters had in many places *a liberty of performing their worship, in their own way* : our Author says, *for many years* ; that is for two years, for it hardly lasted three. For,

In the year 1674. his Majesty call'd the Bishops up to London, to give him advice, what was to be done for the securing of religion, &c. They (who, our Author says, began before this to smell out the arts of the Court *) after various consultations with the Ministers of State, advis'd him to recall his licences, and put the laws against the Nonconformists in execution. This advice was presently agreed to by the King. No sooner was the Proclamation

against

against us made public, but many *Informers* were set at work to advance the design, and promote the execution of the laws. These *Informers* were a parcel of infamous wretches, who having no sense of God and another world, but living in all manner of wickedness, were thought proper tools for the Church to work with, in persecuting good men. They were the more fit for the purpose, because their wickedness had run them desperately into debt, and they were greedy of any, however ungodly gain. This pestilent generation were singularly diligent in pulling down the Dissenters, and building up the Church of *England*, as by law established. And the Spiritual Courts finding how serviceable they were to promote discipline, that is, to bring money into their pockets, were very fond of them. 'Tis not easy to reckon the vast number of families, which the Church was pleas'd utterly to ruine by the help of this vermin, who made nothing of perjuring themselves; but their zeal for Mother Church made atonement for that small crime, and they were frequently shelter'd in such their wickedness. But they, who found Means to escape punishment from men, could not avoid the vengeance of the Almighty; who by the miserable end of many of them gave warning to others, not to imitate them in their villany. But as there is seldom a scarcity of persons fit to be instruments of mischief; while God by his righteous and remarkable judgments remov'd some, others came in their room.

The Clergy being griev'd to see, what an interest the nonconforming Ministers had in the people, set a new project now on foot against them, and endeavour'd to expose them to be scorn'd and ridicul'd. For this end they examin'd their writings, and where they found an unguarded expression they made it a great deal worse than it was. Such expressions as would admit of a good meaning, they wrested to a bad one; and whatever disagreed with their notions they made a mere jest of, not sparing religion it self, which was then much wounded thro' our sides, by men who might have been expected to prove better friends to it.

And indeed the controversy the Doctor is now going to relate, was not properly a controversy between the Church of *England* and Dissenters; but between some angry Ecclestastics on the one hand, and sober pious men, both Conformists and Nonconformists, on the other. I

don't think it worth while to insist long upon this matter. Dr. *Owen*'s works are known and valued abroad: and by them the Foreign Divines may judge of the writings of the two others, Dr. *Jacomb*, and Mr. *Vincent*, who are join'd with him. And here at home these writers are all so well known, that 'tis needless for me to say much of them. Let every one judge of them as he sees cause. 'Tis invidious and unfair to represent them as *Antinomians*, from such consequences as adversaries may draw from their doctrines, when they deny those consequences. Nor did ever Dr. *Owen*, or either of the other two, *lay down this doctrine*, that *Christ in our stead had so fulfil'd all the law for us, as to merit heaven for the most wicked and sinful person*; viz. that died in his impenitence and unbelief. And I suppose, no one will question whether he merited heaven for the most wicked and sinful persons, who repent and believe. Nor is it a fair representation of their opinion, to say they taught, *That moral virtues were signs of a carnal mind*. They embrac'd no other doctrine, than what the Church deliv'ers in her 13 Article: " Works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasant to God; for as much as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the School authors say) deserve grace, of congruity: yea, rather for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin." And what shall we think of men, who will scoff at the doctrine of their own Church, and will not bear others should preach, what they have most religiously subscrib'd themselves? And who doubts, whether religion may not be said, in a good sense, *to consist chiefly in loving Christ*? Faith and love are frequently join'd together as principal and chief things in Christianity; and certainly all moral virtues are to flow in Christians from love to Christ, or else they are not properly Christian virtues; and our Adversaries will not easily find these writers endeavour'd to disparage those virtues, when thus exercis'd. And tho' some unwary expressions might perhaps fall from some men; yet it cannot be denied, that the error of abundance of the Clergy was far greater, who left Christ very much out of their divinity, and preach'd not moral virtue, as they ought to have done, upon a Christian foundation. I pass over the other expressions

sions our Author here speaks of, which are to be met with in writers of his own side, and some of them in the Holy Scriptures themselves.

What Mr. *William Sherlock* endeavour'd to expose in the Dissenters, was defended by *Edward Polhill* Esq; a Gentleman eminent for piety and learning, who liv'd and died in the communion of the Church of *England*. Tho' Mr. *Sherlock* was his friend and acquaintance, he could not be silent, when he saw religion and piety struck at by him. But as Mr. *Sherlock* set up for a wit, and treated these things in a jocular way; Mr. *Vincent Alsop*, one of our Ministers, a most ingenious and facetious man, took him in hand: and tho' he treated serious matters with a great deal of gravity; yet where the Gentleman was upon the merry pin, he so wittily and sharply turn'd the jest upon him, that he beat him at his own weapon: and Mr. *Sherlock* never dar'd to answer him, nor much car'd for that way of writing afterward. And that he obtain'd a compleat victory is acknowledg'd by Dr. *South*, a man famous for his wit, and as bitter an enemy as any to the Dissenters. And not only the Dissenters, but several of the Epis- copal writers, as Dr. *South* and Dr. *Edwards*, accuse him as having given a deep wound to religion by his writings at that time; which I hope from some of his after writings he was not insensible of. There are some things which one cannot read without horror. Let me give one instance of this nature:

Dr. *Owen* had said, "That in Christ God hath manifested the naturalness of this righteousness unto him, in that it was impossible that it should be diverted from sinners, without the interposing of a propitiation." Every one knows this has been a receiv'd opinion among a great many Divines, the far greater part, I suppose, of those in Foreign countries. But if it should be suppos'd to be false; yet it was very indecent in a man, who profess'd himself a Christian and a Divine, to treat so very serious and important a subject with flouts and jesting. Yet this did Mr. *Sherlock*, who presently upon setting down the Doctorss words, goes on after this rate: "That is, that God is so just and righteous, that he cannot pardon sin without a satisfaction to his justice. Now this indeed is such a notion of justice as is perfectly new, which neither Scripture nor nature acquaints us with. for all mankind have accounted it an act of goodness

“ (without the least suspicion of injustice in it) to remit
“ injuries and offences, without exacting any punishment ;
“ and that he is so far from being just, that he is cruel
“ and savage, who will remit no offence till he hath satisfied
“ his revenge. —— But tho’ this be a very terrible dis-
“ covery of the naturalness of God’s righteousness, or vin-
“ dicitive justice, yet he makes some amends for it, in
“ that comfortable discovery of his patience and long
“ suffering towards sinners ; for now (as he adds) in
“ *Christ the very nature of God is discover’d to be love and*
“ *kindness.* A happy change this, from all justice to all
“ love ! But how comes this to pass ? Why the account
“ of that is very plain : Because (if I may take liberty to
“ to put his words into plain English) the justice of God
“ hath glutted it self with revenge on sin in the death of
“ Christ, and so henceforward we may be sure, he will
“ be very kind ; as a revengeful man is, when his passion
“ is over. For so he speaks very honourably of God :
“ *Whatever discoveries were made of the patience and lenity*
“ *of God unto us ; yet if it were not withal reveal’d, that*
“ *the other properties of God, as his justice, and revenge*
“ *for sin, had their actings also assign’d them to the full,*
“ *there could be little consolation gather’d from the former.*
“ That is : He would not believe God himself, tho’ he
“ should make never so many promises of being good
“ and gracious to sinners ; unless he were sure he had first
“ satisfy’d his revenge. Which indeed is such a char-
“ acter of the love and patience of God, as we could ne-
“ ver have learnt, had not some men falsely pretended
“ to such an acquaintance with the person of Christ, as
“ contradicts those natural notions which all men have of
“ God, and the plain revelation of the Gospel. The sum
“ of which is : That God is all love and patience, when
“ he hath taken his fill of revenge. As others use to say :
“ *That the Devil is very good, when he is pleas’d.*” * This
is that Dr. Sherlock, and such were the writings so much
commended here by our Author. The same person denies
there is any other, than a political union between Christ
and believers ; and laughs at those who pretend any other,
of which the Spirit, or faith are the band. He ridicules
those, who taught in their sermons, That it was necessary for
sinners

sinners to see themselves miserable and wretched without the help of Christ, before they would be brought savingly to believe on him. And 'twere easy to present the reader with a great deal more such stuff, if I car'd for the dirty work of looking after it.

Next follows a long account of the controversy between Mr. Jenkyn and Dr. Grove. Whether his account of the *Sermon*, which I never saw, or of the management of the dispute be true, I know not. If Mr. Jenkyn manag'd it weakly, we are not concern'd in it. For it was not a controversy about Conformity as far as I perceive; but about the opinions of some particular Divines of the Church of *England*, which are not put into the Articles, or requir'd to be subscrib'd to. This Mr. Jenkyn might have been spar'd by our Author, considering that if he did really deal badly by the Church of *England*, they afterwards in 1684 reveng'd themselves to the full upon him. He was then taken at a Fast, and by two of their magistrates, upon his refusing the *Oxford oath*, sent to *Newgate* very cruelly; for they refus'd the offer of 40*l.* fine, which the law impower'd them to take; altho it was urg'd, that the air of *Newgate* would infallibly suffocate him. No petitions could be heard for his release. And when his Physicians testify'd his life was in danger from his close imprisonment, all the answer that could be obtain'd was: That Mr. Jenkyn should be a prisoner as long as he liv'd. And so at a week and four months end, he ended his days in their merciful hands. He was deny'd in his imprisonment the liberty of praying with any, even his own Daughter who came to visit him. His Life might have aton'd therefore for his offence; unless they think the more they sink his reputation, the more excusable they shall be in taking it away.

This year the Popish Plot was discover'd, MDCLXXVIII. into which when the Parliament resolv'd to make a diligent search, they were dissolv'd; after they had continued long enough to make severe laws against the Dissenters, and to see cause to repent of what they had done. The next year another Parliament was call'd, which beginning where the former left off, was soon dissolv'd also.

The year after another Parliament was call'd. MDCLXXX. The Papists now had recourse to their old practices. The Popish Lords, imprison'd in the Tower for

the plot, contriv'd a sham Presbyterian Plot, the better to smother their real one. It is not easy to express how greedily the *English* Clergy catch'd at that opportunity of venting their malice against not only the poor Dissenters, but all Presbyterians abroad. Of this I could give many instances from the fashionable sermons, which appear'd in print upon that occasion. But I shall only mention one Preacher, whom the Parliament has made famous by taking notice of him, and impeaching him.

This was Mr. *Richard Thompson*, a Minister in *Bristol*, who in a Sermon on the 30 of *January 1679*, told his auditory in the pulpit: "That the Presbyterians were such persons, as the very Devil blush'd at them: that they were worse, and far more intolerable than the Priests or Jesuits: that a Presbyterian Brother, *qua talis*, as such, was as great a traitor by the Statute, as any Priest or Jesuit whatsoever: that the Presbyterians did outvye *Mariana*, and that *Calvin* was the first that preached the king-killing doctrine: that there was a great noise of a Popish Plot; but there was nothing in it but a Presbyterian Plot." The Popish Plot, which was most certain and unquestionable; was decry'd by this man as fabulous; while the sham of a Presbyterian Plot deserv'd with him the utmost credit. But no wonder the Papists found so much favour at his hands, considering what he elsewhere declar'd: "That he had been very often (and above one hundred times) at Mass, in the great Church at *Paris*, and usually gave half a crown to get a place to hear a certain Doctor of that Church, and that he was like to be brought over to that religion; and that when he went beyond sea, he did not know but that he might be of that religion before his return: that if he were as well satisfy'd of other things, as he was of *Justification*, auricular *Confession*, *Penance*, *extream Unction*, and *Chrism* in *Baptism*, he would not have been so long separated from the Catholic Church. *He affirm'd*: The Church of *Rome* was the true Catholic Church, and greatly commended the decency of solemnizing the Mass in *France*, and said that it was perform'd with much more reverence and devotion than any other religion doth use. *He said*: "That after *Excommunication* by the Bishop, without *Absolution* from the spiritual Court, such a one was surely damn'd, and he would pawn his soul for the truth

" truth of it." And speaking concerning the Dissenters, he declared : " He would hall them out, and fill the goals " with them, and hoped to see their houses a fire about " their ears shortly ". Upon this, and some other things witnessed against him, it was resolved, *nemine contradicente* : " That Richard Thompson Clerk, hath publicly " defam'd his sacred Majesty, and preach'd sedition, vilify'd the Reformation, promoted Popery, by asserting " Popish principles, decrying the Popish Plot, and turning " the same upon the Protestants ; and endeavour'd to " subvert the liberty and property of the subject, and the " rights and privileges of Parliament ; and that he is a " scandal, and a reproach to his function."

" And that the said Richard Thompson be impeach'd " upon the said report, and resolution of the House, &c."

And unless some certain persons were infected with this man's principles, they would not dilate so much upon the *Rye House Plot*, when they so lightly pass over the Popish Plot. *Thompson* for this was made Dean of *Bristol*.

I may say the less concerning the *Bill of Exclusion*, because our Author has in the main given no ill account of it. He owns the Dissenters were for the Bill, and *the greatest part of their Church against it* ; * but says, there were *great numbers of the Church, who had a particular zeal for the liberty of the people*, who were for it. This is all very true. Only I would here remark, that those *great numbers of their Church*, he speaks of, were among the Laity ; there being very few of the Clergy who had the courage, or honesty, to shew themselves favourers of it. And those of their Church, who were for it, fell under as much reproach and hatred among the rest, as the Dissenters themselves ; which also continues to this day. He should have added too : That as the Bill was lost in the House of Lords, so the Bishops were then some of the chief sticklers against it ; being very near, if not quite, to a man against it. So that we owe the loss of that Bill, as we do a great deal more, to the Church.

The strength of the Church's plea against the Bill, is not amiss represented by Dr. *Nichols*. I wish he had expos'd the weakness of it also. He says, *They had these objections against that design* : *That this design was only*

an

an introduction to some other, which durst not yet be own'd : There has been somewhat very unaccountable in the conduct of these men all along. The design of introducing Popery was plain all through that reign ; and they themselves now own it, and complain of themselves for coming too late to the knowledge of it ; and our just fears of it, and endeavours to oppose it, were charg'd upon us as proceeding from unreasonable suspicions and malicious designs. On the other hand, however angry they were with us for our suspicions, they made no difficulty of insinuating thro' the nation the most whimsical and silly suspicions of the designs of all those who oppos'd them. And that nonsensical cant of republican principles, was a sort of *term of art*, to disgrace any party or design ; and so it has continued ever since, and more especially of late. Not that they who use it, much believe there is any foundation for the insinuation ; but it serves their purpose to blacken their enemies. Now these suspicions have been confuted by the whole conduct of the persons suspected. The Presbyterians, who are chiefly struck at, were displeas'd with the commonwealth, when it was set up ; were the men who overturn'd it by bringing in the King ; and never made the least attempt toward the setting up a commonwealth ever since. And yet these *Chimera's* must be made reasons for the Church's opposing the most noble designs. For this is what he means these things were an introduction to , as appears by what follows : *and that men of republican principles began with disinheriting one person of the Royal Family, to make way for the extirpation of the whole :* Were then the Honourable House of Commons turn'd republican ? If a few Dissenters in the House were chargeable with such principles ; had the Churchmen, who were such a great number therein, embrac'd the same ? Besides, as there was nothing of such a design appear'd in the Bill, 'twas time enough to oppose it, as soon as it should discover it self. The Bill neither remov'd the King, nor the House of Lords, who would, if the Bill had become an *Act*, be ready at hand to crush any such attempts. But the Bill it self design'd to secure the monarchy, as appears by the words of it : “ In case the said *James* “ Duke of *York* should survive his now Majesty, and the “ heirs of his Majesty's body ; the said imperial crown “ shall descend to, and be enjoy'd by such person or per- “ sons successsarily, during the life of the said *James* Duke “ of

“ of York, as should have inherited and enjoy’d the same, “ in case the said James Duke of York were naturally “ dead, any thing contain’d in this Act to the contrary “ notwithstanding.” that there were many of the same persons who would deprive the Son of his succession, who had depriv’d the Father of his life. This was doubtless a false suggestion. For I don’t believe there was so much as one single person then in the House of Commons, who had any hand in King Charles’s death. *That if this law should be pass’d by the King and Parliament, the Duke of York would not stick to vindicate his right of succession by the sword: that they having lately experienc’d the miseries of a civil war, they were not so overfond of it again; nor could they easily suffer their wounds, which were hardly healed, to be torn up afresh.* Was not this, think we, a wise reason? Was there not more danger of a civil war in driving him out, than there was in preventing his coming in? It was a wise answer an honourable Member of the House made to this objection, when the Bill was debated in the House: *There is a lion in the Lobby; keep him out, say I: No, say some, open the door, we will chain him, when he is come in.* And no one need be told, what the loss of that Bill has cost the nation since that time. And our Adversaries we see could easily alter their principles, and set aside a great many persons, who were nearer to the crown; or we should never have enjoy’d the present inestimable blessing of a Protestant succession: which (tho’ we dont grudge the cost) we might have had upon much easier terms; had it not been for that meanness and baseness with which they made their court to a Popish King, and a Popish successor.

This House had likewise brought in a Bill for a *Comprehension*, and another for an *Indulgence*; which were both read twice: but the King first prorogued, and then dissolv’d the Parliament. However before they rose, they came to this resolution: “ That ’tis the opinion of this House, that the prosecution of Protestant Dissenters upon the penal laws, is at this time grievous to the subject, a weakning the Protestant interest, an encouragement to Popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom.” And yet the Churchmen went on most grievously to persecute us, notwithstanding the House of Commons had express’d their sense of the great danger the Reformation was in, and how much it was heighten’d by such persecuting methods.

And

And as tho' the Dissenters had not misery enough upon them from the penal laws, they were insulted as seditious and schismatical people by their Adversaries, in the Pamphlets they publish'd against them. Among the rest, Dr. *Stillingfleet* counted it a glory to insult the oppressed ; preaching a bitter Sermon against them before the Lord Mayor, which he afterwards printed. Nor can it seem strange, that the fiery zealots should then shew their rage, when not only the King commanded the laws to be put in execution ; but such learned men, as had before behav'd themselves with much moderation and temper, began to inflame mens passions against us.

The persecution therefore lay very heavy
MDCCLXXXII. upon the Dissenters for several years afterwards. And many Ministers were imprison'd, and their goods seiz'd and sold ; and this without their having the least notice of any accusation, or receiving any summons to appear and answer for themselves, or their ever seeing the Justices or their accusers. I forbear to mention the rudeness used toward women upon such occasions, and how they purposely frightened children ; tho' I shall not easily forget, how I was my self, being very young and in a Minister's house, when it was broke open, put in great fear of my life by them ; which together with what I then saw, begat in me such an aversion to their cruel and persecuting practices, as I hope will never wear off. Warrants were sign'd for distresses in one parish, that of *Hackney*, to the value of 1400*l.* * What spoil then did they make, may we think, in the rest of the nation ?

Mr. *Nathanael Vincent*, a most pious Minister, and an excellent Preacher, was this year tried at the Quarter Sessions in *Surrey* ; and by the help of a pack'd Jury was, for no other Crime than preaching the Gospel, cast, and condemn'd to be banish'd. But after he had procur'd at a vast charge, a hearing of his cause before other Judges, and had lain long in prison, he was releas'd by the King, at the intercession of some Noble persons about him.

This year the persecution did not abate ;
MDCXXXXIII. and warrants were out against many, and several

* Not 1400*l.* as, by mistake was said in the first Edition.

veral Ministers were distrein'd upon. Persons taken at Meetings were convicted as rioters, and fin'd 10*l.* a piece; and some young persons (of both sexes) being taken at them, were sent to *Bridewell*, to beat hemp among rogues and whores.

This year was that *Rye House Plot*, in relating which our Author is very particular. * An abominable forgery (if taken according to his account of it) which now gains credit with none, but those who are miserably enslav'd by the spirit of a party. The writer of the History of that Plot, from whom our Author also has receiv'd what he says of it, was Dr. *Thomas Sprat*, Bishop of *Rochester*, a Man who had an excellent pen, and which he could use for any purposes. He is much more famous for a noble *Panegyric* upon *Oliver Cromwell*, than for his *History* of this *Plot*. And indeed he himself seem'd not very well pleas'd with what he had done, when afterwards he wrote his *Apology*, which he might have entitled his *Retractation*. Remarkab'e are those words which he uses in his own defence. Speaking of my Lord *Russel*, and some others, whom he calls persons of honour, he says : “ I could not hinder, nor did I in the least contribute to “ their fall : nay, I lamented it ; especially my Lord “ *Russel*’s after I was fully convinced by discourse with “ the reverend Dean of *Canterbury*, of that noble Gentleman’s great probity and constant abhorrence of falsehood. †

But if the conspiracy had been such as he relates, my Lord *Russel* and all his fellow conspirators had deserv'd, not only to be hated and abhor'd of all good men, but to suffer the severe punishment which was inflicted upon them ; nor would the Bishop have needed to say any thing to defend or excuse himself for what he had written. Further, the same Bishop confesses : “ That King *James* “ the Second called for his papers, and after he had read “ them, altered divers passages before the Book was “ printed.” ||

What assurance then can we have of any matter from such an History ? It seems indeed probable enough, in my opinion, that those excellent persons enter'd into much such

* *Pag. 94.* † *p. 8.* Of the Bishop of *Rochester*’s Letter to the *E. of Dorset*.
|| *Ibid. p. 7*

such a consultation, as the Bishops and best men of the nation did in K. James the Second's reign; who when they saw our civil and religious liberties were design'd to be destroy'd, contriv'd what they should do to save both. The former therefore ought not to be condemn'd, if the other are justify'd and applauded. But I am sorry to observe that those, who seem ambitious upon some occasions of being thought men of temper and moderation, should, when they come to treat of this, write in the stile and spirit of the High Church. He says :

*The Earl of Essex, being accus'd of the conspiracy, is suppos'd by some to have laid violent hands upon himself, out of consciousness of that crime.** By some : by whom, I pray ? By the Papists ; may it perhaps be said. But they understand their own designs or practices better, than to suppose any such thing, whatever they may pretend to the contrary. But 'tis *suppos'd* by some wise and prudent men, who are Protestants. Who can believe that ? who can think any Protestant, that has any sense and honour, can pretend to believe, the Earl of *Essex* should be able himself to cut thro' his wind-pipe, his gullet, both the jugulars, to the vertebres of the neck ; and then go to his chamber window, and fling out the bloody razor ? These and a great many other absurdities must a man believe, if he will believe the Earl of *Essex* murder'd himself. 'Twas plain to any man that would make any observation, that the Earl of *Essex* was murder'd, in order to their compassing the murder of my Lord *Russel*. For the murder was so contriv'd, as that the news of it might come just as my Lord *Russel* was at the bar, and the Attorney General and the Lord Chief Justice, made great use of this, as an evidence of my Lord's guilt. And the Lord Chief Justice in summing up the evidence to the Jury, told them : " That there was nothing could be said, in favour " of my Lord *Russel's* innocency, as to what he was accus'd of ; but what might be more strongly alledg'd in behalf of the Earl of *Essex* ; who nevertheless from a consciousness of being guilty of that desperate conspiracy, had brought himself to an untimely end, to avoid the methods of public justice. ". This was so manag'd by the King's Counsel, as to influence the Jury (as some of

of them confess'd) more than all the evidence brought against him. In one word, there are none who give any heed to this story, but Papists and High Church men; the former that they may hide their own wickedness; the latter that they may have an advantage of reviling and abusing the Dissenters.

Antony Earl of Shaftesbury, who was said to have had the chief direction in this contrivance, fled beyond the seas, and died in banishment.

The Papists had several times conspir'd to take away his life, and he saw innocence was no security to a person in *England*; but the Court by the help of corrupt Judges and pack'd Juries carry'd every thing, right or wrong, just as they pleas'd; and therefore he must be allow'd to have acted wisely in departing the kingdom, and so providing for his own safety. How happy had it been, if my Lord *Russel* had taken the same course! He, relying too much upon his own innocence, and the testimony of a good conscience, refus'd to make his escape, when he had an opportunity; and so he fell a sacrifice to the rage of his murderers, who might have reserv'd himself for the service of his country.

Far be it from us, that we should accuse all the Nonconformists for having a hand in this conspiracy, few of which, perhaps, before the public detection thereof, did ever hear of it.

The Nonconformists are wonderfully oblig'd to them for this civility; and so are the ashes of the dead, that they use them with so much tenderness and moderation; and that they shew themselves satisfy'd with making them conspirators, without making them egregious fools at the same time. But if we may now speak the truth freely, the romantic account here set down of this Plot, was never heard of by any mortal, before the Courtiers devis'd it out of their own brains.

But that Dr. Owen, Mr. Mead, Mr. Griffith, Nonconformist Ministers were made acquainted therewith, the Duke of Monmouth, and Mr. Carstairs, unexceptionable witnesses in this case, do attest.

If the Reverend Mr. Carstairs had confess'd any heinous matter as done by them, surely there would be more reason to attribute his confession to his weakness, than to reproach the Nonconformists with it. Was not that confession extorted from him with the most barbarous and illegal

illegal cruelty; which our Adversaries, if they acted prudently, should never mention, that it might if possible be forgotten? I hardiy think, the Papists and High Church (who acted then, as they have lately, like dear friends) gave a more flagrant proof of their injustice and inhumanity in any man, whom they did not outright murder, than they did in that excellent person. He was first taken up in *England*, and kept close prisoner for several weeks in the *Gatehouse*: then he apply'd to the Court of *King's Bench*, that he might be brought to a trial, or admitted to bail, according to law. But they would not bring him to his trial here, because they were sensible they had not sufficient witnessses against him; and so they immediately sent him to *Scotland*, to be try'd there for crimes committed in that kingdom, where he had not been for several years. The true reason was, they could not in *England* put him to the torture; and they hop'd by that in *Scotland*, they might force him to make as ample a confession as they desir'd. When he was before the Privy Council in *Scotland*, he desir'd to know if his Majesty's Advocate, or Attorney General, had any crime to accuse him of, that was committed in *Scotland*. The Advocate plainly said he had none. Hereupon Mr. *Carstairs* pleaded his Majesty's warrant, by which he was sent to *Scotland*, that did expresly bear, That he was to be try'd for crimes committed there: but that was not regarded, and he was plainly told, he must either answer upon oath such questions as should be propounded to him, or suffer one torment after another, while he had life in him. And when he begg'd, that seeing he was not accus'd of any crimes committed in *Scotland*, he might meet with no greater severity in his own country, than the laws of the land, where it was said he had committed crimes, did allow of; he had no other answer, but that he must resolve upon continued torture, if he did not what is above mention'd.

Accordingly he was put to the torture, which he patiently bore for near an hour and a half, having both his thumbs at once bruised betwixt two irons, by a new model of that engine of torture, which was call'd *Thummikins*; which tho it did not go so far, as to drive the marrow out of the bones, yet was next door to it. This torture made both his arms fwell greatly, and made him feaverish: he begg'd therefore he might have respite for a day or two;

two ; but his request was deny'd : so the next day he was brought out of the prison, to suffer a new torture, which he was resolv'd thro' God's assistance to undergo, if they had not offer'd him better conditions than they did before. These conditions he accepted, and so they took his confession, which they print'd in a very defective manner. Nay, he declar'd to those who were then in the government of *Scotland*, he shou'd be much injur'd by the printing those depositions, because they were lame and defective ; seeing neither the questions which were askt him, nor the true and just extenuations he gave of the affair in general were set down, but only the bare answers to questions. For they knew he had declar'd that all the business, which made such a noise, amounted to no more than discourses what might be fit to be done for preserving their religion and liberties, without any design against the person of the King or the monarchy. He then also vindicated himself and others, from the aspersion of being concern'd in the contrivance of any assassinating designs, which he abhor'd : and they who examin'd him said, they did not believe he was guilty of them.

Further they did not perform the conditions they granted him. Whence he had the justice done him by the Parliament, in the beginning of K. *William's* reign, to have it declar'd and register'd in the public records : *That the public faith had been brcke to him*. Which a Person of Quality, who was an Officer of State when he was tortur'd, own'd in a paper subscrib'd, and given in by him to the Parliament, that it might be put amongst their records.

Now supposing he had confess'd any wicked designs, being overcome by the barbarous usage he met with, what wise man would much regard it ? But he confess'd nothing concerning those Ministers, of which an honest man and a good subject needed to be ashamed. Let any man read his confession as 'tis published, he shall no where find him saying : *That Dr. Owen, Mr. Mead, and Mr. Griffith were acquainted with any abominable conspiracy of assassinating the King* : with the design, our Author tells us, which was to have him shot with a blunderbus, as his coach was to pass by Rie House in the New Market road : or with the other designs, which follow : *The Duke of York was likewise to be kill'd ; and his Daughter, the Princess Anne, was to be married to some mean person, that her children might*

might thereby have the less pretence to the throne : the Keeper of the Great Seal, and several of the Judges were to be hanged, and their skins stuff'd cut, to be set up publicly before the Courts of Judicature in Westminster Hall, &c. Things quite contrary to these were attested by him. And a friend of mine, who was very intimate with Mr. Mead, assures me, he has often heard him profess there was no such design. They consulted, as Mr. Carstairs own'd, how they might preserve their religion and liberties. And that we are so far from being ashamed of, that with our Adversaries good leave we triumph and glory in it, that we were among the first and farwardest of those, who laid the danger of our dear country to heart, and contriv'd for the preservation of it. Let the action be fairly reported, and we will thank them for doing us the honour to own the share we had in it. And we let our Adversaries know, we despise the censure of those, who have the conscience to reproach us with the same thing, they afterwards in K. James the Second's reign practis'd themselves. And if those Nonconformist Ministers were really guilty of such a vile conspiracy, as that describ'd by our Author ; how came King Charles himself to discharge Mr. Mead, when he appear'd before him in Council ? This worthy man was my Guardian, and therefore I think my self bound to pay so much respect to his memory, as to take this occasion of acquainting my reader, if he do's not know it already ; that he was a Gentleman, and a Scholar, and a most excellent Preacher ; and that his reputation was too well establish'd among those who knew him, to be lessen'd by such reproaches as are here cast upon him. Further that History of the Plot, which our Author cites, contains some notorious falsehoods, which Mr. Carstairs says he knew to be such. What I have related here concerning Mr. Carstairs, I have taken from a very civil Letter I receiv'd from that excellent person ; in whose death the Church, and University of Edinburgh have lately sustain'd an unspeakable loss.

Dr. Nichols proceeds next to give an account of the publishing the *London Cases*. * These were printed by the Divines of their communion, at a time when the Protestant

testant religion was in the utmost danger; so that an Answer might then have seem'd as unseasonable, as the *Cases* themselves. These champions of the Church had an art too, to secure themselves from being attack'd by their adversaries, and wrote when our side could not answer with either conveniency or safety. Their persecuted condition depriv'd them of leisure for writing; and if they wrote, they brought upon themselves fresh troubles and persecutions.

Thus Mr. *De Lanne*, a learned Anabaptist, lost his life, by writing against one of the *Cases* publish'd by Dr. *Benjamin Calamy*. For upon no other offence was he thrown into prison; where the straitness of his confinement cast him into a distemper, of which he soon died in their hands. And tho' the Doctor in his *Case* pretended himself very desirous of an Answer, he never made the least attempt to get him releas'd.

By the like kind usage Mr. *Jenkyn* mention'd already, Mr. *Bamfield*, and Mr. *Ralphson*, and some others at this time got their death, to the great shame and disgrace of their Persecutors. Nor can I omit mentioning the trial of Mr. *Thomas Rosewel*, which happen'd about this time. He was found guilty of high treason upon three most scandalous perjur'd womens evidence; whose perjuries would have been fully prov'd against them, could justice have been had. He made a handsom and ingenious defence of himself; but to no purpose, as to his Judge and Jury. But upon a representation of his trial to the King, he was pardon'd; and narrowly miss'd the glory of dying a Martyr in the cause of Christ.

For such things the Earl of *Castlemain* severely upbraids the Church of *England*, in these words, which I find cited from him: " 'Twas never known that *Rome* persecuted (as the Bishops do) those who adhere to the same faith with themselves, and establish'd an Inquisition against the professors of the strictest piety among themselves. And however the Prelates complain of the bloody persecution under Queen *Mary*, 'tis manifest their persecution exceeds it: for under her there were not more than two or three hundred put to death; whereas under their persecution, there hath above treble that number been stisled, destroyed, and ruin'd in their

" estates, lives and liberties, being (as is most remarkable)
 " men for the most part of the same spirit, and principle
 " with those Protestants, who suffer'd under the Prelates
 " in Queen Mary's time." *

But since he was a Papist, I shall add another witness, Bishop *Morton*, whose words the same author sets down thus: " I ought not to esteem any thing a just cause of silencing my self from preaching, for which I ought not as willingly to venture my life. The Nonconformists have suffer'd what is next to death, and too many have suffer'd even unto death in prisons, where several caught their deaths, and others died. Of whom shall their deaths be requir'd?" † 'Tis no hard matter to give an answer to the Bishop's question: since whose time a great addition has been made to the number of the Nonconformist, either Confessors, or Martyrs.

Now this having been the manner of our Adversaries in confuting and answering those who oppose them; 'tis no great wonder those *Cases*, being publish'd at first in so strait and difficult a time, should have fewer animadversions made upon them. Our Adversaries boast of them as unanswerable, and think they can never say enough in the praise of them. And yet some of the chief of them have been answer'd, and perhaps more may be. And indeed a guess may be made at the *Cases* by this Defence of Dr. *Nichols*, who has translated the flower of them into his Book. If I may be allow'd to speak my judgment: The authors of those *Cases* many times unfairly represent the state of our controversy; and when they do not, they commonly discover much more of an assuming, dogmatical way of writing, than of any great strength of argument.

About this time, a great number of *French* Protestants, being sorely persecuted at home, came over into *England*; whose necessitous circumstances call'd for the compassion and assistance of their Brethren. Our Adversaries then gave a notable proof of their friendship and affection to Foreign Protestants. For when they had collected a large sum of money, of our people, as well as their own, which was to be given to our poor banish'd Brethren in general; they would not suffer any one of those poor exiles to receive

ceive a farthing of those contributions, except he first receiv'd the Sacrament according to the manner of the Church of *England*, in the *French* Church in the *Savoy*; and brought a certificate, under the Minister of that Church's hand, that he had done so. Than which they could not well give a fuller proof of their perfidious and barbarous, cruel and unchristian temper. Several of the Articles exhibited against Mr. *Cartwright* were for his varying from the ways of the Church of *England*, when he was out of the realm, at *Antwerp*, and *Middleburg*. Particularly the 8 Article ran thus: " *Item*, that he, the said *Thomas Cartwright*, in the public administration of his Ministry there [in those foreign parts] among her Majesty's subjects, used not the form of Liturgy, nor Book of Common Prayer, by the laws of this land establish'd; nor in his government ecclesiastical, the laws and orders of this land; but rather conform'd himself in both to the use and form of some other Foreign Churches." * Now if this was such a sin in an *English* man to vary from the usages of the Church of *England*, I would fain know, why it must be counted a virtue in a *French* man to vary from the usages of the *French* Churches? or how they can think both these kinds of proceedings can be justify'd?

In the reign of King *James II*, our Author MDCLXXXV begins with the Rebellion of the Duke of *Monmouth*. *In the beginning*, says he, *of this reign*, *James Duke of Monmouth, taking to himself the Royal Title, rais'd an army against King James*. *His head quarters were at Taunton, a town in the west of England, whither soldiers flock in unto him out of all the different Sects of the Nonconformists, more of which had in all probability join'd him, if he had succeeded in his enterprize*. †

Many of the Nonconformists thought King *Charles* was marry'd to the Duke's mother; and so were persuad'd the Duke was the true heir of the crown; and that King *Charles* disown'd his marriage, that he might do the Papists a pleasure by setting him aside. They may therefore be the rather excus'd, that being thus mistaken about his right, they embraced that opportunity of shaking off the tyrannical yoke, and recovering their just liberties, after

they had been miserably oppres'd and persecuted for above twenty years. Or if that mistake of our side is not to be forgiven; we only desire, they may fall under the same censure, who, before they had felt the thousandth part of our hardships, had recourse to the Prince of *Orange*, crying out earnestly for his assistance, and mutually promising him their own. But let us hear how finely he strokes his own party after this censure past upon ours:

But our men stuck by their Prince with a great degree of fidelity. 'Twas no wonderful degree of fidelity, that they should stick by a Prince who, as he afterwards says, *hitherto had not deserv'd any thing amiss at their hands*; and who they were persuaded would always favour them. They had shewn a great degree of fidelity indeed, if they had stuck by him, when he turn'd against them, and began to oppose their interest. But the obligation was not great, that they did not forsake his interest first, and that they exerted themselves in his cause, when they might be thought to do it as much in opposition to those who had been the objects of their hatred and malice, as out of love to their Prince. But our Author goes on telling us: *They had rather undergo the uncertainties of a Popish government, than to suffer the English crown to be stain'd by the succession of an impure blood.* I make no doubt they were in great danger under a Popish government, as afterward plainly appear'd. But at that time they would not be persuaded, they were in any danger; but extoll'd the King in the most extravagant manner, commanding him continually under the title of *James the Just*; and, which was strange, they flatter'd themselves he would make their Church more glorious than ever; and while they had such apprehensions, they deserv'd but little thanks for their being stiff on his side. *Neither did they think they could handsomly desert their natural Prince, who hitherto had not deserv'd any thing amiss at their hands.* Tho' they might think thus of him, yet I am perswaded whoever will impartially consider the accounts, which were publish'd of the Fire of *London*, and the Popish Plot, will not care to allow the truth of what our Author here says. But he had not as yet done any thing particularly against the Church of *England* to deserve ill at their hands; and so long as he persecuted none but the Dissenters, he could not be handsomly deserted.

Besides

Besides this, they were in good hopes that King James would for the future administer the government by the same good methods, which he had hitherto given a specimen of : viz. That he would protect the Church, and give them a full power of vexing and persecuting the Dissenters. very charitably presuming, that the natural generosity of this Prince might overcome the cruelty which his religion might put him upon. They would do a piece of service to the memory of that Prince, who would acquaint the world with any acts of his generosity. The Dissenters especially know little of them hitherto ; his Indulgence being granted with a design to serve his own cause, and not to favour them. But, if I mistake not the meaning of this passage, they *charitably presum'd* he would go on to favour them, and to oppress us, and therefore they were so zealous in his cause.

Our Author discourses very well concerning the inhuman cruelty practis'd against the followers of the Duke of Monmouth. But since he is pleas'd in another place to twit us with Sir *William William's being formerly our friend, and afterwards accusing the Bishops*, * for which we are no ways answerable, as I shall shew ; I cannot but here desire the reader to observe, how he palliates a much more material objection of that nature against his own cause.

And first it was thought very advantageous to this end [of promoting the interest of the Papists] to execute the laws with all possible severity against all who had engag'd in the Duke of Monmouth's insurrection [and indeed many were then executed who had not been at all concern'd in it.] and this without any regard either of age or sex, And, as the fittest person for this purpose, Sir George Jeffries is picked out, a great zealot (as he pretended) for the constitution of the Church of England ; a Man of an uncommon confidence and fierce temper, the cruelty of whose nature, would do the Papists considerable service, in throwing all the odium of the design'd severity from themselves upon us. †

I should be as well pleas'd as our Adversaries can be, if they could throw the odium of that and many other severities from themselves upon the Papists : but they really cannot. For not only Sir George Jeffries, but Ge-

neral *Kirk*, and abundance more of the canibals of that time, liv'd and died in the communion of the Church of *England*, without any ecclesiastical censure pass'd upon them. And the Church of *England* made great use of Sir *George*'s assistance in accomplishing their designs ; such as the condemnation of Mr. *Rosewell*, the fining and imprisoning Mr. *Baxter*, and many other of the like nature, which are so black one would be glad to forget them. And the Dissenters suffer'd most grievously, not only by the means of *Jefferies* and *Kirk*, but of innumerable others, members of the Church of *England*, to the End of the year 1686.

Dr. *Nichols*, with very good reason, condemns the opinion of the eleven Judges of his own communion.* But if he had compar'd it with the famous *Oxford Decree*, he would have perceiv'd, that persons of considerable note, both in the University and among the Clergy, had *laid the foundation of so hateful a tyranny* in the reign of King *Charles II*.

The King issued out at length his *Declaration* MDCLXXXVII. for liberty of conscience, bearing date, April the 11. Dr. *Nichols* shews himself displeas'd with us, for making use of a liberty so granted. But since I have before had occasion to answer the same objection, I shall pass it over here ; referring my reader to what I say about it, under the year 1671. After this, King *James* pursu'd his designs more openly, and invaded the rights and revenues of the Church of *England* ; as may be seen in the Doctor's account. What the design was of giving a relation of these things, may be perceiv'd by what presently follows it.

Most of the Nonconformists at the same time were so little affected with our sad calamity, that during all that time, they held a fair correspondence with our persecutors, and were courting their favour. †

This is not fair. For the act of one or two is not justly to be charg'd upon a party in general. And I question, whether above one or two of our Ministers were then much about the Court. And as Papists were then numerous there, it was not easy for them to avoid all manner of correspondence with them ; but that they courted the

the favour of such (the King excepted) or that they were intimate with the Papists, as is said in the *Latin* edition, is what I never could see prov'd concerning those Ministers, whom I am vindicating. Mr. *Lob* had free access to King *James*, and endeavour'd to use what interest he had for the advantage of the Dissenters: wherein he seems to me to deserve much commendation, unless our Adversaries can tax him upon good evidence with any thing done amis. Further, I shall afterwards prove from Bishop *Burnet*, that the Nonconformists were very much *affected with their sad calamity*. But for the present, let us put the case, that what our Author here asserts was true; and that the Dissenters were but *little*, nay, not at all *affected with their sad Calamity*. With what face can the Churchmen reproach us for it? *The Churchmen*, I say, who were most intimate with Papists, in the reign of *Charles I.* when Archbishop *Laud*, and the rest of his faction earnestly courted the favour of a Popish Queen: who scandalously comply'd so long with the humours and designs of two Popish Kings, *Charles* and *James II.*: who have all along not only held a fair correspondence, but kept up the greatest intimacy with Papists in chusing Parliament Men, in devising sham Plots to be thrown upon the Dissenters, and in framing and executing the severest laws against them: who, when our Ministers for twenty years together, and more, were turn'd out of their livings, their houses, out of cities, market and burrough towns; being accus'd by perjur'd informers, harrass'd and plunder'd by unrighteous Justices and Judges, and often kill'd wth their nasty goals; who, I say, were then *so little affected with our sad calamity, that they not only held a fair correspondence with our persecutors, but were themselves the men by whom we were persecuted*. Besides, I would gladly be inform'd of what sort those were, who acted in King *James's* Ecclesiastical Commission; whether they were Churchmen or Dissenters? who were most numerous in his court, when at worst, Churchmen or Dissenters? Nay, don't we see to this very day, that none more heartily join interests than the Papists and High Churchmen? But behold another terrible accusation against us!

*But in this great controversial war [with the Papists] wherein our Divines fought so gallantly, the Ministers of the several Sects of the Dissenters were perfectly silent.** I

I would not attempt to lessen the glory of those excellent writers against the Papists ; especially seeing they were so careful to ingross both the work and the glory of it. But they dont act fairly in blaming us, that we were then silent. They refus'd to accept the help we offer'd, tho' now they make such an outcry against us for the want of it. Some of our side then wrote, tho' they did not, except it were by stealth, publish what they wrote, against the Papists. The Licensers of the Press being Churchmen, refus'd to allow the printing of any writings of the Nonconformists, meerly for the sake of the authors, when they had nothing to object against the pieces themselves. And the repulse of some was a good reason why all others should save themselves the labour of writing to no purpose. So that if our Adversaries will exercise their talent of censuring, they must level their censures at their own side, and not ours.

Nay if our Adversaries had used no such artifice, to secure to themselves the intire glory of that triumph ; yet they could have little cause to accuse the Nonconformists for their silence. For to whom was it really owing, if they were then less prepar'd for such an encounter ? They were but just deliver'd from the Church's nasty goals, or crept out of the corners where they were before glad to hide themselves : they were newly return'd to their families and studies, from which the malice and cruelty of their enemies had long banish'd them. And when they had a little rest, yet they could not well, in their circumstances, be suppos'd to come to the controversy with such advantages, as the Churchmen ; by whom they had been plunder'd of their books, or forc'd to sell them either to prevent their being made a prey, or to raise money to maintain their distressed families.

Farther, if our Ministers in complaisance to the Court, neglected to assist them with their writings, how can they find fault with us upon that account ? When our Ministers were groaning under the heaviest persecution, the Churchmen could content themselves to be silent, while they gap'd after the favour of the Court, *whose arts they began to smell out.* Or if a very few persons were honest and bold enough to complain of the severities we indur'd, and to exhort the Church to peace, they brought upon themselves the displeasure of the Clergy ; who were sure not to spare them for the sake of their agreement with them

them in other things, but wrote as bitterly against them, as they use to do against us. But it should seem, that our Adversaries think 'tis very lawful for themselves, tho' not for the Dissenters, to be wholly at the devotion of the Court.

Again, I would be glad to know, who were in most danger of being seduc'd by the Papists; our people, or theirs? How few have gone streight from us to the *Romanists*, without taking the Church of *England* in their way! The Papists always expect and reap a better harvest of proselytes from their people, than from ours, who they are sensible mortally hate their superstition. Upon this account therefore there was most reason for their writing in the Popish controversy.

Lastly, since many things, which are matters of controversy between us and the Church of *England*, were retain'd by them with a design of pleasing and winning the Papists; nothing can be more serviceable to our cause, than to have the Churchmen most thoroughly verst in the Popish controversy. For the further they go from them, the nearer they come to us: so that I would not have any envy them the honour, they so craftily appropriated to themselves.

After this the King endeavour'd to get the *Test*, and penal laws taken away; as our Author relates that matter, * and then, according to his usual manner, falls upon the poor Dissenters.

Being mov'd with the unworthiness of this compliance, I cannot chuse but make a stop in the course of this running History, which suffers me no where to stay, and to stand still a little while in admiration. Could any one be so vile and mean spirited, as not to scorn and despise to be the tools of such scandalous masters? †

Could any one be so vile, do's he say? Yes, a great many of his own dear friends, who acted under the direction of a Court, where all endeavours for accommodation were held for fanatical. They were the men, who were so vile and mean spirited, as not to scorn and despise to be the tools of such scandalous masters, in making the penal laws against us. They were the men, who stir'd up two Popish Kings to persecute us, and most readily executed their commands. Such

Such *vile and mean spirited* creatures were the Churchmen, not only upon the Judges bench ; but upon that of the Bishops too, where *Hall, Watson, Parker, Sprat, &c.* became the tools of such scandalous Masters. But let us hear him proceed in his declamation :

Could any one be so void of sense, as to suffer himself to be imposed upon by such wretched arts, and by such coarse flattery ? Could any one be so profligately wicked, as when all our liberties and religion lay at stake, not only to give no assistance to rescue them, but join their power in furthering the abominable design ?

So void of sense, and so profligately wicked could the Churchmen be, who fell in with a Popish design, not of repealing a law, thought to be scandalously wicked in its own nature, as is the case here put by our Author ; but of giving up entirely the liberty of our country. The Episcopal Clergy have been so profligately wicked, as to assist the Papists in fathering upon us their feigned plots, and biuiting them abroad among the people to make us odious : they have had a great hand in plundering their Protestant neighbours, and so have weaken'd the interest of the Reformation here in *England*.

Why this action, however mad, however wicked, was done by great numbers of the Dissenters, who not only did not hinder this horrid contrivance of the Papists, but incourag'd it by their interest, their advice, and their praises.

If they had done so, they had only follow'd the example the Churchmen had set them long before ; and they had then done nothing in which they had not many Churchmen joining with them. But let Bishop *Burnet* give an account how the Dissenters then behav'd themselves. He was as well acquainted as any man with the transactions of those times ; and about the latter end of this reign publish'd, *An Apology for the Church of England, with relation to the spirit of persecution, for which she is accus'd*. In which, after he had alledg'd many reasons to prove the Church of *England* could never return to her old practice of persecution, if ever she got out of that storm her self ; he adds what fully confutes the Doctor's suggestion : " And indeed if any argument were wanting " to compleat the certainty of this point, the wise and " generous behaviour of the main body of the Dissenters, " in this present juncture, has given them so just a title " to our friendship ; that we must resolve to set all the " world

" world against us, if we can ever forget it, and if we do
" not make them all the returns of ease and favour, when
" 'tis in our power to do it.

This testimony is honourable; but the Doctor wrote sometimes as if he car'd not what he said against us; tho' the Tranlation in this passage is not so bad as the Original.

Whilst many of our Ministers in the University and elsewhere, for standing up for the common liberty, were thrown out of their preferments, and forc'd to live at other mens tables; several of their Pastors live in splendour about the Court, possessing the ear of the Prince, and advising him how he might obtain the repeal of those laws, whereupon depended all our hopes of preserving the Protestant religion among us. Mr. Lob, a Presbyterian [rather an Independent] Minister, and Mr. Penn, the chief of the Quakers, were so great counsellors and favourites of the King, that those who would request any favour of the crown, or beg off any penalty, would make use of their interest to obtain their desire. *

A very small and inconsiderable number of their Ministers were then turn'd out, I am sure it is so, if compar'd with the number of our Ministers turn'd out in 1662. But *several of our Pastors liv'd in splendour about the Court.* And if they did, our Adversaries need not envy them; considering they had been then turn'd out of their livings above twenty years, and forc'd to live mean enough all that time. But who were these Ministers about the Court? Mr. *Lob* is a single instance: and when the Doctor adds Mr. *Pen* the Quaker, with whom we were no way concern'd, it looks as if he could not find any more of our Ministers about the Court. And out of their Bishops, who are but few in number, I could name several who fell in with the Court, while our Author can name but one of our Ministers, who are so much more numerous. But if any man will consider what the behaviour of the Churchmen uses to be in hanging on the Court, he will see our Author could have little reason to blame our Ministers, if more of them had then join'd with Mr. *Lob* in attending upon it. And if Mr. *Lob*'s testimony may be taken, I have heard him declare, that the Churchmen made base offers enough to King *James*, when

when he first began to pretend to favour the Dissenters.

But perhaps he was among those who *advis'd* the King, how he might obtain the *repeal of the laws* refer'd to by our Author. And 'tis indeed true: His opinion was, that the *Test Act* ought to be repeal'd by the Parliament, and that it might be done at that time with safety. Nor did he want plausible reasons to support his opinion. The law itself seem'd to him not only unjust, with reference to many Dissenters; but to give occasion also to the abominable profanation of one of the most sacred institutions of our holy religion, while the vilest debauchees were oblig'd to take the Sacrament. Several were of Mr. *Lob*'s opinion, that a law they apprehended so opposite both to justice and piety ought to be repeal'd the first opportunity; and that every one should contribute what he could toward the repealing it. Nay, altho' the taking away the *Test* might seem dangerous to politicians; yet certainly, if the first enacting the law was a grievous offence against God, they could not be innocent, who neglected to abrogate it, when it was in their power. For we are *not to do evil, that good may come of it.* Further, tho' Mr. *Lob* knew very well King *James*'s religion was the worst in the world; yet he thought he did not dissemble in the profession he made of his designs. And therefore as the King made large promises of an equal security for our religion, in case the *Test* were repeal'd; Mr. *Lob* too easily believ'd him, as experience has convinc'd us. But if Mr. *Lob* was rather in a mistake than in a fault; yet the main body of the Dissenters took other measures, as I have already shewn from Bishop *Burnet*. But there is no end of our Adversaries cavilling; and so here follows another sad charge against our Laity.

Now the Lay Nonconformists from all parts of the nation send up Addresses to the King, sign'd with their own hands, full of the most submissive flattery, &c.

'Tis natural enough to all men to be complaisant and obliging to such as shew kindness to them. Our Princes have had experience of this in the Church of *England*, who have complemented them with as *submissive* a *flattery*, as ever the Dissenters did. They not only set the Dissenters an example, by their mean cringing to the two Popish Brothers; but in the last reign, after they had severely reflected upon our side, for what was done in King *James*'s time; they, in

in defiance to all modesty, renew'd their old practice in presenting scandalous Addresses, stuff'd with fulsome flattery, and promises of unreserved obedience; and that at a time when the nation seems to have been in as much danger as ever.

Indeed the Dissenters are easy to be won upon by Kindness, as the Churchmen themselves have reason to acknowledge; and would have had much more, if they could have ever found in their hearts to have acted friendly toward them, when they were not themselves in any distress.

And what if some of our Laity, who dwelt in villages, earning their living with daily hard labour, and having little skill in the laws of their country, when they found themselves deliver'd from a cruel and tedious persecution by their Prince, who, as they thought, design'd them nothing but kindness herein; what if such men, I say, in these circumstances were transported with a liberty so unexpectedly granted, and were unwary and excessive in expressing their acknowledgments to their deliverer; and, being deceiv'd by some specious pretences, promis'd too much subjection? Is this such a crime as is never to be forgiven? We are men, and so not exempted from the common infirmity of mankind, a liableness to mistake. Our Author owns his side have sometimes, and I have prov'd they have often, been in the wrong. And they who expect pardon from others, ought not to be backward in granting it themselves.

There was no great reason why our Author, in giving an account of the trial of the Seven Bishops, should twit the Dissenters with Sir *William Williams* being formerly *their great friend*. He is said to have been a Churchman, and if as a Lawyer, he was sometimes employ'd by Dissenters, and for his own gain pleaded any of our causes; are we answerable for his appearing in any other causes, and his serving other kind of clients? If this is matter of reproach to any beside the man himself, all impartial Judges will think 'tis much more so to the Church, for receiving him as a member of her communion, than to us for retaining him as a Counsel.

After the Parliament had given the crown MDCLXXXVIII. to the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, the Dissenting Ministers attended them, in a body with their Addresses. The Bishops in their Petition to King *James*, had

had declar'd themselves ready to come to a temper towards *Dissenters* : * and therefore the Ministers now desir'd their Majesties K. *William* and Q. *Mary*, in the Addresses they presented, to compose our differences, and establish a firm union among us, and profess'd their own readiness to embrace just terms of union. Their Majesties were pleas'd readily to undertake the desirable work ; and soon after Commissioners were appointed, as our Author tells us, † " 'Tis true it did not succeed," says *Bishop Burnet*, " a formed resolution of consenting to no alterations at all, in order to that union, made that the attempt was laid aside." ||

Dr. *Nichols* makes some very honest and handsom reflections upon the occasion of his mentioning the *Act of Toleration*. However he seems to me not to come off very well in the conclusion of his discourse upon that head.

Many, says he, have thought this *Toleration* too extensive ; but it was such as the then present state of the commonwealth would bear.

'Tis indeed true, that the High Church bigots have thought it too extensive ; and therefore set themselves to cramp it in the late reign ; and in all probability, had not a merciful God cut short their designs, they would have made it narrow enough in a little time ; for they would probably have left nothing of it. But if things are fairly consider'd, and men form their notions according to that exact rule : *Whatsoever ye wold that others should do to you, do ye the same to them* ; we must allow that *Toleration*, even before it was curtail'd in the last reign, was not extensive enough. Nor can I see any reason, why an absolute liberty in matters of religion should not be granted to all good subjects. Particularly, what good has been done by the *Toleration*'s not being extended to the *Socinians*, as our Author takes notice it is not ? If they have been a small matter fewer in number upon this account, that advantage has been perhaps out weigh'd by a contrary mischief. For while they have not been allow'd to keep up such a religion as they approve, they have run into Deism, and a neglect and contempt of all public worship, and many other inconveniences.

"Tis

* P. iii. † Pag. 117. || *Reflections on a Book intitul'd, The Rights. Secc. of a Convec. p. 16.*

'Tis great pity Dr. Tillotson should ever have been a means of hindering the *Bill of Comprehension* from passing in Parliament, by proposing, that the Convocation should first consider that matter.* No terms of union are ever to be expected from a Convocation : it were therefore to be wish'd, our Parliament would once more undertake the work of composing our differences : they are much more likely to heal us, than the Clergy.

'Twould also be a good piece of service, if the Bishops, or some of the Commissioners before mention'd, would oblige the world with an account of what they agreed upon ; that so it might be read on both sides, and we might know how far they are willing to yield to us, and be able to acquaint them how well those alterations would please us.

After our Author has finish'd his account of the proceedings of the Commissioners, which very well deserves reading ; he runs out into a long discourse, concerning the disputes which have been among themselves in Convocation. Herein our controversy with them is little concern'd ; unless, as many have thought, they were designedly set on foot and kept up by the High Church Clergy, for fear lest they should seem to have leisure or temper enough, to have the work of pacification afresh recommended to their consideration, and so it should at length be accomplish'd. This is evident, that they, who have been most backward to agree with us, have been forward enough to raise a squabble in their own Church about trifles ; tho at the same time they expos'd themselves to the scorn and contempt of wise and prudent men. I therefore pass over these things ; and come to what our Author says when he has done with them.

And now let all the Christian world be judge, whether we have not to the utmost of our power endeavour'd to find out a method, to have the unhappy controversies between us and the Nonconformists compromis'd : † When I came to this passage, I thought the Doctor was just concluding his Introduction. But some things happening to his purpose after he seems to have written so far, he thought fit to add them. By which one would guess he follow'd Horace's advice, and this work was not less than nine years in polishing. As to what he here says, I may well affirm concerning our side, what he do's concerning his own. Nor need we fear the judgment of the whole Christian world. Let any fair and competent judge

now speak his mind, whether we have ever been wanting in endeavours after peace. Let him say, whether the guilt of the Schism do's not lie at the door of those, who insult upon, or submit to, those rigid terms, which the Papists devis'd for the breaking us in pieces ; rather than at ours, who cannot with safe consciences comply with them. We are not in our Separation led by a concern for our own honour ; we only desire to worship God according as he has appointed. 'Tis to no purpose for him to insinuate the charge of the contrary, as he do's in his following words : *which tho we have not had the good luck to obtain, yet certainly they stand oblig'd to retain a grateful memory for our good intentions on their behalf ; and that laying aside all punctilios of honour, they should make all the paces they can towards a union with us.* This is a great mistake : we stand upon no such *punctilios*, as I have prov'd our Adversaries have often done. Nor is the mistake less in the conclusion here infer'd. For if the present terms of agreement are sinful, they ought to be alter'd, the Churchmen themselves being judges. There is therefore most reason they should come over to us, not only *laying aside all punctilios of honour* ; but, which is much more, not regarding their preferments and secular advantages. But let us hear how our Author proceeds :

*For a great many of us have for the sake of them lost the good will of many of our dear Brethren of our own Church, with whom we held formerly the strictest friendship and familiarity. And therefore they cannot make a sufficient return for so great a kindness, but only by embracing our communion, who have endeavour'd to purchase their fellowship at so great an expence.**

We readily own there have been formerly many, and are now some few among them, earnestly desirous of an accommodation, of whose friendship we shall always retain a grateful remembrance. We are satisfy'd, they were troubled when they saw our Ministers ejected, plunder'd, imprison'd, and in a variety of methods miserably persecuted. We gratefully acknowledge, they were sometimes a considerable comfort and shelter to the distressed : and we highly reverence them for their pious endeavours to compose our differences. And as we have always pursued the same design, we chearfully accept their friendship and brotherly love. Whatever therefore has been, or may hereafter be said concerning the Churchmen, as the causes of

all

all our calamities, we desire may be understood for the most part of those furious High Church Priests, who are so implacable against us, as to hate all those of their own Church, who shew any moderation or tenderness towards us. And since these have always been, and are now especially, the vastly greater number: and the Low Church, who desire peace, have never been able to obtain the least concession in our favour, but the state of our controversy is rather worse than better: we hope we shall be excus'd in chusing rather to follow the dictates of our consciences, for the sake of which we have already endur'd so great sufferings; than to embrace that peace, which our Author recommends. And truly, if those turbulent Ecclesiastics, Dr. Nichols refers to in this Paragraph, who have always declar'd themselves enemies to peace, are not Schismatics; what is it we must call by the name of Schism? Let then *the whole Christian world judge*, whether the moderate and peaceable Churchmen should not alter their measures; forsaking the communion of Schismatics, and come over to us; rather than urge us to go over to them. I will add further, that if men were to judge of the great kindness of the more peaceable sort of Churchmen by the treatment the Doctor, who puts himself among them, gives us in this his Defence; they would see little reason to conclude we were under any great obligations to them. But I must own, I think he was not of the most moderate sort.

These matters however piously design'd by good persons, were prevented by the cross attempts of peevish men. I make no doubt of the truth of this. But then I assert, it was by *peevish men* of his own side, as I have prov'd by Bishop Burnet, and he has evidenc'd himself. I deny it was prevented by any on our side, tho he charges us with it in the next words: *For during all that time, that our thoughts were busy in bringing about an union with the Dissenters, some hot men of their party did not forbear to irritate our Church by several severe words and actions in opposition to it.* I wonder why these men are not particularly mention'd. What follows concerning Sir Humphrey Edwin, and the Answer to Mr. Burrough happen'd a long time after these designs of an accommodation were laid aside; and therefore could not be any hindrance to them, or means to prevent them. And what signify'd the attempts of any hot and obscure persons (if any such had really attempted any thing at that time) since the Dissenters testify'd publicly in

a body their desire of an accommodation, when they address'd the King and Queen?

Sir Humfrey Edwin, late Lord Mayor of the City of London, a Member of one of the Dissenting congregations (but to qualify himself for so advantageous a post, joining himself sometimes to our communion) to the great dishonour of the laws and the chief magistracy of that city, went publicly to a Conventicle, which was held in a Hall, belonging to one of the mean mechanical Companies in that city, attended with all the ensigns of that august corporation. *

I shall have a more proper occasion to treat of *Occasional Conformity* afterwards, and therefore wave it here. † I would now gladly learn, what law then in being this action of Sir Humfrey dishonour'd. By our laws a *Lord Mayor* was as free to chuse his religion, as any of the inferior people. Nor was he forbid to attend our worship with the *ensigns* of his office. And how was it to the dishonour of the chief magistracy of that city? If the laws permit the Lord Mayor to frequent our assemblies; why might he not carry those *ensigns* with him? Would it not be a greater dishonour to our laws, if they allow'd him to appear himself in any place, where it would be scandalous for those badges of his honour to be seen? But one would think the Church looks upon those fine things as her property; or supposes they have been hallow'd by some Bishop, and so were profan'd by being carry'd into any place of worship, not first consecrated by one of that order. But what so great holiness belongs to them, that they cannot without a profanation be carry'd into a religious protestant assembly; since without any scruple, they are continually carried about in more profane places; I mean in the common streets? But he went publicly to a *Conventicle* thus attended. 'Tis not my business to render railing for railing; but yet I would admonish our Adversaries to consider, that when with such disgraceful names they defame religious assemblies, which are contrary to no laws, they affront the laws both of God and man: the laws of God, in reviling assemblies form'd according to the rule of God's Word, without the vain inventions of men; the laws of men, since those assemblies are allow'd by act of Parliament with a penalty upon the disturbers of them. But 'tis common with some men, to endeavour to confute their adversaries with reproaches, for lack of solid arguments. But since the Churches of the primitive Christians

stians went by this disgraceful name among the Pagans, as *Arnobius* and *Lactantius* testify, we can patiently bear this reproach.* Well, but that *Conventicle* was held in a Hall belonging to one of the mean mechanical Companies in that city. And why must those Companies be spoken of with so much contempt? It do's not look well for our Adversaries to shew a malignity against men, for letting us the places of our worship; because this looks as tho they are displeas'd we have any, and envy'd us our liberty. And is there not an inconsistency in this period? How can he call the city an *august Corporation*; if he looks upon the several societies that constitute it to be *mean mechanical Companies*? I am sorry to observe, our Clergymen frequently appear so little friends to the trading part of the nation, that they can hardly speak of them without contempt. But as to the thing it self: What if the assembly was held in such a place? What law of God has ever forbid men to worship him in any places, where men use to meet upon the account of their trade or merchandize? Where do's the Scripture teach us the unlawfulness of worshiping God any where, but in places set apart from all common uses for divine worship? And what greater harm is there in our worshiping God in such places; than there was in the ancientest Christians meeting in the *School of Tyrannus*, † or any houses, or fields, which they found convenient? Or where have they any precept, that places of worship must be consecrated by a Bishop? Or by what argument can they prove any greater holiness belongs to their places of worship, than ours? For tho I dont reckon the controversy much concern'd in the observation; yet I can tell those who delight in talking after this rate, that the place, whither Sir *Humfrey Edwin* carry'd the Mace, was as handsome as many of their own parish Churches; and was indeed apply'd to no other use but that of the worship of God, no use being made of it by the Company which granted the lease of it. But men often wound their own credit, when at all adventures they endeavour to disparage their neighbours. Our Author proceeds thus concerning this busines:

This bold action was defended in print by some of his friends: who had no hard task to manage; for as yet we have heard nothing against it, but a bitter, sorry declamation: *this confident reason being among others alledg'd, that*

* *Arn. Lib. 4. Lact. Inst. lib. 5. c. 11. De Mort. Perfect. c. 15. 34. 36. 48.*

† *A&T. xix. 9.*

that their religion was as much establish'd by law as ours is, viz. by the *Act of Toleration* which was lately passed, and by which they are permitted to exercise their own way of worship without incurring the penalties of the laws. The religion which any one may freely profess, and in the practice of which all are secur'd and protected by the laws of the land, may properly enough be said to be establish'd. And thus ours is *as much*, that is, *as truly* establish'd as theirs. They who talk after this rate seem to think, that religion only can be said to be establish'd, which is favour'd by the state with the greatest privileges and secular advantages. Which is just as tho' a man should say: The woolen manufacture is the only one establish'd in *England*; because greater privileges are granted to it, than any of the rest. I acknowledge the *Church of England* was formerly the only religion establish'd by law. But when the old severe laws against us were repeal'd, and a new one was enacted, that left every one to his own judgment in the choice of his religion; how can our religion be said not to be establish'd? Our Adversaries would gladly have people think the preceptive part of those old persecuting laws still continues, and that the penalty only is taken off. But what sort of law must we understand that to be, which has no sanction added to it? Must we apprehend our law makers, as requiring us to do somewhat, which they let us know we may neglect without any offence? And is not this a very weighty controversy? Do's it not deserve to have all our Brethren abroad call'd in to the decision of it? Oh men of *Israel*, come in from all quarters, and help the distressed! Whose sorrowful case is since the first starting of this controversy become much worse. For ever since the two kingdoms were united, the Presbyterian religion has been an establish'd and national religion in *Great Britain*, in the same sense in which the Episcopal is so. Nay, in some sense 'tis more establish'd than the Episcopal; in as much as the Episcopal may be alter'd by the Parliament, whereas the Presbyterian in *Scotland* cannot according to the Articles of Union. Tho' it must be own'd, High Church did notwithstanding break in upon them, and had as much regard to public faith with them, as with the poor *Catalonians*, and the rest of our Allies, whom they most perfidiously betray'd making themselves an abhorrence to God and all the world.

After this came out a Book set forth by way of Letter, subscrib'd, as the furious author thereof pretends, tho' with-
out

out names, by all the Nonconformists, against Mr. Robert Burscoe, who had written a learned Treatise against Schism.

Mr. Burscough had written against the Dissenting Laity, and accordingly the author, whoever he was, return'd an answer to him in a Letter, setting forth what the Dissenting Laity had to say for themselves; but he never pretended his Letter was *subscrib'd by all the Nonconformists*, and especially *subscrib'd without names*, which is an odd way enough of subscribing. One may here see what the spirit of a party will do: for Mr. Burscough, whom our Author so much extols, wrote with the greatest bitterness and railery, if his Answerer fairly represents him: "That " our Dissenting is worse than murder or idolatry, and " equal to the crucifying the Son of God: that we " have cut our selves off from the catholic Church, and " from Christ the head of it: " * with a great deal more to the like purpose. And yet this author's Treatise has no other character given of it, but that it was a *learned* one; when on the other hand the writer of the Answer to it, vvhich, for ought I have seen, is very modest, is term'd a furious author, and the Book it self thus describ'd: *This Book was replenish'd with so many virulent calumnies against the Church of England, that no railing writer ever fill'd his papers with so many malicious invectives against any private adversary, much less against so renown'd a Church.* But Mr. Burscough had fill'd his papers with more malicious invectives against us, without any provocation on our part. Nay, I might well say, that not only the Dissenters, but the Foreign Protestants are worse treated in several parts of this *Defence* of the Doctor; than the Church men are in any part I have observed of that Answer, so much condemn'd by him. But he descends to particulars. *He accuses, says he, the Lives of our Ministers, as worse than those of Pagans:* † This passage is represented more severe than 'tis in the Author, who only says: " "Tis lamentably too true of very many, not " only of the common members, but of the teachers and leaders of the Church, that they have little else to distinguish them from Heathens, or to persuade a belief of their Christianity, but an empty name, " and a blind zeal for what they call the *Church.*" ‡ In two things our Author misrepresents that writer: in making him speak of their Ministers in general, when he only says *very many of them*; and in making him say that

their lives were worse, when he only affirms them to be as *bad* as those of Pagans. And tho' neither of these is fair in any author; yet I will venture to say, the latter misrepresentation can't be any great injury to the writer of the Answer. For if he had said what is pretended, there are a *very great many* Clergymen who take care to make his words good. There have been many Heathens, who would have blush'd at the looseness, debauchery and perjury, with which the whole nation is sensible they are chargeable? *profanely scoffing at the absolution and discipline of Penance used in our Church*: I know not how the same mistake I had complain'd of in the *Latin* edition is repeated in the *English*, in setting down the Page whence this is pretended to be cited. I look'd again for the passage, but could not find it. But who can wonder, if a person treated their Absolution and Penance with some kind of scorn, since they themselves have in effect made a jest of it; practising it only upon the poor, and using it as a trick to get a good round sum of money from the rich.* He goes on: *calling the prayer which we use in the administration of the Sacrament, at the delivery of the Elements a charm*. This passage is also falsely quoted, but I chanc'd to hit upon it. Mr. Burscough had said the Elements were deliver'd to the people with a prayer, and therefore were to be receiv'd kneeling. The Prayer is: *The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving*. The like, with a small variation, at the delivery of the Cup: "To " which, says the author of the Letter, we answer: This, " which you call a *prayer*, sounds more like a *priestly benediction*, or a kind of *exorcism*, being repeated over and " over to every individual communicant." † The Translator has not mistaken his meaning, when he put *charm* instead of *exorcism*. And really I dont see how that can be call'd a *prayer*, since the Minister speaks not to God, but the communicant.

What is refer'd to concerning their Sermons, is not right quoted in the Margin. I suppose he may find fault with some of their Preachers, who stuff their Sermons perpetually with the most bitter invectives, and preach very little to the edification of their hearers. And with very good reason may vicious Ministers be call'd *wolves*, and the

* See Dr. Nichols, p. 350. † p. 82.

the slothful be compar'd to *drones*, nor is there any railery or calumny in using such language concerning them.

And now we are come to the reign of Queen Anne, who, as long as she follow'd the counsels and example of her glorious Predecessor, was favour'd by God with the most remarkable and astonishing victories and triumphs, and shin'd with a glory superior to all her predecessors, or contemporary princes ; courted and belov'd of all, as the guardian of the liberties of Europe, the defender of the oppressed, and the scourge of tyrants. But abandoning her self at last to the direction of High Church Politicians, she sacrific'd the nation's and religion's honour and safety together with her own ; and having liv'd to see her self slighted of her old and faithful Allies, trick'd by her new friends, and miserably embarrass'd by her darling counsellors, she died unlamented of all, who were not in a French interest, and enemies to the liberties of Europe.

In the beginning of her reign Mr. Edmund Calamy, (now made Doctor of Divinity) wrote the *Abridgement of Mr. Baxter's Life*. Our Author owns him to be a learned Divine ; * and his Book contain'd a very good History of our nation, and especially with respect to our controversy, for about fifty years ; out of which several things are taken into this Historical account I have been giving of our troubles.

The ix and x Chapters of that *Abridgement* were more especially displeasing to our Adversaries. In the former he gives a Catalogue of the Ministers turn'd out in 1662, adding some account of their lives, and the works they publish'd ; whereby he has preserved the memory of those glorious Confessors, who will be more valu'd by impartial posterity. Our Adversaries were griev'd the base actions of their predecessors should be so brought to light. But as Dr. Calamy faithfully related these historical matters, as he found them, they gave him no trouble about that Chapter, but contented themselves with bestowing on him occasionally some general remarks in their writings. In the other Chapter he collects the arguments, by which the ejected Ministers defended themselves. These he digests into a good order, and delivers them very concisely. In this Chapter also he acted only the part of an Historian, delivering other mens arguments rather than his own.

*Tis

'Tis not easy to say which Chapter disgusted them most ; but since this latter Chapter consisted of arguments (tho only historically related) they thought they had a fair handle for contention, and so they eagerly attack'd him.

Among the rest, two learned and moderate Conformists, Mr. *Olyffe*, and Mr. *Hoadly*, the present very worthy Bishop of *Bangor*, wrote against him. It happen'd, as is very usual with our Adversaries, that these two defended Conformity upon different principles. Dr. *Calamy* therefore in his Answer set their arguments one against another, and so handsomly defended our cause (whatever Dr. *Nichols* talks of a *perfect conquest obtain'd over him*) that the Dissenters look'd upon themselves oblig'd not only to the Doctor for his Defence, but to his Antagonists, who gave him the occasion of writing.

And neither the Bishop, nor Mr. *Olyffe* pleas'd the High Clergy by their writings. These moderate men endeavour'd all they could to put a mild sense upon the terms of Conformity, and blam'd the Dissenters for the rigid meaning in which they took them ; whereas the High Clergy say we understand the terms right, and they should be defended in that sense of them. They may please to dispute that matter among themselves. As for our parts, we pay a great deference to the learning and good temper of those two writers ; and only wish they had been concern'd in the defence of a better cause.

The account our Author gives of a Book, which came out under a counterfeit Title, is not much amiss. But since he has omitted it, I think it proper to give a brief account of the occasion and design of that Pamphlet. The High Churchmen, who had taken the oaths to King *William*, always hated him, as bred among the Presbyterians, and a friend to them. They did not much dissemble their sentiments during the King's life ; but no sooner was he dead, but they openly proclaim'd and gloried in them. They concluded then, they had an opportunity put into their hands of treading down the poor Dissenters, and satiating their revenge upon them. They preach'd therefore the bitterest sermons against them, that malice could help them to invent ; and did not fail to charge them with whatever would incense the Queen and Parliament against them. The very rascally mob, following the example of such leaders, often insulted our Ministers in the open streets. These things we bore with meekness, as became

came Christians. But one of the Laity, taking notice of the Churchmens behaviour, resolv'd to describe their disposition in this cunning manner. Whatever was instill'd daily into the people by the bitterer sort of Ecclesiastics in their Sermons and Pamphlets he collected into a short Treatise, and so in that disguise of a High Church Man publish'd their true sense to the world. Nor did he say any thing more sharp and severe, than what the *Oxonians* had done in some of their printed Sermons, which breath'd nothing but blood and slaughter. The writer of that Pamphlet soon after suffer'd for his cunning, but, I confess, not very honourable stratagem; wherein I am satisfied he had not the advice of any of our Ministers.

In the next place our Author treats of *Occasional Communion*.* Of the thing it self I shall give this following brief account. After the Church of *England*, being led by a Schismatical rage, had ejected our Ministers, the Dissenters were divided in their opinion about the business of holding Communion with the parish Churches; which cannot seem strange to any one who considers how many were ejected. Some thought that communion was to be shun'd, as utterly unlawful; others, tho they thought it their duty to adhere to the Ministers, because they were unjustly turn'd out, and look'd upon all the Conformists as Schismatics, yet apprehended they were not to disown them as tho they were not Christian Brethren; and judg'd they might innocently sometimes attend their worship, provided they did not forsake their rightful Pastors, nor offer any violence to their own consciences. Being thus persuaded, they went sometimes to the parish Churches, and receiv'd the Sacrament according to the custom of the Church of *England*. For they thought the receiving the Lord's Supper kneeling was not in it self unlawful; tho they utterly dislik'd the rigid imposition of that posture, which they saw drove some pious men from the ordinance.

Whether they were in the right, and the gesture was lawful or not, I will not give my own opinion. This, as I said, was theirs, and so they did not act against the dictates of their own consciences. They who thought it unlawful to receive the Sacrament in that manner, endeavour'd to keep that temper prescrib'd by the Apostle: *Let not him that eateth, despise him that eateth not;* and

and let not him that eateth not, judge him that eateth, for God hath receiv'd him.* And indeed why should we condemn a Christian Brother, when he do's that in which his own conscience is satisfied? Many therefore of our Ministers, who thought the posture was unlawful, or at least doubtful, left their people to follow their own judgment in this matter. In which I think they were not much to be discommended.

This was now the practice of many Dissenters, before ever there was any thought of the *Test*. Nor did the Parliament ever design by the *Test Act* to guard against the Dissenters, but only against the Papists; however the *Act* has been since basely turn'd against them. For tho', 'tis true, those who first devis'd the *Act*, used not to attend our assemblies; yet 'tis well known they were favourers of the Dissenters, and friends to our civil liberties. The law it self has been censur'd both by Dissenters and Churchmen, as unjust and ungodly: and if our Adversaries had any regard to the honour of Christianity, they would long ago have earnestly solicited the repeal of it. But as soon as Queen *Anne* came to the throne, a set of profligate men openly testify'd their inclinations to persecute the Dissenters, and kindle a flame in the nation: they brought in therefore this Bill, whereby the *Test Act* would have been made more severe and rigorous than it was before, and the Dissenters have been caught in the Church's snare; so that whether they accepted, or whether they refus'd an office, they might be wiped of *a good round sum of money*. God was pleas'd at that time to disappoint their wicked devices, and make their enterprize disserviceable to the High Church cause. However afterwards (towards the latter end of that reign) when he suffer'd them to be a plague to all *Europe*, they were permitted to wreck their malice upon the Dissenters by that *Act*.

'Tis not true that *the Lords unanimously agreed in condemning this practice*. Some of them indeed dislik'd it; but every one knows, several of them were of another mind, and utterly dislik'd and rejected the Bill. And since our moderation has been such an offence, not only to the furious bigots of the Church; but to such as pretended, with Dr. *Nichols*, to be of a better temper, and they have shewn themselves not displeas'd with our being oppress'd; let all our Brethren thro' the whole world be

Judges,

Judges, whether we have not good reason utterly to forsake the tents of these men, and keep at the greatest distance from their communion. Dr. Nichols is pleas'd to commend the Presbyterians for their *entertaining a good opinion of the Church, and departing from the enmity of their predecessors against it.* * And yet in this place he calls our moderation toward them a *scandalous practice.* † The Presbyterians who had always exceeded in their charity toward the Church, and were chiefly the persons who allow'd an occasional communion, were most struck at by that Act. So that the nearer any come to them, and the less they shew a dislike of them, the more they are despis'd, condemn'd, and bitterly reproach'd by them. And tho our moderation towards them, has been perhaps our greatest crime; yet they of all men are the unfitness to blame us, and use us so despitefully, as they have done, for it. But perhaps God saw they were the properest instruments to bring us to a sight of our charitable error and mistake.

And now I may well say with our Author: *Let any one judge*, whether the blame of our differences do's not ly at the door of the Episcopal party alone? ‖ We have all along desir'd peace, and will still most chearfully embrace it, as soon as the unrighteous conditions, which now obstruct it, are remov'd. But if no alteration can be made in the terms, there is an end of all hope of peace and concord. For we had rather obey God, than man; nor will we ever venture to wrong our consciences, let who will be the advisers. We have frequently testify'd our desire of a *Comprehension*, as the way to heal us. If our Adversaries are still averse to it, they have our consent, that they should keep their admir'd Liturgy, Discipline and Ceremonies to themselves. However we are sorry for their obstinacy, and admonish them to be quiet, and forbear to provoke us with their outrageous discourses in the pulpit and the pres. If they will hearken to this admonition, it may not perhaps be impossible that the anger of High Church Ecclesiastics may cool in time, and they come to some temper; and so that great work may be accomplish'd, which all good men have hitherto in vain long'd for.

But since it has pleas'd our Adversaries to appeal to our Brethren abroad, the regard I have to their reputation obliges me to add a word to them. You, my Brethren, are now chosen Arbitrators, and your judgment concerning

ing our controversy is desir'd by our Adversaries. But there is a snake in the grass. For if your judgment should vary a hair's breadth from theirs, they will make the world ring with their clamours. Believe me, the whole company will reproach you, just as Dr. *Nichols* do's Mr. *Calvin*, with a *too officious offer of your service.** Nay, they will easily condemn this appeal of the Doctor, as the *too officious* undertaking of a private person, acting without any sufficient warrant from his superiors. That you may not therefore lose your labour, 'tis adviseable you should, before you give judgment, have some good assurance, that our Adversaries will pay a regard to it. If they wll leave the determination of our coutroversies to you, we make no question of a good issue. But your business is to take good heed, how you concern your selves with such kind of men, unless you can digest all their impertinences. For you may learn by this our Author, what their temper and design is. He despises the Liturgies of the Foreign Churches, the more to cry up and recommend that of the Church of *England.*† This is also the design of that *General Council of Protestants* which the Doctor desir'd, *viz.* That by their assistance, the *English* Liturgy, Discipline and Ceremonies might be brought into the Churches abroad.|| Nor will they be ever satisfy'd with any Concessions, so long as you don't fall in with all their opinions, and conform your Churches to their Model.

A famous instance of this nature we have in the Church of *Scotland*, in the reign of King *James I.* which I have already mention'd: and many others of the like nature might be alledg'd. Thus in the reign of King *Charles I.* a Liturgy like the *English*, but with the addition of some other superstitions, which the *English* Clergy have been hankering after, was obtruded upon the Church of *Scotland*. And how many and dreadful were the troubles occasion'd thereby!

The *Scots* afterward shook off the heavy yoke of the Hierarchy, which both they and King *Charles II.* most solemnly abjur'd; and yet no sooner was he settled in his throne, than he again set up that government, without doubt by the advice of our *English* Bishops; and by blood and slaughter he establish'd it among them. Nor did the Papists themselves, when they had the power in their hands, exceed the Episcopal party at that time in their cruelty.

In

In like manner K. Charles I. or rather Archbishop Laud, forc'd the Church of *Ireland* to conform to all the *English* rites and ceremonies, in spite of Archbishop Usher, who was much troubled at it. Farther, when Laud became Archbishop, he play'd the tyrant most egregiously, for he forc'd all foreigners in *England*, and all *English* men in foreign countries, to order their worship according to the manner of the Church of *England*. But who can do otherwise than detest his wicked and arrogant lordliness? For if it was a crime for foreigners to differ from the *English* worship, while they liv'd in *England*; why should not *English* men, who liv'd abroad, be bound by the same law, to conform themselves to the practice of those Churches, among whom they resided? Our Author, as I said, shews himself very desirous of a *General Council of Protestants*. * But since such a Council cannot be held, till all Protestant Princes and States shall agree upon it; our Author was the worst in the world to propose it, because he elsewhere lashes K. James I. for the same thing. *When there was, says he, such a buzz in the world about the Quinquarticular controversies, we might have rested in peace, if we could have regulated our studies by the writings of the ancient Fathers, and the customs of our predecessors; and our learned King had not vouchsaf'd to stoop below the dignity of Royal Majesty, and the cares of government, to Academical exercises, and import the wranglings of Dutch Professors into his own Dominions.* † And why may not Kings and States abroad as well fear, lest by such a Council, as is here propos'd, they should import into their dominions the wranglings of the *English* Divines? I hardly think a more general Synod than that was at *Dort*, is to be expected in our times.

The Doctor paffes a complement upon us that he may shew his slight of our Predecessors. *Nor are there wanting, says he, among the Dissenting Ministers, especially among the Presbyterians, many very learned and pious persons, who entertain a better opinion of our Church, than their predecessors have done. For all the old Adversaries of our Church, who for so many years together had made such opposition against it (as in the course of our relation we have shewn) are all in their graves; and many of the young men who have succeeded them in their ministry, do not bear the same enmity to our Church as their predecessors; but they often vouchsafe to speak kindly to us, to keep up a charitable correspondence*

respondence with us, and sometimes to maintain a strict degree of friendſhip. * Nor have our predeceſſors been backward to the ſame thing, when they could do it without danger. If we younger Minifters have done any thing that is pleafing to them, we are glad of it, and thank them for the kind notice they take of it. But we can't like they ſhould commend us, only the more to diſgrace our predeceſſors. For in ſpite of all that our Adverfaries can ſay, thoſe moft pious and learned men will be had in everlaſting honour. To conveſe with the Clergy was formerly dangerous, leſt our Minifters ſhould be diſcover'd by them, and ſo caſt into prison; or leſt ſuch Clergymen ſhould bring themſelves by that means under a ſuſpicion, or diſgrace among their own party. But, if there were occaſion for it, I could name the Clergymen, who not only ſhun all correspondence with us, but very induſtriously teach their people to do ſo too.

I paſs over what our Author has more in this Part, as foreign to our controverſy; and ſhall haſten to the examination of the *Defence* it ſelf.

* Pag. 145.





A

VINDICATION OF THE *DISSENTERS.*

PART II.

In Answer to Dr. NICHOLS's First Part,
concerning the Doctrine of the
Church of *England.*

The INTRODUCTION.



IS usual among the generality of men, stiffly to maintain the opinions and customs they have once embrac'd, without regard to truth or justice. This happens especially when men gain, or hope to gain by it. The experience of all ages has testify'd, there never is a want of men to undertake the defence of those things, which the supreme powers are pleas'd to injoin, and recommend by external advantages annex'd to them. There are always at

hand such pliable souls, as will submit to, vindicate, and commend every law of the magistrate, and encourage him to inforce it. Let him require things evil and wicked, they make no difficulty to commend them as excellent, or at least as tolerable. Nay, while they pretend a regard to peace, they stick not to commend, as *venerable for their great antiquity*,* the things which they esteem *indifferent*, and others count *sinful*; and so they abet that imposing them, which must unavoidably beget strife and contention. Had it not been for this, many of the things in controversy between us, which are all *useless*, some *doubtful*, and some *unlawful*, had been long ago laid aside; nor would our *Adversaries* have forborn mending that discipline, which they themselves acknowledge is *short of what good men wish for*,† and whose enormities discover themselves at first sight. If our *Clergy* did not gape after great honours, and fat *benefices*, they would rather employ themselves in persuading our *rulers* to restore peace, by removing the occasions of our contentions; than in reviling their *Brethren*, and wresting the words of antient and modern authors, to put the *better colour* upon their cause. But what will not the *love of money* do, which is *the root of all evil*? ||

I desire I may be herein understood to design to shew, how easily Dr. *Nichols's* Preamble may be retorted upon his own party. I would not be thought to doubt, that several of the *Episcopal Clergy* are mov'd by different considerations to submit to the *Hierarchy*; who, while they dont see they are guilty of *Schism*, out of a certain dread of it, bear with those things, which they would otherwise think *intolerable*. 'Tis not our business to search the secrets of mens hearts, which are known to *God* only. Let every one remember he must give an account of his own actions to *God*, and therefore judge of others according to the law of *Charity*. If any of our side have transgress'd that law, I will not undertake their defence. But I wish our *Adversaries*, when they are very free in their charges against us, would remember the counsel of our *Saviour*: *First cast out the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.* ‡ Let us see how our *Author* observes this advice.

Having

* See pag. 352. † See page 344. || 1 Tim. vi. 19. ‡ Matth. vii. 5.

Having narrowly, says he, consider'd this matter, I thought it highly probable, that those persons, who heretofore had led the way to this unhappy separation from the Church of England, and loaded her constitution with so many, and so great faults, have had hardly any other motive to so ill a design, than to put the better colour upon their resolv'd separation; rather than they themselves, in their conscience, believ'd those grievous accusations, which they charg'd her with, to be justly deserv'd.*

But what advantage have we by the separation? how should that come to appear so amiable and desirable a thing to us? Are we so awkward and perverse, that for the love of separation only we have objected so many things against them, and suffer'd so often by fines, distresses, and imprisonment, sometimes even unto death? We are not, I can assure our Adversaries, so fond of such kind of fruits of separation, as to be solicitous to see if any good colour can be found, that may be put upon it. As we are men, we cannot but be averse to troubles, reproaches, revilings and persecutions. Nor are we so senseless, as to prefer the great afflictions we struggled with for so many years, for their own sakes, to the ease and splendor in which the *English* Clergy liv'd in the mean time. Nay, we can still, with our ancestors, solemnly appeal to God, the searcher of our hearts, that we separate from them for no other reason, than that we may keep a good conscience, and discharge our duty to God, as we judge he has requir'd us in his word. For what? do we not, since the fury of persecution, live contented in mean circumstances? when if we trod in their steps, we might as well expect Benefices, Prebends, Deaneries and Bishopricks? But the Doctor here took upon him to search our hearts, which is a thing he blames himself, pag. 171. But since I have elsewhere cited the passage, I shall here omit it.

Now that the common people might not be impos'd upon by these practices, which there have been never wanting some persons or other to exercise, our Divines have with great prudence wrote several English books, in defence of the Church.

Our Brethren abroad may guess what kind of books they are by this Defence of the Doctor: for he has taken out the best of them, and put it into his Defence, making some additions of his own. And truly if there be any

weight in the judgment of a person, indifferently acquainted with the controversy (which I suppose I may pretend without vanity) and who first began to consider it with a mind pretty much leaning to the Church of *England's* side ; there is but little in those writings more than a specious and deceitful colour, artfully put many times upon very bad things. They seldom endeavour to answer our arguments fairly represented ; but with wonderful acuteness answer such as they have been pleas'd to devise for us ; and then they egregiously triumph, as tho' they had obtain'd a glorious victory. Of this I had experience enough, in a controversy I had not long since with Dr. *Wells*. Whether I have reason for what I say or no, may be conjectur'd from this Piece of Dr. *Nichols*.

The commendations he is pleas'd to bestow upon his Church are of little importance, and therefore I shall the more briefly touch upon them. *I am sensible*, says he, *what an important affair I am to manage*, while I appear as the Advocate of the most illustrious Church in the whole Reformation : * Remember, I beseech you, what part you have taken upon you to act ; and since you are but an Advocate, have a little patience, till your judges give their opinion, which, 'tis possible, may widely differ from yours. *A Church, which the choicest engines of Popish tyranny have been employ'd to batter, and rase from the very foundations* : The very name of the Reformation has been hateful to Popish tyranny. The Papists have always beheld all Reformed Churches with envy, and have mortally hated them. And whoever examines the state of the Churches of *France*, *Savoy*, *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, *Poland*, and many parts of *Germany*, will be sensible *the choicest engines of Popish tyranny have been employ'd to batter them, and rase them from the very foundations*. And if they have been more costly, or curious in the engines they have employ'd against the Church of *England*, 'tis not to be imputed to the perfection of the Reformation of that Church, but to the largeness of the revenues they hoped to gain by her overthrow. *A Church, which hath ever been deservedly esteem'd the most impregnable fortress of the Protestant religion*. But I would fain understand, in what sense this is true of the Church of *England*. Is it that she is seated in a more potent kingdom, than any of the other Reform'd Churches ?

In

In that sense the Church of *Scotland*, nay and the Dissenters themselves, are no inconsiderable part of this *fortress*. But our Adversaries craftily confound, or distinguish, the Church and the Kingdom, just as they see it will best serve their purpose. If therefore we here distinguish them, as we certainly ought, and the Episcopal Church is consider'd by itself, how is she then the *most impregnable fortress of the Protestant religion*? Has she deserv'd this esteem by her rites, or by her faith? by those things wherein she is singular, or those she has in common with other Reform'd Churches? If it be said, she has deserv'd this esteem by her rites and ceremonies; the Foreign Churches, who have with disdain rejected those rites, will never place much confidence in such a *fortress*. If she is said to have deserv'd it by her faith; I grant, she has deserv'd great commendation, that she has brought up many noble champions of the Protestant faith: but unless we will be unjust to our Brethren abroad, we must also acknowledge the same concerning their Churches. And if our Brethren consider the faith express'd in the 39 Articles, I fear lest the Doctor, and such whose defence he undertakes in his First Part, should be rather esteem'd by them the betrayers, than the *fortress* of the faith. Nor are our Brethren ignorant, that there has been sometimes such a garrison in this *fortress*, as were for yielding it up to the Papists, endeavouring to bring about an union between the Church of *Rome* and the Church of *England*. But if she is therefore call'd the *fortress* of the Protestant religion, because, as he adds in the next words, she is a *Church which boasts of frequent and glorious triumphs over all the powers of Romish superstition*; why should not other Churches be as truly impregnable *fortresses* as she; since they have in like manner conquer'd, tho' they are less noisy in their triumphing and boasting; and since there is no charge lies against them, of any treacherous dealing with the common enemy? There is only one sense, I can think of, in which the Church of *England* can deservedly claim this title of a *fortress* so peculiarly to her self; and that is, because she is more than any other Reform'd Church addicted to fighting, and is always arm'd to defend her own party, and tread down her opposites by persecution. In which sense we have by sad experience found her a *fortress*, not of the Protestant religion, but of her own peculiarities.

Having thus consider'd his Introduction, I shall proceed to examine what he says concerning the particular points of our controversy. Several Chapters in this former Part of his *Defence* are really foreign to it, and were therefore omitted wholly in my Answer. Indeed the last Chapter is almost the only one of this Part, which immediately affects our quarrel. All the several Chapters, which relate to doctrinal matters, relate only to objections against some particular Divines: which tho' I examin'd in the Answer design'd for Foreigners, I shall wholly wave in this Translation, design'd for the use of my own Countrymen. The Dissenters never objected against the Articles, or against subscribing them, that they were *Arminian*; however they objected (and very justly) against those who subscrib'd them, being of a judgment quite contrary to that declar'd in them. I should therefore pass directly to the last Chapter, were it not that the first has somewhat, which has from the beginning of our controversy been in debate, and that of late there may seem to be some more than ordinary reason, why I should take notice of it.

C H A P. I.

Of Popery charg'd on the Church of England.

I shall offer some observations in general concerning this accusation, before I particularly examine what the Doctor says upon this occasion.*

1. We never said, the Church of *England* was Popish. 'Tis quite another thing, when we charge some persons in her communion with Popish errors. That charge were easily made good, by producing various examples of such a kind of men; were not the thing too notorious for our Author himself to deny it, as we shall see afterward.

2. What we pretend is, that the Reformation of the Church of *England* is much more imperfect, than that of the Foreign Churches; inasmuch as she retains many of the relicks of Popery, which they have utterly rejected.

By

By Popery, we mean the whole body of errors, superstitions, or whatever corruptions, found in the Church of *Rome*. Two things therefore are intended by this accusation: first, that the things themselves objected against are evil; secondly, that they are used by the Papists, and were deriv'd to us from them. Concerning the latter there is no dispute, since 'tis granted by our Adversaries. 'Tis only in the former therefore we are concern'd. Hence it appears how little he talks to the purpose, p. 165, 166.

3. When we call the things objected against, *relics of Popery*, we do it not so much for the sake of reproaching the Churchmen, many of whom have, as we have seen, spoken in the same manner concerning them; as to excite and urge them, by that consideration, utterly to abolish them. For since they acknowledge the Church of *Rome* to be the most corrupt of any in the world, why should they not in like manner acknowledge her to be the most unworthy of imitation? Why should they affect a conformity to the worst of Churches, rather than to such as are Reform'd? Further, the Church of *Rome* was formerly reckon'd Antichristian, as appears by the *Homilies*, and by the *Book of Common Prayer*, * before Archbishop *Laud* alter'd it in favour of the *Papists*; as is witness'd by Dr. *Hylyn*. † Nay there were formerly, as there are still, many eminent and learn'd writers in the Church of *England*, who made no difficulty of affirming, that the Church of *Rome* is the very *whore* describ'd in the *Revelation*. And if that be true, 'tis but reasonable we should reject all her impertinent ceremonies, and avoid all manner of communion with her. If we may believe those Gentlemens interpretations, we are thus directed by the *Holy Ghost*, in those words: *Come out of her my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.* || This argument then, however 'tis counted invidious, plainly proves, they were ill advis'd who retain'd those Popish usages. For what our Adversaries here alledge is weak enough, viz. that these things were formerly in use. 'They were so indeed, but it was in the most corrupt Church in the world; whence they were also deriv'd after she had

A a 4

defil'd

* See also Dr. Nichols, p. 163. † Cypr. Angl. p. 118.

|| Rev. xviii. 4.

defil'd them with the grossest superstition ; but there is no sign of them in the Holy Scripture, the only rule both of our faith and worship. They therefore, who abhor the superstition of that Church, are very much in the wrong to affect a resemblance of her themselves, or require it in others. For without any necessity, and in spite of the Apostle's forbidding of it, they *put a stumbling-block, and an occasion of falling in their brothers way,* * and raise an evil suspicion of themselves in their minds. I know they say these things are older than Popery. But the answer is easy. For in the first place, this is plainly false of many of the things in controversy. And secondly, Popery grew up by degrees, and it consists of many superstitions, which did not all rise in one and the same age ; but some of them sprung up in a considerable tract of time from beginnings that were antient enough, but yet very small at first ; for which reason we ought the more to beware of such small beginnings, and pluck up the seeds of superstition, as soon as ever they begin to appear. And thus the old Puritans are to be understood, when they censure the Church for the relicks of Popery : and we are not ashame'd herein to imitate them. Nor has Dr. Nichols any reason to upbraid us, for any hard words used upon this occasion. For what volleys of reproaches does his own side continually discharge against us ? We are by them ordinarily term'd Fanatics, Puritans, Rebels, Schismatics in a damnable condition, worse than Papists, abettors of Judaism and Turcism. And tho' they seem'd a little while to be so much in humour, as to confine these their reproachful terms to us in *England* ; yet we knew when it was usual with them to load all the Presbyterians in the world with the same. If the severest expressions of the most rigid of our side are compar'd with these, they seem very mild. We will therefore now instance in some of the Puritans expressions produc'd by our Author.

Mr. Gilby, an o'd Puritan, said, the habits and ceremonies used in the Church of England were carnal, beggarly, Antichristian pomps. A mighty crime ! If the Apostle was not afraid to call the Jewish ceremonies carnal, † tho' they were of God's

* Rom. xiv. 13.

† Heb. ix. 19 : vii. 16.

God's own prescribing; why might not Mr. *Gilby* say the same of the Popish ceremonies, which never had any divine appointment? If the one call'd the Jewish ceremonies, *weak and beggarly elements*; * why might not the other call the Popish ceremonies, *beggarly pomps*? And if they were really Popish, they were *Antichristian* too, in the opinion of the Episcopal party that liv'd in Mr. *Gilby*'s time, who all agreed the Pope was *Antichrist*. So Bishop *Ridley*, altho' once a stiff defender of the ceremonies, when he had the *Surplice* forc'd upon him, bitterly inveigh'd against the Bishop of *Rome*, calling him *Antichrist*; † and against that habit, calling it foolish, abominable, and not fit for a Vice in a play. So Bishop *Jewel* call'd the garments, relicks of *Popery*; and Bishop *Horn* term'd them *Popish*, as I have observ'd already from Bishop *Burnet*. Why therefore might not Mr. *Gilby* say, they were *Popish fopperies, Romish relicks, rags of Antichrist, dregs of disguis'd Popery*?

Mr. *Cartwright*, or rather the author of the *Admonition*, his words are not fairly set down. Thus they are in the Book itself: " And as the names of Archbishops, " Archdeacons, Lord Bishops, Chancellors, &c. are drawn " out of the Pope's shop, together with their offices; so " the government which they use, by the life of the " Pope, which is the Canon Law, is *Antichristian and Devilish*, and contrary to the *Scriptures*." || Bishop *Whitgift* in his Answer acknowledges, whatever in the *Canon Law* was contrary to the *Scripture*, was *Antichristian and Devilish*. And that this government is contrary to *Scripture*, I shall, if I mistake not, fully prove in its proper place. However, I should not have lik'd the passage the less, had it been express'd in softer terms. I pass over the two next passages, because they only contain a displeasing truth. But it seems the author of *Jerubbaal* (who is not right quoted, either as to the title, the year when printed, or the page) speaks of the *superstitious and idolatrous abuse of the Liturgy*. I could not find the place, but will suppose the words fairly set down. And in answer I say: We have always affirm'd, the ceremonies prescrib'd by the *Liturgy* favour'd of superstition; which will not seem strange to any one, who seriously considers the matter. As to what he adds of the *idolatrous abuse of the Liturgy*, I suppose his mean-

meaning is to be fetch'd from the Churchmens extravagant affection to that Book ; as the Apostle, upon the like account, terms *covetousness, idolatry*. Nor will any man, who knows their disposition, look upon this as a false charge. The other passages, here alledg'd, relate to doctrinal matters, and therefore I take no notice of them ; but leaving the marginal Citations, come to our Author's Text.

Our *Adversaries* (*I suppose*) dont really believe we are guilty of the things they object against us, &c. * Our Author is mistaken : we are firmly perswaded of the truth of our objections. And had it been our design to render the Churchmen odious, we had taken a very different course from what we have done.

We must confess, that of later days we have been less annoy'd from this quarter. † How glad should I be, could I return this compliment ! But truly our *Adversaries* still treat us with the same hatred and reproaches, they formerly used to do. We thank God, they cannot crush us with their wonted degree of persecution. But what our Author next adds, is a mistake : *Not that our Adversaries have less pretence for it now, than formerly* : If we consider the things themselves, 'tis true, the same relicks of Popery are now retain'd ; but if we mind the temper of the age, we may congratulate our selves in its being somewhat alter'd. For in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* reign, a vast number of the Clergy, who had been profess'd Papists in her Sister's time, continu'd in their former opinion, notwithstanding they would not part with their livings. And we are well satisfy'd, what many of the Bishops and Clergy in King *Charles the First's* time were. But we chearfully acknowledge they are now more averse to the Papists. || but the calumny is grown so notorious and palpable, that no body will swallow it ; it being too well known with what vigour, zeal, and constancy we oppos'd the Romanists ; and how dear and gracious they were to them, at a time when all our interests, sacred and civil, were in the greatest danger to be lost. We all believe still those things were rags or relicks of Popery, which our ancestors call'd by that name. That the Divines of the Church of

England

* page 159. † page 160.

|| So we thought when this may first written ; but, alas ! they have since steer'd a contrary course, and effectually convinc'd us of our ever charitable error.

England wrote bravely against the Papists in King *James* the Second's time, is question'd by none of us; nor do we envy them the great honour they deserv'd: but we justly complain of unfair dealing, when we are represented as siding with them, as I have observ'd in the former Part. They who refus'd our offer'd service, now the work is done, make heavy complaints for the want of it. And if we were so *gracious* at that time with the Romanists, how came it to pass they should be able to decoy none from among us, while they made so many proselytes among the Churchmen? But what ground is there for this odious charge? Only, forsooth, because when King *James* deliver'd us from the most cruel persecution, some of our people, too easily believing he did it out of kindness, gave him abundance of thanks in their Addresses. But the Dissenters were not the only men impos'd upon by his fraudulent practices. As long as he set on the Churchmen to disturb our religious assemblies, and break up our houses, and seize our goods, they generally extoll'd him with the character of *James the Just*; nay, and set the Dissenters an example, in the no less fulsom Addresses they presented to him, and his Brother before him. But the Clergy might, it seems, honourably do, what is very criminal in the Dissenters. So miserably does a fond self-love blind some mens eyes! Let it likewise be remember'd, with whom our Adversaries were *very gracious*, when Popish counsels prevail'd, and our Ministers were turn'd out, and grievously persecuted; or when the Bishops had a main hand in flinging out the Bill of Exclusion, which the generality of the Clergy likewise condemn'd. We are much mistaken, if any of these their proceedings were serviceable to the Protestant religion.

But if our Church bear so much towards Popery, how came it to pass that the Founders of it, Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and others of the greatest sanctity, fell a sacrifice to Popish rage and fury? Why did not that Church rather embrace them, as its best and surest friends? Hardly any thing can be said weaker than this. We never doubted, that the Church of *England* was widely different from the Church of *Rome*; we own she is freed from innumerable *Romish* superstitions, and we bless God for it. And yet we are not afraid to affirm, she retains still a taint of the old leaven, which ought to be purg'd out. Those holy martyrs did not perceive every thing, tho' they did a great many; and when they reform'd a multitude of abuses, they retain'd some, which they deriv'd

riv'd from the Papists. What then ? Will the Church of *Rome* look upon them for this, as her *best and surest friends* ? A pleasant dream ! They who think so, are sadly deceiv'd, and must be quite unacquainted with the spirit of Popery. For Papists are never satisfy'd with those who differ a hair's breadth from them, or if their usurp'd authority be in the least oppos'd. Since then those blessed martyrs had rejected a great many, tho' not all the *rags of Popery*, and had shaken off the yoke of their tyrannical government ; what wonder was it, that they *fell a sacrifice to Popish rage and fury* ? I would only ask, whether any relicks of Popery were left in K. *Edward's* first edition of the Liturgy ? If that be granted, as it must be by every one who reads it, what can be infer'd by this rare argument ? For 'tis certain, the Papists were as well displeas'd with their first pains in altering the Service, as with their second, when they made a further reformation of Popish abuses. Our Author has elsewhere observ'd, that our Reformation in *England* was made by the Parliament and Convocation ; but there were many of all ranks in each, who retain'd their old sentiments, and therefore hinder'd the work all that ever they could. Hence it came to pass, that those relicks of Popery were retain'd in the Reform'd Church of *England*. Nor was it in the power of those, who greatly endeavour'd it, to compleat the Reformation according to their desire. But 'tis a base calumny, to pretend we think the *difference between those holy men, and the Church of Rome, was very small*. We think they went far from that Church, and would have gone farther, if death, and the iniquity of the times had not hinder'd them.

If we are such fond retainers of Romish superstitions, how came the champions of them to strike at us above all other men ? If our ancestors have rightly inform'd us, the Gunpowder Plot was not levell'd against the Puritan Ministers, or a few of the Nobility who patroniz'd them : but that sudden destruction was prepar'd for our King, who was a strict defender of our Church ; for the whole body of Bishops ; and for such of our great men, as under Q. Elizabeth's Reign had enacted good laws for the establishment of this Church. *

How acutely is this spoken ! Our Adversaries think, the Papists design'd to spare the Puritans in the terrible slaughter

ter they were contriving ! Now I would very gladly see this a little clear'd, that we might comprehend, what cunning device the Papists had to provide for the safety of the Puritan Members of Parliament, both among the Lords and Commons, when they intended with gunpowder to blow up the whole house, where they met, and were mix'd with one another. And if our ancestors have rightly inform'd us, the design of the plotters was, immediately after the blow was given, to charge it upon the Puritans, and massacre them for it. And if, as he seems to suggest, the Papists never attempted any thing against us ; how comes it to pass, that the blame of the turning out our Ministers, and of the persecution which follow'd thereupon, is now laid by the Church upon them ? But lo another argument, much of the same strength with the former, to prove this !

And we cannot forget how the Jesuits under K. James II. when they struck at the very heart of the Reform'd religion, gave no disturbance to Dissenting Academies ; but furiously fell upon our Colleges, and begun to banish our Students from those seats of learning. Truly I can't tell, whom we are most oblig'd to thank, the Papists, or the Churchmen ; the former, that they did not take from us what we had not ; or the latter, that they had taken effectual care to strip us of all, lest we should have any thing to tempt the avarice of those robbers. And if they then fell furiously upon your Colleges, and begun to banish your Students from those seats of learning, they only wrote after the copy you had set them before, in your usage of us.

The stories of *Faithful Cummin*, and *Thomas Heath*,* are some of the Church's pious frauds, contriv'd only to blacken us : of which we are as sure, as we can well be of any thing of this nature. This is most fully prov'd, in the *Answer to Dr. Scot's Case of Forms of Prayer* ; to which when I refer'd Dr. Wells, who had mention'd them, and urged him to answer that author's arguments ; he only reply'd, that he did not before know of any such writing, and never attempted to vindicate those foolish forgeries. And I cannot but wonder at the confidence of those many authors, who go on to revile us with those lies, without first answering what has been so solidly writ against them. I therefore pass these stories over. But the reader in the end of the chapter will meet with a *Rowland for his Oliver*.

In

In the next place he argues, that the *Articles* (which not only *Clergyn'en*, but all *Students in our Universities*, are obliged by their *subscriptions* to acknowledge and maintain) do put it out of all doubt, that *heaven and earth are not at greater distance, than our religion is from Popery.** Since the conclusion is not deny'd, we need not trouble our selves about the premises. Nevertheless the argument is not of any strength. The *Articles* of the Church of *England* are as contrary to *Arminianism*, as to *Popery*; and therefore 'tis as possible the Church should abound with *Papists*, as with *Arminians*. And if there were any force in this argument, it would as well defend *Bp. Montague, Dr. Heylyn, Mr. Thorndike, and Bp. Parker*, who obliged themselves, by the same *subscriptions*, to acknowledge and maintain the *Articles*. And yet our Author owns, they have *advanc'd some Popish doctrines in their writings.*†

Since the Doctor quite misses his aim, and does not really dispute against our opinion, 'tis very proper I should here declare what it is. Our opinion then is: That the will of God, discover'd in the *Holy Scriptures*, is the only rule of religious worship; and that 'tis not lawful for men to devise any new ways of worshiping him, or to receive, and practise any such, when devis'd by other men. When therefore religion is become corrupted and defiled, and there is a necessity of a reformation, we think men ought to go as far back as the first institution, and that every thing is to be try'd and corrected according to that standard.|| But that *we must allow nothing common with them*, is what we never thought, and much less ever said. Whatever is necessary for life, or by a divine command, is never to be rejected; but when such things have crept into the worship of God, as are neither necessary nor useful, and have become in tract of time, if they were not at first, superstitious or idolatrous, we think they ought to be abolish'd. And that for two reasons: namely, that we may express the greater abhorrence of superstition; and that we may not, by retaining them, lead men into superstition. Thus for instance, the most ancient use of the sign of the Cross was not free from all superstition, but it pav'd the way to greater afterward; and being now retain'd in baptism, has bred superstition in some Church-men;

* pag. 164. † pag. 169. || See Mr. Calvin's Letter to the Protector.

men ; which I will demonstrate from our Author himself. 'Tis certainly superstitious for men to look upon *baptism* as *lame and deficient*, when administer'd without the addition of this ceremony. And yet this, our Author says, is the opinion of some of their people, who, if it were laid aside, would be frightened from such a *baptism* to that of the Church of Rome.* So that if the use of this sign were not in itself superstitious ; yet since it is known to breed superstition in ignorant people, it ought to be rejected. Thus the reader has our opinion. Let him mind now what inferences our Author would draw from it.

If this be right reasoning, why don't these sanctified men hold to their own rule? Why don't they, in the abundance of their zeal, reject every thing, that has ever been touch'd with superstition? But we know very well, they contend for one thing, and practise another. They don't presently throw away their Bibles, because Papists have perverted them to maintain their errors; or, what is more execrable, because they have been misapplied by conjurers and witches. †

Who does not see a vast difference between these things, and those we dispute about? All are bound by God's command to keep and read the Holy Scriptures ; but we are so far from being commanded, that we are forbidden by him to retain superstitious rites and ceremonies.

They don't think it a grievous sin to hold their meetings, every Lord's Day, in those places, which are profan'd all the week besides, by the balls and dancings of light and wanton persons.

I wish he had told us plainly, whether these *balls and dancings* did in his opinion profane the place it self, and render it unfit to be used in the worship of God. If he thought so, he would have done well to tell us, how it comes to pass, that the dancers, who as Christians are the temples of God, are not themselves profan'd by these things, and upon that account excluded from the communion of his own Church. Nay, if these dances can profane a place, why may they not be thought as well to profane the Lord's Day? But our Adversaries were once of another judgment, when those dances were allow'd on the Lord's Day, and they publish'd to the people the King's declaration for them. For our part, we know of no place under the New Testament, that is either holy or profane any

any longer than 'tis actually put to any holy or prophane use. We are allow'd in *any place to lift up holy hands to God.** And altho' our Adversaries think fit to object sometimes against our worship, the prophaneness of the places wherein it is perform'd ; yet *we know very well, they contend for one thing, and practise another.* They can themselves upon occasion hold their assemblies in prophane places. Thus they do at *Stirbitch Fair*, in the open field, in the midst of the fair. Nor does the University of *Cambridge* think *St. Mary's Church* prophan'd, by their keeping their *Commencement* in it, and by the many bantering, scoffing and immodest speeches made in it upon that occasion ; nor do they esteem it unfit upon that account to be used in the worship of God, without a new consecration.

But to speak to the practice of *Hezekiah*, what does it but make for our praise ? †

How very different the course *Hezekiah* took, was from that taken by our Adversaries, will appear, if we consider these following things.

1. That the superstitious, and idolatrous use of the sign of the Cross had prevail'd among the Papists, for many ages before the Reformation ; just as the like use of the Brazen Serpent had prevail'd among the Jews in *Hezekiah's* time.

2. *Hezekiah* might as easily have abolish'd the superstitious, and idolatrous abuse of the Brazen Serpent, if he had preserv'd the thing it self ; as the Churchmen might the like abuse of the sign of the Cross, if they continued the use of it. So far there is an exact agreement of the two cases : let us now see wherein they differ.

3. *Hezekiah*, that he might take away all occasion of superstition and idolatry, broke the Brazen Serpent, and utterly destroy'd it : but the Churchmen, on the contrary, retain the Cross in baptism, and Crucifixes in some of their Churches.

4. The Brazen Serpent was made by God's own express order ; and when its primary design and use was at an end, it was an illustrious monument of the divine power and goodness. But the sign of the Cross was never prescrib'd by God, serves no good purpose, nor can be justly reckon'd any monument of divine power and goodness. So that

Heze-

Hezekiah might have alledg'd much more plausible excuses for his preserving the Brazen Serpent, while he took away the abuse of it; than the Churchmen can, for retaining in like manner the sign of the Cross.

5. *Hezekiah's* act is commended by every body; but this of the Churchmen is so far from being commended by any body, that 'tis condemn'd, not only by the Reform'd Churches abroad, but by several of their own Church; and even the Papists themselves, whom they seek to please hereby, do but laugh at them for it. But we go on with our Author.

For we have abolish'd all those usages, which had any appearance of superstition in them: This I deny. Every one knows the ceremony of the sign of the Cross, as used among the Papists, *had some appearance of superstition in it*, and yet they have not abolish'd it. Nay, and let any one judge, whether the reason alledg'd elsewhere, against laying it aside, does not carry superstition enough in it? "And less than this we could not do, "unless we would wholly efface this mark of the Lord Jesus, "and so gratify Mahometans and Heathens in the highest "degree."* But he adds: *and are ready to part with the rest, whenever it shall appear to us, that they endanger our peoples relapsing into idolatry.* That which has been, may be again; and prudent men should take care to prevent it. Our Adversaries are not ignorant, what a handle these things gave to Bishop Mountagu, Bishop Parker, and some others: and why should they not take care that their people may not *relapse into superstition*, as well as into *idolatry*? Now that they take occasion to relapse into that, I have shewn already from his own words. Further, why should they not take away all occasions of idolatry from strangers, as well as their own people? Popish strangers, when they go into the *English* Cathedrals, with an idolatrous mind, if not with an idolatrous outward behaviour, behold and reverence the Crucifix plac'd upon the altar.

Our first Reformers, when they set about their work, did not so much consider what had been abus'd by superstition, as how to prevent such abuses for the future.

Why might not *Hezekiah* in like manner have sav'd the Brazen Serpent, not so much considering how the Jews had abus'd it by their superstition, as how to prevent such abuses for the future? But *Hezekiah* knew nothing of this method of reformation; which, I suppose, receives the greater lustre

by being compar'd with his defective practice ; which, our Author tells us, *makes for their praise*.

He here adds a very weak reason : *We are not (as the Jews under Hezekiah were) inclinable to the idolatries of our neighbours : we abominate their monstrous superstition, above all things in the world.** When the Reformation was first begun in *England*, the people were really inclinable to idolatry, and came not to Protestant worship so much out of love as fear ; as has been observ'd in the former Part. If therefore the Episcopal party pretend to be led by this consideration, why should they not have been then led by it ? And further, they dont seem so intirely to abominate their superstition, who look upon Baptism as lame and deficient without the addition of the sign of the Cross. And since men are naturally more addicted to superstition, than to the purity of worship, too great caution cannot be here easily used. And indeed, if our Reformers had used a little more than they did, I can hardly think the Reformation in *England* would have been in so great danger, as it was in the last Century, or very lately in the prezent.

Our Author has told us, *That Popish emissaries have often personated Fanatic teachers, and rail'd in their Conventicles against the Church, to the great satisfaction of their hearers.*† I pass over the impious and abusive language of the Translator, because that is of no moment in the controversy. As to the thing it self, whether it be true of the Quakers, or any of the wild Sectaries in Oliver's time, I dont certainly know, and think not material to inquire ; but I shall look upon it as a groundless assertion concerning Presbyterian assemblies, till it be prov'd, not by such scandalous lies, as those of *Cummin* and *Heath*, but by substantial evidence. But tho' we deny the thing, yet let us suppose it to have been true, that crafty wretches have deceiv'd plain honest people, and have supplied the place of a Minister, perhaps, in his absence ; yet no Presbyterian assembly ever had a Papist for their Pastor, as the Church of *England* has had many such, Rectors and Bishops ; or at best, many who were very like them. Our Author acknowledges Bp. *Mountagu* and Bp. *Parker*, Dr. *Hylyn* and Mr. *Thorndike*, were too much inclin'd to the Papists, in several important points of the Popish controversy. I will add several more, who were of the same kidney ; and then consider, what our Author says to excuse them.

Bp.

Ep. Mountagu ow'd his Bishoprick to his great friend and patron, Archbp. Laud. Now he was made Bp. of Chichester in the year 1628, and of Norwich ten years after.* And since his principles were enough discover'd in his writings before, how can Archbp. Laud be thought to have been free from the same opinions? But this Archbishop is so much the darling of the Church, that I shall chuse to speak of him in other mens words, rather than my own. And in the first place, let us hear Dr. Robert Abbot, who was afterward Bp. of Salisbury; but being, at the time I speak of, the King's Professor of Divinity in Oxford, and Vicechancellor of the University, he preach'd a sermon before the University against Laud, who had inveigh'd a little before against the Presbyterians in the pulpit; saying, *the Presbyterians were as bad as the Papists.* Concerning him Dr. Abbot thus gave his judgment: "Some are partly Romish, partly English, as occasion serves them, that a man might say unto them: *Are you for us, or for our adversaries?* who, under pretence of truth, and preaching against the Puritans, strike at the heart and root of the faith and religion now establish'd amongst us. This preaching against the Puritans, was but the practice of Parsons and Campian's counsel, when they came into England to seduce young Students. When many of them were afraid to lose their places, if they should professedly be thus; the counsel they then gave them, was, that they should speak freely against the Puritans, and that should suffice. And they cannot plead they are accounted Papists, because they speak against the Puritans; but because, being indeed Papists, they speak nothing against them. If they do at any time speak against the Papists, they do but beat a little about the bush, and that but softly too, for fear of waking and disquieting the birds that are in it. They speak nothing, but that wherein one Papist will speak against another; as against equivocation, and the Pope's temporal authority, and the like, and perhaps some of their blasphemous speeches: but in the points of free will, justification, concupiscence being a sin after Baptism, inherent righteousness, and certainty of salvation, the Papists beyond the seas can say they are wholly theirs; and the Recusants at home make their brags

* See Fuller's Ch. Hist. b. xi. p. 131, Heyl. Cypr. Angl. p. 266.

“ of them : and in all things they keep themselves so near
 “ the brink, that upon occasion they may step over to them.
 “ Now for this speech, that *the Presbyterians are as bad as the Papists* ; there is a sting in the speech, which I wish had
 “ been left out : for there are many Churches beyond the
 “ seas, which contend for the religion established amongst
 “ us, and yet have approv'd and admitted the Presbytery.
 “ ----- Might not Christ say, What art thou ? *Romish* or
 “ *English* ? Papist or Protestant ? Or what art thou ? a mun-
 “ grel or compound of both ? a Protestant by ordination, a
 “ Papist in point of free will, inherent righteousness, and
 “ the like ? a Protestant in receiving the sacrament, a Pa-
 “ pist in the doctrine of the sacrament ? What ! do you
 “ think there are two heavens ? If there be, get you to
 “ the other, and place your selves there ; for in this, where
 “ I am, ye shall not come. *

In like manner, Bp. *Hall* thus addresses him in a Letter inscrib'd to him : “ I would I knew where to find you, “ then I could tell how to take direct aims ; whereas now “ I must pore and conjecture. To day you are in the tents “ of the *Romanists* ; to morrow in ours ; the next day be- “ tween both, against both. Our Adversaries think you “ ours, we theirs ; your conscience finds you with both, “ and neither. I flatter you not. This of yours is the “ worst of all tempers : heat and cold have their uses ; “ lukewarmness is good for nothing, but to trouble the sto- “ mach. Those that are spiritually hot, find acceptation ; “ those that are stark cold, have a lesser reckoning ; the “ mean between both is so much worse, as it comes nearer “ to good, and attains it not. How long will you halt in “ this indifferency ? Resolve one way, and know at last “ what you do hold, and what you should. Cast off either “ your wings, or your teeth ; and, loathing this bat-like “ nature, be either a bird, or a beast. To die wavering and “ uncertain, your self will grant fearful. If you must settle, “ when begin you ? if you must begin, why not now ? 'Tis “ dangerous deferring that, whose want is deadly, and “ whose opportunity is doubtful. God crieth with *Job* : “ *Who is on my side ? who ?* Look at last out of your window “ to him, and in a resolute courage cast down the *Jezebel*, “ that hath bewitched you. ” †

I had

* *S. Renunciation of several Pop. doctrines ; and Heyl. Cypr. Angl. p. 66.*

† *Heyl. Cypr. Angl. p. 54.*

I had not said so much concerning Archb. *Land*, had it not been certain that all things in the Church were for many years order'd just according to his pleasure, and that vast numbers of the Clergy were then fallen in with his principles. These omitted nothing, whereby they might oblige the Papists; and they would certainly, and without much difficulty, have join'd themselves into one body with them, if they had had an opportunity. Hence, during the tyranny of that Archbishop, almost all books written against the Papists were suppress'd.

I believe all men will grant Bp. *Gauden* was Churchman enough; and yet he speaks warmly upon this head, in his Sermon before the Commons, *Novemb. 29. 1640.** He mentions a great many particular corruptions of that time, and shews he vehemently suspected they were about to *re-edify* Babel's *ruins*; and at last says: "By such dangerous symbolizing with them in words, and some outward formalities, we do but prepare our minds, and sweeten them, with less distast to relish their doctrines and tenets; and, as it were, in a civil way we compliment our selves out of our truth, giving the adversaries strong hopes and presumptions, as they have discover'd, that we are inclining towards them." †

I will here add another story out of Mr. *Prynne*, which will shew how much the University of *Cambridge* was at that time corrupted with Popish opinions. One Mr. *Adams*, in a Sermon before the University, used these expressions: "That a special confession unto a Priest (actually, where time or opportunity presents it self, or otherwise in explicit intention and resolution) of all our sins committed after Baptism, so far forth as we do remember, is necessary unto salvation, in the judgment of Fathers, Schoolmen, and almost all antiquity, not only *necessitate precepti*, but also *necessitate medii*: so that, according to the ordinary or reveal'd means appointed by Christ, there can be no salvation without the aforesaid confession.----That God, being an enemy to all sin, will not pardon any, if we willingly conceal but one in our confession to the Priest. That confession is as necessary to salvation, as the ministry of Baptism; as necessary to salvation, as meat is to the body." || Dr. *Brownrig*, the Vicechancellor,

* *The Love of Truth and Peace*, p. 31, 32. † p. 33. || *Canterb. Doom.* p. 193.

lor, and some other Doctors, took exceptions at this sermon, as scandalous and Popish. Whereupon Mr. *Adams* was convened before the Vicechancellor and Heads, who both requir'd, and perus'd the copy of his sermon: which done, the Vicechancellor, who mortally hated the Popish superstition, drew up the form of a recantation for him to subscribe, and publish before the Congregation; wherein he was to acknowledge, the doctrine he had deliver'd was both erroneous and dangerous, having no warrant from the Word of God, and crossing the doctrine of the Church of *England*. Mr. *Adams* refus'd to make this recantation. Whereupon, at a full meeting of the Doctors, it was put to the vote, whether this recantation should be injoin'd him, or no? Six voted for it; but they were outnumber'd by these Doctors, who voted against it, viz. *Cofins*, *Lany*, *Stearn* (who afterwards were Bishops) *Collins*, *Smith*, *Cumber*, *Martin*, and *Eden*. So far Mr. *Prynce*. Moreover, "Dr. *Cofins* was charg'd to have set up, in the Church of *Durham*, a marble altar with Cherubins, with all the appurtenances thereof; namely, a cope with the Trinity, and God the Father in the figure of an old man; another with a Crucifix, and the image of Christ, with a red beard and blue cap. Besides, he was accus'd for lighting two hundred wax candles about the altar on Christmas day; for forbidding Psalms to be sung before or after sermon, tho' he made an anthem to be sung of the three Kings of *Collen* (by the names of) *Gaspar*, *Balthazar* and *Melchior*; and for procuring a consecrated knife, only to cut the bread at the Communion."* Mr. *Smart*, a Prebendary of that Church, was grievously persecuted by him for disliking and preaching against those things. The same Dr. *Cofins* wrote a Book, entituled, *A Collection of private Devotions, or Hours of Prayer*; wherein, besides the form of the book, taken out of the Popish *Horaries*, and many other things plainly Romish, he acknowledges seven Sacraments.†

Dr. *Lawrence* affirms: "Christ's body is essentially, substantially, and truly present in the Elements.||

Dr. *Kellet* says: "The presence of Christ in the sacrament is such, as the Eucharist it self must be ador'd."‡ And if any desire a proof of this, he adviseth them to read *Bellarmin*.

Dr.

* *Fuller*, Ch. *Hist.* b. ii. p. 173.

|| *Cited in the Renunciat. of several Popish Doct.* p. 4.

† *Heylyn*, Cypr. *Angl.* p. 173.

‡ *Id.* p. 5.

Dr. Godfrey Goodman, the Bishop of Gloucester, was not only Popishly affected, but a downright Papist ; and in his last will and testament, he declar'd he died in that Communion. I forbear mentioning Bp. Mountagu of Norwich, Bp. Neile of Winchester, Bp. Mountain of London, Bp. Peirce of Bath and Wells, and a great many of the inferior Clergy, who were very much inclin'd to the Papists in K. Charles the First's reign. I could easily give a large catalogue of such Bishops or Priests at that time, if I were requir'd, tho' for the present I forbear. Nay, in K. Charles the Second's reign we had a Bp. of St. Asaph, who order'd to be written upon his tombstone : *Ora pro anima mea : Pray for my soul :** not to say any thing of Parker, Watson, and others ; and some of our own time, Bret, Welton, &c. Let us now return to our Author.

In such concessions as they [Mountagu, Thorndike, &c.] have made to the Romanists, concerning Christ's bodily presence in the sacrament, the worship of saints and images, and the purity of the Roman Church from idolatry, they are condemn'd by the unanimous suffrage of our own Divines.† This is not true of those Divines who liv'd in Bp. Mountagu's time : and tho' the Doctor believ'd it, and I shew'd my self ready to assent to the truth of it concerning their present Divines ; yet what has happen'd since both our Pieces were first printed, will not suffer a man to continue in his charitable opinion.

The reason why they have never been censur'd in Convocation, is partly because no act of Convocation is valid without the royal authority : You see now what sort of a Church that is, which is so highly extoll'd ; which is not able to guard against heretical, superstitious, and idolatrous Bishops ; or to pass any censure upon them, unless his Majesty thinks fit to order it. Who can now believe, there was never any wiser government than this in the whole Christian world ? || Besides, had they not Convocations, which had the King's licence, in the time of Mountagu, Heylyn, and Thorndike ? Why then were not they censur'd in Convocation ? This therefore is but little to the purpose. partly because they were not only very serviceable to their Prince : The Doctor might as well have left this out. For if, by discharging their duty to their Prince, they make amends, in the opinion of our Adversaries, for the greatest mischief done to

* Collec. of Speeches in Parl. concerning the Popish Plot. Lond. 1681. p. 6.
† pag. 118. ¶ See pag. 347.

truth and piety; 'tis plain the Church must shew it self more solicitous to obey the Prince, than God himself. but likewise have labour'd very profitably in some parts of divinity. How little is this also to the purpose? The same thing may be asserted of several Popish writers. There are few, if any Heretics, who reject every truth. If therefore they have labour'd profitably in defending some particular truth, must they be thought to deserve no censure, when, by their other mischievous opinions, they quite overthrow religion? Our Author tells us presently, that Bp. Mountagu was miserably harrass'd with the complaints of Churchmen, as well as Puritans. Which is true, if by Churchmen are understood those, who were averse to Archb. Laud's designs; but we hear of no complaints made against him by any of that faction, which was then very numerous.

And tho' under K. Charles II. the Bishoops could do little, but what the court directed; yet knowing Heylyn and Thorndike's opinions, and that they were dispos'd to innovations, they kept them out of the governing posts.

That is, they kept them out of the Bishopricks, the number of which is so small, that they can be granted only to a few. But altho' they wanted the chief preferments, they obtain'd those that were considerable. And if the Bishoops kept them out of the governing posts under K. Charles II. when they could do little, but what the court directed; why did they not in like manner keep out Mountagu from a governing post in K. Charles the First's time, when they manag'd all ecclesiastical matters just as they pleas'd? The truth is, King Charles II. kept out those men, who could, if he had pleas'd, have prefer'd them to the highest posts, in spite of the Bishoips. And tho' our Author now despises Bp. Parker, and that deservedly, with respect to a great many of his writings; yet while he was among the inferior Clergy, he was as much valued as any in the Church. I could not help wondering sometimes, why our Author, who is so free in commending the writings of Mountagu and Heylyn, should speak so contemptibly of Parker's works. *He is, says he, scarce notable for any thing besides smart satirical expressions.* Whoever reads what he wrote *De Deo*, and *Of the Law of Nature*, must own, that he also labour'd very profitably in some parts of divinity. But I perceive, tho' they were all guilty of the same crime, a difference is made between them by the times in which they wrote. Bp. Parker publish'd his offensive pieces at a time, when the Doctor thought the

Church

Church was in the greatest danger, and therefore he dislikes him. But the Episcopal party extremely admire those times wherein *Mountagu* and *Heylyn* wrote, and dont care that any thing but good should be spoken of them. And perhaps he might the rather commend the rest, that he might not be thought partial in praising *Heylyn*; who, tho' he never has any regard to truth, in the accounts he gives of his adversaries; yet was exceeding serviceable to our Author, when he was writing his *Historical Introduction*, and supply'd him with a large store of calumnies.

I shall now, for the reasons I gave before, pass over all the intermediate Chapters, and come to consider the last of this Part.

C H A P. XIII.

Concerning Nonresistance.

IF the candor of the Episcoparians were as great, as they endeavour to make us believe it is, they would freely and ingenuously own, the very great fault their Party has been guilty of in this matter. The Clergy for many years acted, as tho' they desir'd nothing so much, as to have our Kings vested with an absolute and unlimited power; and to have the People depriv'd of all their rights, and sink into the vilest slavery. But our Author is not over consistent with himself, and seems sometimes willing to vindicate that monstrous opinion; and at other times he endeavours to excuse his party for having defended it; and then again he makes them innocent, and wholly denies the matter; for which he elsewhere attempts to apologize. But let us hear what he says.

For answer to this heavy charge; we say, that several branches of it are fasten'd upon the whole Church, not only without reason, but without the least colour: for amongst us have been found as eminent patrons of civil liberties, as any they can produce on their side. *

I will not deny, there have been some few of the Clergy, who have behav'd themselves as patrons of our civil liberties, when they have been in danger. But as the Popish opinions of *Mountagu*, *Heylyn*, *Thorndike*, and *Parker*, are not, in our Author's judgment, sufficient to prove the Church of

England

England inclin'd to those opinions ; so three or four Clergy-mens dissenting from the rest of their Brethren, is no reason, why it should not be thought the doctrine of the Church, *That the magistrate is not upon any account whatever to be resisted.* Nay, the Clergy used to glory in this, as the peculiar doctrine of their Church. Nor do I here speak of the meaner sort, but of the most eminent both in learning and honorable preferments. And if any then attempted to vindicate the contrary opinion, he was sure to draw upon himself the hatred of his Brethren, as well as the severest punishment. A famous instance of this nature was Mr. *Samuel Johnson*, who, for no other reason, was imprison'd, degraded, disgracefully and cruelly whipt, to the great joy, as is well known, of the Clergy. And not only the sermons of the Clergy, but some other arguments, prove this to have been formerly the doctrine of the Church of *England*. For it was decreed in Convocation, in the year 1640. as I shew'd in the former Part. All the Clergy likewise were oblig'd to subscribe to it ; as our Author owns afterwards. *Were the Clergy, says he, oblig'd to subscribe one thing, and teach people another?** And unless that is to be esteem'd the Church's doctrine, which all her Clergy subscribe, how can we possibly come to know what it is ? But let us proceed with our Author.

To our own brave men it is we owe the present enjoyment of our religion and laws, which the Objectors friends would have basely betray'd, at a time when they all lay at stake.

If by these *brave men* are meant some of the Laity, I deny not, that there were many such in the Church of *England*, who saw through the designs and craft of the Clergy, and hated this their doctrine. To these *brave men*, indeed, we owe a great deal ; concerning whom also he might be thought to speak in this place, when another passage is compar'd with it, wherein he plainly gives up the Clergy as no such defenders of our civil liberties. *If the high states of the kingdom were willing to give away the people's rights and privileges, was it reasonable to expect that a company of helpless Priests should defend them? †* And yet seeing the inquiry is concerning the opinion of the Church of *England*, we are to mind her teachers, and what they taught, and not judge by the behaviour of such Laymen as would not be taught or ruled by

by their Clergy. So that our Author, notwithstanding what he says elsewhere, must be understood here to speak of the Clergy. And if so, what must we think of these men? As long as they thought themselves out of danger, and found themselves kindly treated by the King, they bawl'd out their doctrine without ceasing, that the magistrate was not upon any account to be resisted; and threaten'd the poor Dissenters with hell torments, because they could not digest that wild opinion, and stir'd up all inferior magistrates against them; wherein they imitated the clemency of those mention'd by the Prophet: *Which have said to thy soul, bow down that we may go over; and to whom thou hast laid thy body as the ground, and as the street to them that go over.** But no sooner did they perceive themselves in danger, under King James II, but they presently, like *Proteus*, put on another shape; and, rejecting their former doctrine, took up new measures. And from that time, 'till very lately, 'twas thought not only a lawful, but a glorious thing to resist the magistrate, whenever he invaded the civil rights and liberties of the people. Who sees not that then there was most need of practising their fine doctrine, and confirming it by their own example? But wise men easily perceiv'd their fraud long before, and expected just what fell out, notwithstanding all their rare preaching to the contrary. Such indeed uses to be the conduct of this kind of interpreters of the law; *who lade men with burthens grievous to be born; while they themselves touch them not with one of their fingers.*† But 'tis not enough for our Adversaries to excuse themselves, unless they likewise load us with base calumnies. Hence is it added: *Which [religion and the laws] the Objectors friends would have basely betray'd, at a time when they all lay at stake.* But what, I pray, have we done to deserve this charge? Truly we did not refuse to accept that liberty which King James granted us, contrary to law. I grant we did not; and 'tis the easiest thing in the world to defend our practice. For we accepted nothing of King James, but what we had a right to by the law of nature. But perhaps we went about treacherously to betray the Church of *England*; that Church, forsooth, that betray'd us over and over; that Church, which had long and sorely persecuted, and endeavour'd

your'd utterly to ruin us all, tho' we were quiet subjects, and Christian brethren. But a short relation of the matter will shew, whether we were for betraying them. Thus then the case stood : When we had obtain'd our liberty by King James's Declaration, and his designs came every day more and more to light, and our old persecutors began to fear, lest we, being exasperated by their former cruelties, should fall in with the Papists in their measures ; they of their own accord made application to us, earnestly beseeching us not to remember how they had formerly us'd us, for which they declar'd themselves sorry, laying the blame upon the Papists. They protested their earnest desire of peace, and promis'd they would take effectual care to remove every thing, which had hitherto hinder'd our union with them ; if we would not hearken to the flatterers of the court, but heartily join with them in the choice of Parliament men, and it should please God to deliver us from the danger we were then in. Without any more ado, and with a noble largeness of soul, we promis'd them. And as I have shewn out of Bishop Burnet, we as bravely perform'd our promise, and were far from betraying them. But, to say the plain truth, their whole conduct ever since testifies, that they basely betray'd us.

But why must the Church of England alone be interested in state controversies ? Why should not either side, in matters of this nature, abound in their own sense, provided they keep within the limits of their duty ? The Church of England is therefore interested in these state controversies, because this doctrine was what they were oblig'd to assent to, and subscribe : and therefore might not either side be taken, because one side was both very false and pernicious.

*Why should the Conformists be more oblig'd to court the People, than Nonconformists are the Prince ? ** Both Conformists and Nonconformists are oblig'd to embrace the truth, and to instruct their Congregations therein. Wherefore, if that doctrine be true, the Conformists did well when they taught it their People ; but they acted perfidiously, when they afterwards would teach them the contrary, and themselves favour'd the expedition of the Prince of Orange. But if the doctrine is false, as none can be more so ; then the spreaders, defenders, and subscribers of it must be accounted

men

men of great rashness, who also threaten'd the ruin of the state; and then must that Church be schismatical, which requir'd all her Ministers to subscribe a false doctrine, and turn'd out all those who refus'd to do it. But our Author quite mistakes the controversy. For we say, the Conformists and Nonconformists are oblig'd to defend the just rights both of the King and People. And we deservedly blame the Conformists, because they endeavour'd to overthrow the rightful power of Parliaments.

During the reigns of King Charles I, and II, when these matters were most warmly agitated, our great men were divided into parties.

'Twas well for the nation they were not all out of their senses; but that some were found, who had the public safety at heart. But what's this to the purpose? If *our great men were divided*, was it therefore lawful for your Clergy to spread false opinions, and teach the King to oppress his subjects, and to raise taxes without a Parliament? Was that reason enough for their asserting, that it belong'd to the King, as God's only deputy in the kingdom, to rule it just as he pleas'd; that however he oppress'd, plunder'd, or destroy'd his subjects, he was accountable to none but God; and that no one could resist him, but under the penalty of eternal damnation?

Those, who had the greatest share of the royal favour, were of course advanc'd to the highest offices. A fine excuse! When the safety of the state lies at stake, the Clergy conform themselves just to the humour of the King and his courtiers, and devise and spread the most false and pernicious principles, to gratify them.

This stir'd the envy of the rest against them, who spar'd for no plots and projects to dismount them, and get into their places. If this were true, I dont see how it can be of any service, to vindicate the Clergy in spreading wicked notions among the people. But this plea for the Clergy is injurious to *our great men*, and so to the nation itself. It represents one part of them, as vilely flattering the King, and currying favour with him, by claiming for him an unjust and tyrannical authority; and the other part of them, as opposing, indeed, the former; but doing it only out of *envy*, and with a desire to get into *their places*. But I make no doubt we had many brave patriots among them, who, without any such sordid motives, endeavour'd to remove such flattering courtiers from all places in the commonwealth, for no other reason,

but

but to prevent its receiving any prejudice by their administration.

To do this, they consider'd which way to strengthen their party: And what wonder? So men always us'd to do, when they see their native country in danger of being ruin'd. and found no fitter tools, for their purpose, than the Nonconformists: these therefore they endeavour'd to gain by all the officious ways imaginable, as good words, kind looks, courteous behaviour, and a readiness to vote for them upon all occasions. In conversation with them, they freely exclaim'd against the management of public affairs. They pity'd their condition, that they should be so kept under, testifying their good wishes to have it otherwise, and promising to assist them with all the power and interest they had. These arts were soon perceiv'd by discerning men; and it became a rule with them to conclude, that as soon as any ambitious man was discharg'd at court, he would presently appear at the head of the Dissenting party.

'Tis no strange thing, if plain honest men are sometimes impos'd upon by the subtil and crafty. We deny not that we have been so serv'd sometimes. We know we were deluded not only by King *Charles II*, and his courtiers; but by the Clergy, who have been sometimes large in their promises to us, but sparing enough in performing them. But then we are not the only men, who have been thus deceiv'd: the Conformists, as cunning as they are, have been outwitted sometimes by the fly tricks of the Papists; and had they been only deluded by them, had they done no unjust acts themselves, we should not much blame them. The question now is: whether the Nonconformists, being impos'd upon by such courtiers, have fallen into evil opinions, or ever subscrib'd any such? If either Conformists, or Nonconformists obtain'd the favour of the King, or his courtiers, by honest methods, they are to be commended: But that Divines should conform themselves wholly, together with their opinions and sermons, to the pleasure of the King, or his courtiers, is very dishonourable. What is here said concerning the arts whereby they ingratiated themselves, *viz.* by good words, kind looks, and courteous behaviour, is the figment of his own brain, design'd for a rhetorical flourish, rather than a true historical account, and therefore deserves no answer. But they endeavour'd to gain them by a readiness to vote for them upon all occasions. In this they are to be commended; for they endeavour'd to gain those who abhor'd tyranny

tyranny, and the principles tending thereto ; and who, being enemies to persecution, shew'd themselves zealous friends to the laws and liberties of our country. They, who have had the interest of their country at heart, have always been ready to vote in our favour. And if *they* exclaim'd *against the management of public affairs*, all impartial judges must allow, they had good reason for it. Nor can it be any wonder, that such patrons of our civil liberties should not be much in favour in the reigns of the two Brothers. But if from those times we look to our own ; to whom do they, who lose King *George*'s favour, now apply themselves, to the Nonconformists, or the high Churchmen ? And if *they* pitied our condition, and wiss'd to have it otherwise ; the Conformists have no reason to be angry with them, unless it be for having more of humanity left in them, than they had theniselves.

Now, if *they* blame our side for being too much devoted to our princes, have not we as great reason at least to complain of them, that they yield themselves so tamely to be manag'd by seditious heads, and are so commonly brought on the stage to embroil affairs ?* But who are those seditious heads, refer'd to ? and what sedition have they rais'd ? Our Author has contriv'd these things of his own head, and they are unworthy of a formal confutation.

But we are so far from denying it, that we rather glory in asserting, the magistrate's power to be from God, and not deriv'd from the people, nor dependent on their pleasure.

No body doubts, that the just power of the magistrate is from God ; for that power, which the gentlemen who write about Government ascribe to magistrates, they suppose to have been plac'd in the hands of all in a state of nature. That therefore magistrates in general should have power, and that they should enact laws for the good of the society, is acknowledg'd to be deriv'd from God, the fountain of all natural light and knowledge. But that this power was at first given by him to some particular persons, to be handed down by them to others, by an hereditary right of succession ; and that these persons should have a right, transcendent to all rules of common equity, to spoil, or murder their subjects, and be accountable to none for what they do ; these are the things we deny. If the people

people give that power to Kings, which they themselves have receiv'd of God, that power of Kings may then well be said to be *deriv'd from God*: but we maintain, that an absolute and tyrannical power was never given by God to the people; nor to Kings, either by God, or the people. If our Adversaries have any arguments to prove, that kingly power belongs to some individual persons, as bestow'd upon them by a divine grant, without any regard to the election or consent of the people, we are ready to hear them. But since we only allow of resistance in the case of an unjust and tyrannical government, and our Author himself pretends not to defend such an one; these things are very little to our purpose. And unless Kings are made by the people, by whom, I beseech you, must they be suppos'd to be made? Where shall we search for those instruments or records, in which God has particularly specify'd the persons to whom he has delegated this regal power? And if we must herein be directed by the providence of God, how shall we be able to distinguish a rightful King from an usurper? In a word, since God has neither appointed, by any law, a particular form of government; nor particularly mark'd out the persons, who are to be magistrates, every people is left at full liberty to chuse both.

The contrary doctrine, that all government is founded in I know not what original contract between prince and people, is not only ridiculous, but impious, and flows from the impure source of Epicurean philosophy.

That *original contract*, our Author speaks so slightly of, deserv'd to be treated with more respect. For if there were no such thing, how could King *James II.* forfeit his regal authority? or, by what right could the good people of *England* resist him, and settle the crown upon King *William* and Queen *Mary*? or upon what pretence could he swear allegiance to them? Our Convention Parliament, before they settled the crown upon them, declar'd that King *James* had broken the *original contract* between him and his people. If then, there never was any such contract, how could he break it? and how could the *English* scepter be justly put into any other hand? So that if we consider upon what foundation the right of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, Queen *Anne*, and his present Majesty King *George*, is built; we must acknowledge 'tis no other than this, that 'tis lawful for a people to resist a King who breaks

breaks the *original contract*, and to set another in his room. But no marvel if some of the old leaven yet remains, since the whole body of the Clergy were not long since leaven'd with it. But this may be some comfort to us, that their trifling sophistry will avail but little with them, as soon as they find themselves in danger. For I believe no one doubts, we should then presently see them renew their former practice, and provide for their safety, as they did in King James's time, by resistance ; and that, notwithstanding all their boasting in the pulpit, or the press. For these plain-dealers have the art of varying their doctrines, and shifting their principles according to the times, and as they find themselves to be in safety, or in danger. But this is *ridiculous*. By all means ! 'Tis *ridiculous* the King should not be above all laws, and not have it in his power to destroy the commonwealth, for the good of which alone he is made King. But our wise ancestors were of another opinion ; and unless they had, by such a contract, set some bounds to the regal power, how could the people have secur'd any of their rights and liberties ? And how comes it to pass, that we require our Kings to swear to maintain these in their Coronation Oath ? But this is *impious*, and flows from the *impure source* of Epicurean *philosophy*. And will our Adversaries thus accuse the most noble Assembly, that preserv'd our religion, our liberty, and our commonwealth ; and to whom we are indebted for the reign of such excellent princes ? Will they, I say, accuse them of adopting an *impious* opinion, out of the *philosophy* of *Epicurus* ? Will they do it, who have sworn to their settlement of our Constitution ? I refer those who are thus minded to Mr. *Lock*, our noblest writer upon the subject of Government. I refer them to Bishop *Hoadley*, commended elsewhere by our Author himself, who has excellently defended our opinion. And I may well call it ours ; for we differ not at all, from that which he maintains ; while the Nonjurors (whose opinion was formerly embrac'd by the generality of the *English Clergy*) are most bitterly inrag'd against him. And why should he object against us, *Epicurean* principles, who is so displeas'd with the charge of Popish ones ? If *Epicurus* jumbled some mistakes and some truths together, must we upon that account reject the truths ? We take another course in natural philosophy : why should we not do the like in politics and ethics ?

And if Epicurus, as Diogenes Laertius reports, held there was nothing just or unjust in it self, but by virtue of covenants, which men have enter'd into, he widely differs from our opinion. But what need I use many words about this? These, and the rest of the idle cavils here used, have been long ago answer'd by the most learned and ingenious Mr. Lock, to whom I refer all those for satisfaction, who think there is any strength in them.

At length the Doctor asks: *And as for tyranny, what do we advance to encourage it?** We shall presently be able to answer this question from his own confession. since a man may be very loyal [in the Latin 'tis, to good princes: and he that is not loyal to them, deserves the severest punishment] and yet far from being fond of a merciless tyrant. No man in his wits will think these things to be contrary to one another; or make any difficulty of allowing with our Author, that we see at this day many brave men, employ'd by our excellent Queen, and very dutiful and loyal to her, who had formerly signaliz'd themselves in the defence of their liberties against arbitrary power. Nevertheless, we may say, we see others who little regard whether princes rule well or tyrannically; but only consider how they stand affected to themselves, and their interest; and accordingly either reverence, or hate them.

But these things are only a flourish before hand; and now we come to the main combat. Hear then from our Author our true objection: *But some of us declar'd not long since, both in preaching and writing, that it was not lawful to resist the Prince's officers, tho' commanded by him to act in the most arbitrary manner.*† And now I appeal to the honest verdict of our Judges, whether what the Clergy herein advanc'd, encourag'd tyranny, or no? See now, how he answers.

It may be remember'd that they express'd themselves thus, at a time when the royal authority was warmly disputed; when popular fury, inflam'd by factious men, was very threatening and dangerous both to Church and State: But it should be remember'd, that matter had never been disputed, and much more not so warmly, had not mercenary Clergymen first taught both Prince and people that base doctrine. This there-

* pag. 232. † pag. 233.

therefore is a very sorry defence. For what ! Is it lawful for the Clergy to spread false and mischievous opinions, when there is a warm dispute a foot ? Certainly the warmer the dispute, the more need there is of caution. But supposing this will serve, if not to vindicate, yet to excuse in some measure the Clergy, in what they did in King Charles the First's time ; what shall we then say concerning his Son's reign ? The Clergy did not less industriously propagate that notion in King Charles the Second's days ; altho' *no popular fury, inflam'd by factious men, was then very threatening and dangerous both to Church and State.* In truth, ever since this doctrine began to be preach'd, it has brought the State into danger. And if the people of *England* had regarded that kind of preachers, and been loyal to King James II. as they directed them ; every one is sensible, what a condition we must have been in long ago. So that it must be own'd, they either impos'd horridly upon the Prince, or the people. But he goes on : *and when the Parliament had enacted a law, that none should take arms against the King's officers for any cause whatever ; which law every Clergyman was bound to subscribe at his Ordination.* So then any thing (no matter whether true or false) may be subscrib'd, if the Parliament requires it. I beseech now our Brethren abroad, to say plainly, whether this subscription of the Conformists was not unlawful and impious ? Whether the terms of Conformity were not in this respect unjust ? Whether those Ministers are not to be esteem'd the right-ful and catholic Pastors of the Church, who chose rather to be turn'd out of their livings, than submit to such conditions of keeping them ? And lastly, whether those Ministers are not to be esteem'd schismatical, and to have come in at a wrong door, who got their livings by such unrighteous methods ? If any unlawful terms of Conformity are requir'd, they are Schismatics, in the judgment of many of the Episcoparians themselves, not who refuse, but who submit to them. And I would be glad to know, how the Conformists can in this respect clear themselves from the guilt of Schism.

And now is it such an unpardonable crime for the Clergy, who are not suppos'd to understand state affairs, to defend a matter so expressly and solemnly establish'd by the laws ? And is this the defence we were made to expect of the behaviour of the Clergy ? Who can do otherwise than call it a poor and

sorry excuse, or rather a begging of pardon? For if the Clergy *understand not state affairs*, why did they meddle with them? Why did they pretend great skill in them? But they treated not of this as a *state affair*, but as a point of religion. Whose indignation does not rise, when he calls to mind with what arrogance they preach'd this pernicious doctrine, as tho' it had been unquestionable Gospel; and thunder'd out the threatenings of eternal torments against all those who contradicted it? Further, if it be lawful to *defend any matter*, which is *expressly and solemnly establish'd by the laws*, without considering whether it be true, or false; what is there, that may not some time or other be capable of the same defence? By the same argument our Adversaries may excuse the Clergy, who embrac'd and defended Popery in Queen Mary's days: 'twas a matter as *expressly and solemnly establish'd by the laws*.

Next our Author endeavours to remove the blame from the Clergy, and lay it elsewhere. *Why*, says he, *dont the blame (if any be due) fall upon the grave and wise authors of such a law?* No doubt, the blame falls upon the lawmakers; but it falls also upon those who first taught those grave and wise persons the doctrine, and afterward defended it with as much zeal and earnestness, as if it had been the principal and most important point of their religion. *Were the Clergy oblig'd to subscribe one thing, and teach people another?* No certainly. But since the doctrine it self was poisonous, they ought not to have approv'd it by their subscription. But some men, to curry favour, stick not at any subscription, or oath the Parliament requires, and then stun the poor people with their noise about it. They have their reasons for what they do. *The Laws expressly and solemnly require it; and they must obey men, rather than God.* But he farther asks: *If the high Estates of the kingdom were willing to give away the people's rights and privileges, was it reasonable to expect that a company of helpless Priests should defend them?* They should have defended them, as our not less helpless Ministers did, who refus'd to subscribe the doctrine; and as they afterwards defended them themselves, in the reign of King James II. 'Tis one thing not to be able to defend the rights and privileges of the people, and another perfidiously to betray them. The Parliament hearken'd to the advice and desire of the Clergy,

in making that, and several other laws; and are now worthily rewarded for their complaisance: for the Clergy, to excuse themselves, now throw all the blame upon them.

Thus I have consider'd all in this Part, which I think is material in our controversy. I shall next consider his other Part; wherein we shall see how stout a defence he makes of the Hierarchy and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*.





A
VINDICATION
OF THE
DISSENTERS.
P A R T III.

In which Dr. NICHOLS's Second Part, vindicating the Church of *England's* Discipline, and Modes of Worship, is examin'd, and refuted.

C H A P. I.
Of the Government of Bishops.



H E former part of the Doctor's Defence has been easily dispatch'd, it containing little material in our controversy. For *Calvinism* is so far from ever hindring men from subscribing the Articles, that they can't honestly be subscrib'd without it. But now we are come to the very heart of the controversy. The Dissenters use not to chide the authentic writings of the Church with errors in doctrine; but only some particular

ticular authors, who have made innovations in the doctrine they subscrib'd. But we do indeed blame the Church (how very deservedly our Arbitrators shall now see) for her establish'd discipline, and modes of worship. Our Author begins this part of his Defence with the vindication of the Hierarchy. And since his party never write with more assurance and triumph, upon any point of the controversy, than this; nay, since abundance of them use to condemn all the Reformed Churches abroad, as well as the Dissenters at home, for laying aside Episcopacy; I think 'twill not be amiss here, in the first place, to give a particular account of the opinion of the two contending parties.

The Episcopal party then, altho' they are greatly divided about the original and foundation of their Hierarchy; yet the generality of them, especially the moderns, are st^tiff in maintaining a threefold order of Ministers. To the lowest order, of Deacons, a power is granted of baptizing; of reading in the congregation the Holy Scriptures, Homilies, and Prayers; of assisting the Priests in distributing the elements of the Lord's Supper; and of preaching, if the Bishop thinks fit, upon any part of the New Testament. The care of the poor is likewise committed to them in shew, but not in reality. The middle order, of Priests, or Presbyters, is allow'd to preach, read Prayers, administer Sacraments, and pronounce the Absolution. To the highest order, of Bishops, (of which there is but one in each Church) belongs the power of confirming baptiz'd persons, ordaining Ministers, and governing the Church. They look upon the Bishop's Dioceſs, as the lowest *species* or kind of a Church, and lodge the whole government of every Church in its reſpective Bishop; but the Presbyters, who officiate in the ſeveral parishes, which make up the Bishop's Dioceſs, are look'd upon as his delegates or Curates. This part of the controversy was conſiderably alter'd in the laſt Century. Our moſt antient Reformers thought, there was no diſference, by diſtinct appointment, between a Bishop and a Presbyter; and therefore requir'd not thoſe, who had been ordain'd by Presbyters, to be reordain'd by a Bishop, to qualify them for diſcharging the office of a Presbyter in the Church of England.

As to our part, we do not condemn all manner of preceſſion, or preheminence. If the Episcoparians had only aſſerted it to be both lawful and uſeful, that among Presbyters, who are by the firſt institution all equal, there ſhould

be one, for order sake, placed above the rest, and call'd the Bishop, we should not upon that account have contended with them, or separated from them. Who knows not that the Foreign Churches, which are under Presbyterian government, have, in their Synods and Classes, Moderators, Prolocutors, &c. which are by experience found necessary? And if men had been intrusted with those offices in our Churches, not barely upon occasion, but for life, or as long as they behav'd themselves well in them, I hardly think any quarrel would have risen upon this head. Nay, so earnestly did our Ministers desire peace, that if our Bishops had been oblig'd to govern their Churches, with the consent and assistance of their Presbyters, they would have born with it, rather than have been depriv'd of the public exercise of their Ministry. For they thus consider'd with themselves; that it was enough for them, if they preserv'd intire the power which they receiv'd from God, and left that consecration, whereby Presbyters are made Bishops, as a useless thing, to those who were satisfy'd of the lawfulness or expediency of it. This then is our judgment; that the distinction our Adversaries make between a Presbyter and a Bishop is groundless, being no where made in the Scripture; and that Christ is alone a monarch in his Church; and that he has never appointed a Monarchical form of government to be practis'd in it.

'Tis not needful, that I should use many arguments to confirm this our opinion. I refer my *English* readers to my Letters against Dr. *Wells*. They will there meet with a full proof of our opinion, such as my adversary could not answer; who contented himself with denying the conclusion, without replying to the premises; and miserably teaz'd his poor readers with an endless repetition of a tale of the ambiguous, and promiscuous use, of the names Bishop and Presbyter.

And as to our Brethren abroad, who are all of the same opinion with us; I would not be thought to doubt of their being fully acquainted with all those arguments, which defend an opinion as much theirs as our own. Otherwise I might mention, that our Blessed Saviour at his ascension left an Aristocratical form of government in his Church at *Jerusalem*, the only one he then had upon earth; and committed to his eleven Apostles an equal power in governing it. I might mention, that the same form of government obtain'd at *Ephesus*, *Corinth*, *Thessalonica*, *Philippi*, and

all

all other Churches mention'd in the New Testament. I might mention the Apostle Paul's express ascribing the Ordination of *Timothy* to the Presbytery. I might mention, that there is no where the least notice taken in the New Testament of any such sacred office, as had the power of administering Sacraments; but not of ruling the Church, and ordaining Ministers. Lastly, I might mention, that two orders of Ministers only are spoken of in the Holy Scripture, and that so much as the name of a third does not there appear. The learned Bp. *Burnet* was aware of some inconsistency in the contrary notion. I shall set down his words, which are very much to my purpose. "As for the notion, says he, " of the distinct offices of Bishop and Presbyter, I confess, " 'tis not so clear to me: and therefore since I look upon the " sacramental actions, as the highest of sacred performances; I cannot but acknowledge, those who are empower'd " for them, must be of the highest office in the Church."* For the sake of brevity, I pass over these, and a great many other things, which shew, the form of government, settled in the Foreign Churches, does much better agree with the Scriptures, than that of the Church of *England*. And if the opinion, which is common to us with our Brethren abroad, be true; he must certainly invade the rights of Presbyters, and affect a very unjust authority, who endeavours to appropriate to himself all power in the Church, to the exclusion of the Presbyters. But let us now hear our Author, who, when he has set down our objections, presently proceeds after this fashion.

But let these unrighteous accusers know, that the Order they so loudly declaim against, was instituted by Christ himself; who, just before his ascension, inspir'd his Apostles with the Holy Ghost, and gave them power to remit and retain sins; which Apostles were Bishops both in name and thing.† These things are very easily answer'd. For,

1. According to the judgment of the Episcoparians, a Bishop and a Church go together, and are *relata*, as Logicians would call them: and there can be but one Bishop in a Church. Since therefore there was at that time but one Christian Church, there could likewise be but one Bishop, according to their own scheme; and yet eleven Bishops are by our Lord plac'd in it, all endow'd with an equal share

of

of honour and authority. I have always thought that first Church at *Jerusalem*, founded by our Lord himself, was the best platform for us to model our Churches by. She was deservedly call'd by the Fathers, in the Synod of *Constantinople*, the Mother Church ;* and by *Ireneus*, the Metropolis of the citizens of the New Covenant. † And to the like purpose is that of *Tertullian* : “ Every kind must be reckon'd according to its original : therefore so many and great Churches are that one Church, first founded by the Apostles, from which all others are deriv'd. So they are all the first Church, and all Apostolical Churches, while they all together demonstrate their being one.” ‡ A Church is to be esteem'd the more pure and perfect, the more conform'd 'tis to its original. But all grant the Church of *Jerusalem* was the original of all the rest : and therefore *Jerom*'s comment is not amiss, upon those words of the Prophet : *For the law shall go forth out of Sion, and and the word of the Lord out of Jerusalem.* “ The Church first founded in *Jerusalem*, says he, bred all the other Churches thro' the whole world-----He does not say, *the Law shall be, or remain in Sion, or in Jerusalem*, but shall go forth from thence ; that he might tell us, all nations were to be water'd with the Christian doctrine flowing from that fountain.” ‡ And since it cannot be deny'd, that the Apostles had all equal power in that first Church ; I can't see what can be wanting to make this a full and clear demonstration of our opinion.

2. We readily grant, the Apostles were all Bishops ; for we say, all Presbyters are such. Two things are to be consider'd in the Apostles : First, their Apostleship, or what was peculiar to them, not to be deriv'd down to any successors : Secondly, their ordinary office, wherein they were to be succeeded by others ; it being design'd to continue to the end of the world. Our Author should have prov'd, the Apostles were Bishops according to the model of our *English Hierarchy* ; or that, with reference to their ordinary capacity, they were not of the same order with Presbyters. The Apostles never disdain'd or shun'd the name of Presbyters : 1 Pet. v. 1, 2. 2 Epistle of John 1. 3 Epistle of John 1. And, as far as I can perceive, that name in the Holy Scripture

ture

* *Theodorit.* H. E. lib. v. c. 9. † *Book iii. c. 12. p. 226.*

‡ *De Presb. c. 20.* ‡ *Upon Isa. ii. 2.*

ture always signifies such Ministers as were more than one, and equal in power in every particular Church. I therefore willingly grant, Christ instituted then the order of Bishops or Presbyters: the order, I say, it being but one, since a Bishop and a Presbyter always signify the same thing in the New Testament. And let our Adversaries, if they can, shew us the institution of any other order, than this one, and that of Deacons, in the Holy Scripture.

Before I dismiss this matter, 'twill not be amiss to look into our Author's marginal observation, whereby he would confirm what I have now refuted.

Upon which the author of the Questions on the Old and New Testament has a pertinent remark: "Every body knows, our "Lord ordain'd Bishops to preside over the Churches. Be- "fore he ascended into heaven, he laid his hands on his "Apostles, and ordain'd them Bishops."

The book is divided into 127 questions; and it had been easy therefore for our Author to refer his reader to the particular question, where he might find his citation. I complain'd of this in the *Latin* edition; but 'tis not mended in the Translation. I could not, upon a second search, readily find the place, and did not think it worth while to look very diligently for it. For whatever the Doctor might imagine, I can't see 'tis much to his purpose. Who doubts, the Apostles were by our Lord ordain'd Bishops? We assert not only that; but likewise that there were no other, of whatever order or degree, ordain'd by him. Further, since that Author is known to have been of opinion, that there is no difference between a Bishop and a Presbyter, except that a Bishop is the first Presbyter; and since a Bishop and a Presbyter in Scripture are the very same; who perceives not, that the testimony here alledg'd is very contrary to our Author's judgment? Mind how he discourses elsewhere: "The Apostle *Paul* shews, that by Presbyter is meant a Bishop, when he gives directions to *Timothy*, whom he had ordain'd a presbyter, what were the qualifications of any person, whom he should ordain a Bishop. For what indeed is a Bishop, but the first (or chief) Presbyter, that is, the chief Priest? Lastly, a Bishop calls the Presbyters his Fellow Presbyters, or his Fellow Priests. Does he in like manner call his Deacons, his Fellow Deacons? By no means; because they are much inferior to him. And 'tis not decent for the chief Judge to speak in that manner. For in *Alexandria*, and through all *Egypt*, in the absence

“ absence of the Bishop, a Presbyter consecrates.”* By consecrating here, he can’t mean consecrating the elements in the Lord’s Supper; since that was the custom every where, as well as in *Egypt*; and therefore he must refer to Confirmation or Ordination. And if learned men are not mistaken in their conjecture, that *Hilary* the Deacon was the writer of that piece, and the *Commentary upon St. Paul’s Epistles*, which used to be ascrib’d to St. *Ambrose*; he is known to have held, there was but *one Ordination of a Bishop and a Presbyter*.† But if any doubts of his opinion, let him consult *Mr. Blondel*, who has well explain’d it.||

But I return again from our Author’s Margin to his Text. *Which Apostles were Bishops both in name and thing, and fix’d their Sees in the chief cities, which they had converted.*‡

Because the Apostles were inspir’d persons, and ready on all occasions to declare the will of God, the Churches were bound to obey them: and so there can be no doubt, they govern’d the Churches, wherever they came. But that they *fix’d their Sees in any chief cities*, or commonly resided in them, as the ordinary governors of the Churches therein, may be very much question’d. Nay, the most learned Dr. *Barrow* (*a Man who may be allow’d to have a small share of modesty*, at least, notwithstanding what our Author presently says to the contrary) denies it, and endeavours to overthrow that opinion by several arguments, in his incomparable piece concerning *The Pope’s Supremacy*.* If the aucti. seem to say any thing contrary to this, I should be ready to think, ‘tis to be attributed to their fondness for their own respective Churches; as it was usual for them to endeavour to advance the reputation of their Churches, by fetching their original from some famous Apostle, as tho’ he had been the Bishop thereof. So *Peter* is pretended to have been first Bishop of *Antioch*, and afterwards of *Rome*, and to have ordain’d his successors in both Churches. And if that were true, I dont see why it was reckon’d of old so scandalous, for a Bishop to leave a poor See for a rich one; or why it was look’d upon unlawful for a Bishop to ordain his own successor, that is, to make two Bishops or Monarchs in one Church. In a word, we grant, the Apostles ordain’d others to be Presbyters in the several Churches; but that they appointed also Bishops of a different order from Presbyters,

* *Quæj. 101.* † *1 Tim. iii.* ¶ *Apol. p. 47, &c.* ‡ *pag. 237.* * *p. 82, &c.*

byters, will never be prov'd by those who earnestly desire to do it. But I shall afterwards shew how the Apostles behav'd themselves, out of St. *Clement*, who was cotemporary with them.

And our Author's business is not to shew, the Apostles, as he says, *ordain'd others, as occasion requir'd*, which every body allows ; but to prove they ordain'd them to be ecclesiastical Monarchs, or each of them singly to rule their respective Churches : for that is what we absolutely deny. Nor is this question to be decided by the testimonies of Fathers, but by the Holy Scriptures. Who can make it appear, that *Cyprian*, *Theodorit*, or *Rabanus Maurus*, are a sure rule, by which we may discover the truth ? Our Adversaries reject their authority when they please ; why then may not we do the same, as often as they disagree with the Holy Scripture ? Nor are the words of *Cyprian* over fairly cited. They are thus : " The Deacons should remember, that the " Lord chose the Apostles, that is, Bishops and Rulers ; " but the Apostles, after our Lord's ascension into heaven, " appointed the Deacons, as their own and the Church's " servants."* 'Tis to be observ'd, *Cyprian* does not say, the Bishops and Rulers are Apostles ; as our Author, inverting the words in his citation, pretends. He does not say, *Episcopos & Praepositos* (*i. e. Apostolos*) *Dominus elegit*, as our Author sets down his words ; but *Apostolos*, *i. e. Episcopos & Praepositos*. The reason of his expression is, because the Apostles, besides their extraordinary character of Apost'leship (which was peculiar to themselves, and was not to descend to any persons after them) sustain'd the character of ordinary Bishops or Presbyters. So that whatever rights, privileges, or promises, belong'd to the Apostles by virtue of their ordinary character, are understood in like manner to belong to all Bishops or Rulers. Moreover, since *Cyprian* acknowledges but one office, *viz.* that of the Apostles, to be instituted by Christ ; and the other, of the Deacons, to be appointed by the Apostles ; and yet distinguishes a Presbyter from a Bishop ; he must, without all doubt, have believ'd, that Bishops and Presbyters were both successors to the Apostles. 'Tis not unusual with *Irenaeus*† to speak in that manner, sometimes of Presbyters, and sometimes of Bishops. Wherefore, I can't but think, *Cyprian's* meaning is ;

* Ep. 65. † Compare Lib. ii. c. 2, 3 : & iv. c. 43.

is ; that Christ at that time appointed the offices of Bishop and Presbyter. Compare herewith the Epistle of his co-temporary and acquaintance *Firmilian*, which is thought to be *Cyprian's* own translation out of the Greek. " 'Tis our constant practice, that every year we all, Elders and Rulers, meet together, to order those affairs, which are committed to our care.* ---- All authority and grace is lodg'd in the Church, where Presbyters [*majores natu*] bear rule, who have the power of baptizing, confirming, and ordaining."† Now if this was *Cyprian's* opinion, that Christ instituted Bishops and Presbyters, when he instituted his Apostles ; what signifies it against us, unless our Adversaries can prove, that Christ then appointed some difference between them ?

But *Theodorit's* testimony is next produc'd, who says : *that those, who are now call'd Bishops, were formerly call'd Apostles.*|| A mighty business ! This is the conjecture of *Theodorit*, a Bishop of the fifth Century ; which he does not confirm by the testimony of any more antient Father, but only grounds it on the words of the Apostle. If there be no force in his argument (as I will shew presently there is not, when I come to speak of *Epaphroditus*) 'tis evident his authority can signify nothing in this case. And of less account is the judgment of *Rabanus Maurus*, who liv'd in the ninth Century, and should rather be reckon'd among the late than the antient writers.

But our Author now tells us when, and upon what occasion, the Apostles ordain'd others ; viz. *when the bounds of the Church were so inlarg'd, that there was need of greater numbers to preach the Gospel.* And was this the occasion of their ordaining more Bishops ? Let then the Church of *England* be ashame'd, which commits so many thousand souls in *England*, and both the *Indies*, to the single care of the Bishop of *London*. One Bishop is now thought sufficient for so vast a Diocess ; why then might not twelve Apostles have been enough for the whole Christian world ? For if the number of souls, committed to the care of that one Bishop, be multiply'd by the number of the Apostles ; the product, I dare say, will not only equal, but far exceed the number of all the Christians in the world at that time. And yet I hope I may have a small share of modesty, tho' I say, any one of the

Apostles

* pag. 219.

† pag. 221.

|| Upon 1 Tim. iii.

Apostles was as capable of governing so large a Church, as the Bishop of London.

This eminent honour and dignity was confer'd on James surnam'd the Just, who presided over the Church of Jerusalem many years with great sanctity and wisdom. Just now he pretended this order and dignity commenc'd at the ascension of Christ, when he inspir'd the Apostles with the Holy Ghost: and now he supposes this honour and dignity to be confer'd upon James, who was an Apostle before. And so at length the Bishops, the successors of the Apostles, are advanc'd above their predecessors. Many strange tales are related by the antients of this James. Photius says, he receiv'd his Consecration, and the Bishoprick of Jerusalem, from our Lord'sown hand.* Nicephorus Callistus makes him to have the Church of Jerusalem committed to him, first by our Saviour himself, and afterward (as some say) by the Apostles. †

If any one imagines our cause hurt by the testimonies of the antients concerning this James; we desire him to take notice, that we little regard that story, which they borrow'd from *Hegeſippus*; which is so silly, childish and false, that hardly any sensible person, whether Protestant or Papist, now gives any heed to it. If any one desires to see it confuted, he may consult the famous *Scaliger*, || who has demonstrated many falsities to be contain'd in it. I will not transcribe his observations, but just mention some of the silly fabulous accounts he gives of him.

1. *Hegeſippus* relates, that the Scribes and Pharisees carry'd this James up to the top of the Temple of Jerusalem; that from thence he might undeceive the people, who believ'd Jesus was the Christ. Now, who can credit this Story? A Man may well say the Scribes and Pharisees were abominably wicked; but no man in his wits will be easily perswaded to believe they were so silly and stupid, as to expect that James, our Saviour's Brother, Disciple, and Apostle, should thus blasphemously speak against him before the People, when they could not prevail with him first to do it more privately before themselves? This would be as tho' a man should hope

to

* Epist. 117. pag. 158.

† Lib. 11. c. 38. pag 196.

|| Animad. in Euseb. Chronol. pag. 178. Valesii Not. in Euseb.

to perswade the Pope to go up St. Peter's Church at Rome, and thence tell the people, they should no longer take him for Christ's Vicar on earth, but for the Antichrist foretold in the Scripture.

2. He gives an account, that *James* was thrown headlong from the top of that high Temple, and presently kneel'd down and pray'd, and was then knock'd on the head by a fuller with his club, and buried in the same place. But who can be ignorant, that the Jews (who knew any dead body defil'd, according to their law, not only men, but holy places) would suffer no body to be buried within their city, and much less so near the Temple? They would therefore never suffer *James*, whom with deadly hatred they had just before wickedly murder'd, to be buried in that very holy ground.

3. Lastly, that trifler adds; that his monument, or tombstone remain'd in the same place to his time. But this could not be without a new miracle. For when the Temple was destroy'd, according to our Saviour's prediction, *one stone was not left upon another*. How then could this monument of *James* be preserv'd safe in that prodigious destruction? Away with such impertinencies! He that can feign such tales, or believe them when feign'd to his hand, hardly deserves any credit himself. Upon the whole therefore, what satisfaction can we have of *James's* Episcopacy, from the relation of such an author?

But some may perhaps here object: What then, will you give no credit to so many considerable ecclesiastical writers, who unanimously agree in making this *James* Bishop of *Jerusalem*? Truly, I think they will not have much wrong done them hereby; if, as it seems very probable, they owe their accounts, both of the Bishoprick and Martyrdom of *James*, only to *Hegeippus*. But that I may speak my mind honestly and freely: since *Jerusalem* was a famous city, and the metropolis both of Jews and Christians, and very much frequented by both; it might perhaps seem convenient and necessary to the Apostles, that one of their own number should always continue there. If therefore any one should contend, that *James the Just*, upon some such account fix'd his residence there, and so became the chief teacher and ruler of that Church, and that hence the antients took occasion to call him the Bishop of *Jerusalem*; I should not in the least oppose

oppose him. But lest any one should think, I am paving the way hereby to a Monarchical Church government, I add : that an Apostle had a greater share in Church administrations than a common Presbyter, not by virtue of any ordinary character he bore, and was to be transmitted to successors ; but by virtue of his extraordinary character, as immediately chosen by Christ, and immediately inspir'd by the Holy Ghost. Nor can I believe, the power of governing that Church was committed to *James* alone ; the other Apostles being excluded, when present. He could do nothing, which might not be done by any of the rest of them. And if you consider him as an Apostle, he vastly differs from a Bishop ; but if you consider him as an ordinary Minister of the New Testament, so he was a Presbyter, as were the rest of the Apostles : nor was he alone intrusted with the government of that Church in the absence of the Apostles, but had other Presbyters join'd with him therein, who, as Presbyters, were equal to him in all things, except the election of our Lord himself. I should have done with the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, but that I must take notice of what he here adds : That he had *St. Stephen*, the first *Martyr*, for his *Deacon*, as the Fathers inform us.

This I dont believe. I think 'tis plain, as I elsewhere observe, that our Lord made *Peter* the chief Apostle, and that he acted as such, while the Apostles kept all together, as they did till some time after *Stephen's* death. And we find not any thing peculiar mention'd of this *James* in the *Acts*, till after that time. *James* did not go to *Samaria* to give them the Holy Ghost, as probably he would have done, had he been in the chair at *Jerusalem* ; but *Peter* and *John* are sent for that purpose. So that tho' I should allow *James* to have afterwards been in that See ; yet I cannot easily do it, during *St. Stephen's* life. But who are those Fathers, who thus inform us ? We are here refer'd to *Ignat.* *Ep. ad Trall.* But what's the meaning of this ? A sorry knave, and a corrupter of the Fathers, is reckon'd among the holy Fathers themselves. For the passage, here refer'd to, is not in the genuine Epistle of *Ignatius*, but is the addition of the Interpolator. Either therefore that impostor is too much lov'd and honour'd, or else the Doctor despis'd not only the Dissenters, but the Foreign Divines his Judges, as unlearned and stupid wretches, whom he hoped to impose upon in so plain a case.

With the same honourable office was Epaphroditus invested, as St. Paul testifies; whom for that reason Theodorit and St. Jerom stile Bishop of the Philippians. *

The titles of the Ministers of the New Testament are sometimes used by the sacred Penmen in their common signification. Thus the word *διάκονος*, Deacon, sometimes signifies any servant; and *πρεσβύτερος*, Presbyter, an old man. In like manner, *ἀπόστολος* sometimes is put for any messenger, or person sent by another, *John* xiii. 16. Not only foreign Interpreters, but our own, so render the word in that place, and in *2 Cor.* viii. 23. as also in that now under consideration, *Philip.* ii. 25. For tho' that appellation, *Ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ Christi*, an Apostle of Jesus Christ, always denotes a person in office; yet the other, *ἀπόστολος ὑμῶν*, your Apostle, or *ἀπόστολος ἐκκλησιῶν*, the Churches Apostle, does not. Now that Epaphroditus was truly an Apostle, in our sense of the word, that is, a Messenger of the Church of Philippi, we learn from St. Paul himself: chap. iv. 18. *I am full, having receiv'd of Epaphroditus the things which were sent from you.* Nay, he hints the same in the place before us: *Yet I suppos'd it necessary to send to you Epaphroditus, my brother and companion in labour, and fellow soldier; but your ἀπίστολον, Messenger, and he that ministred to my wants.* These last words, and he that ministred to my wants, not only prove Epaphroditus was an Apostle, in the sense we give of the word, viz. that he was a Messenger; but they seem to be added, as an explication of that term used by the Apostle. Setting aside therefore all zeal for a party, our Adversaries can prove nothing by that text, till they can by some other arguments make it appear, he was an Apostle, in their sense of the word.

Dr. Whitby ingenuously owns, St. Paul's Words dont prove he was their Bishop; but yet believes it, upon the testimony of Theodorit, Chrysostom, and Theophylact.† But we can't build much upon their authority in such a matter, since we are uncertain whether they receiv'd their opinion from any antient writers, or only gather'd it from some places of the New Testament, which they misunderstood. Further, neither Theophylact, nor Chrysostom, give that interpretation as a certain truth, but only as a conjecture; and call him not their Bishop, but their Doctor or Teacher. So Theophylact explains

* pag. 222.

† See him upon *Philip.* i. 1: and his Pref. to that Epistle.

explains the passage: "That is, I give you back again him who was sent to me from you; for they had sent to the Apostle by him such things as he wanted. Or else he says your Apostle, that is, your Master or Teacher." In like manner *Chrysostom*: "We give you back what's your own; or, we send you him who is one of you, or your Teacher."

But let us a little consider Dr. *Whitby*'s Note upon the place. "But the word *Apostle* is never used in the New Testament, but either of those who were in the strict sense *Apostles* of the Lord, or else were eminent Ministers and Preachers of the Gospel. Thus *Titus*, and the Brother of St. *Paul* (which is the usual appellation of St. *Timothy*; see Note on *Hebr.* xiii. 23.) are *ἀπόστολοι*, the *Apostles* of the Churches, *2 Cor.* viii. 22, 23."* The learned Doctor hardly minded here what he wrote: for he has no Note upon that place to the *Hebr.* and only refers in his Paraphrase to his Preface, where indeed he maintains the same opinion. But besides that; altho' here he follows those who understand St. *Paul*'s Brother, mention'd *2 Cor.* viii. 23. to be *Timothy*; yet upon the place it self he defends the opinion of the antients, who thought he intended St. *Luke*. But whoever will look into the place, will see, that he speaks of one, if not more, besides *Titus*, and *Timothy*, or *Luke*, whom he calls the *Apostles*, or Messengers of the Churches. And since Dr. *Whitby* can't tell who they are, he is too hasty in asserting, the word is never used of any other, but eminent Ministers and Preachers of the Gospel. But Dr. *Whitby* adds:

"And *Andronicus* and *Junia*, who had long preached the Gospel, are stiled, *ἀνδρῶν μεταξὺ τῶν ἀπόστολοις*, eminent among the *Apostles of Christ*." But how does that appear? Who is it, that testifies they had long preach'd the *Gospel*? This at least is very uncertain concerning *Junia*, it being doubtful whether 'tis the name of a man or a woman. *Chrysostom*, *Theophylact*, *Oecumenius*, *Origen*, *Hilary the Deacon*, *Pelagius*, *Primasius*, *Beda*, *Haimo*, and *Remigius*, read not *Junia*, but *Julia*, believing her to be a woman; as the learned *Blondel* assures us. † They deal very unfairly in citing the Fathers, who, upon the testimonies of a few of them, make *Epaphroditus* Bishop of *Philippi*; and yet affirm *Junia* was a man, and a Preacher of the *Gospel*, upon the single testimony of *Doro-*

D d 2

theus,

* Upon *Philip.* ii. 25.

† *Apol.* p. 107.

theus, a most impertinent writer ; when they have so many and considerable writers against that opinion. *Dorotheus*, I confess, says, *Junia* was Bishop of *Apamia* in *Syria* ; but if his impertinent accounts deserve any regard, *Epaphroditus* must not have been Bishop of *Philippi*, but of *Adriana* or *Ariadna*. But let us suppose *Andronicus* and *Junia* were both of them Preachers ; yet they were not Bishops, according to the pretended signification of the word *Apostles*. For if we imagine St. *Paul* spoke of them as Bishops, *Rom.* xvi. 7. there must have been three Bishops of *Rome* at the same time ; for to these two we must add a third, out of the catalogues of the antients. And every body knows how contrary that is to our Adversaries scheme.

Further, *Theodorit*, to whom Dr. *Whithy* and Dr. *Nichols* both appeal, pretends to no other authority, but that of this one text, for his making *Epaphroditus* Bishop of *Philippi* ; as appears from his own Words. "He calls him, says he, "their Apostle, who was intrusted with the care of them : "so that 'tis plain, they, who in the beginning were call'd "Bishops, officiated under him, in the order of Presbyters." And to the same purpose are *Theodorit*'s words, refer'd to by Dr. *Nichols* ; tho' he has not rightly noted the place : for he does not use these words upon *Philip.* ii. 25. but upon *Philip.* i. 1.

I will next consider the testimony of *Jerom*, who really nowhere says, *Epaphroditus* was Bishop of *Philippi* ; nay, he seems to have thought, that meer Presbyters, or Priests, were sometimes call'd Apostles. But that we may be the more certain of his opinion, I will set down what he says more at length. "But others are call'd Apostles beside the twelve ; the reason is, because all that had seen the Lord, and preach'd him afterwards, were nam'd Apostles, "as 'tis said to the *Corinthians* : Who was seen of the eleven ; "after that, he was seen of five hundred brethren at once, of whom the greater part remain unto this day, but some are fallen asleep ; then he was seen of *James*, and then of all the Apostles."* Then follow the words quoted by the Doctor. "But afterwards by degrees others, beside those chosen by our Lord, were ordain'd Apostles, as the *Epistle to the Philippians* declares in these words : But I thought it needful to send unto you *Epaphroditus*, your Apostle." What hinders now, but that,

* Upon *Gal.* i. 19.

that, in *Jerom's* opinion, all the Preachers of the Gospel might be call'd Apostles ? If we compare herewith, what he says in his Comment upon the first verse of the chapter, we shall not be able any longer to doubt of his opinion. " That he might make a distinction, says he, between those who were sent by men, and himself, who was sent by Christ, he begins his Epistle in that manner : *Paul, an Apostle, not of man, neither by man.* An *Apostle*, that is, one sent, is properly an *H.brew* way of speaking, as *Silas*, which signifies sent, has thence his Name.-----But there are four sorts of Apostles : the first, neither of man, nor by man, but by *Jesus Christ*, and God the Father ; the second, of God, and yet by man ; the third is of man, not of God ; the fourth is neither of God, nor by man, nor of man, but of himself. Of the first sort may be reckon'd *Isaiah*, and the other Prophets, and the Apostle *Paul* himself, who was not sent of men, or by man ; but by God the Father, and Christ. Of the second sort may be *Joshua* the son of *Nun*, who was of God indeed made an Apostle, but by the man *Moses*. The third sort is, when any one is ordain'd by the favour and interest of men, as we see some men put into the Priesthood, not by the approbation of God, but by the favour which they have purchas'd among the common people. The fourth sort consists of false Prophets, and false Apostles." Who does not see that, according to *Jerom*, all Priests, who were ordain'd agreeably to the will of God, might be reckon'd of the second sort, and might be term'd Apostles ? *Jerom* therefore thought *Epaphroditus* was ordain'd to some sacred office ; which seems probable enough, from the Apostle's words : but that he is call'd Bishop of the *Philippians* by *Jerom*, is very false ; nor does it appear that *Jerom* had the least thought of that matter. The argument from the title of an Apostle signifies nothing ; for the same is given by *Tertullian* to *Philip*,* as a Person sent of God, altho' he could not be reckon'd an Apostle in our Author's sense, seeing he was but a Deacon.

A third of this order was Titus, call'd the Apostle of Churches [of the meaning of which expression enough is said already] *and ordain'd Bishop of Crete.* This hardly agrees with the sentiments of the Episcoparians. They frequently pretend,

that every city or Church should have its own Bishop. So Dr. Hammond : " Now for the *κατ' ἐκκλησίαν*, 'tis best ren-
 " der'd Church by Church, i. e. in every Church one Elder or
 " Bishop. And so *χειροτονεῖν πρεσβυτέρους κατ' ἐκκλησίαν*, to
 " ordain Elders in every Church, is all one with *κατεστητεῖν*
 " *πρεσβύτερους κατὰ πόλιν*, to constitute Elders in every city, Tit.
 " i. 5. every city having a Bishop in it, and so call'd a
 " Church, to which the believers in all parts about it be-
 " long'd, and that Bishop having power to make as many
 " inferior officers, as he thought good.* He therefore took
Titus to be, not a plain Bishop, but an Archbishop ; and
 the Presbyters to be ordain'd by him are, in Dr. H's judg-
 ment, Bishops properly so call'd. And 'tis the common
 maxim of the Episcopal party, that a Bishop and a Church
 are in a relation to one another, and that there can be but
 one Bishop in any one Church. But Dr. *Nichols*, tho' he
 calls not *Titus* Archbishop, yet makes him the Bishop of
 many Churches, and therefore stiles him *the Apostle of the*
Churches, and presently adds in the *Latin* edition, that he
 had *a power granted him of governing the Churches* ; and
 by the Presbyters therefore, whom *Titus* was to ordain, he
 understood those of the inferior sort. Now I would gladly
 have our Adversaries prove, if they can, that one Bishop
 was ever over several Churches at the same time ; or that
 any one Church, beside the Catholic, was made up of
 several Churches. Our Author's manner of expression is
 quite different from that of the New Testament. There
 is not one place in the New Testament, where the Chris-
 tians of two or more cities are call'd a Church in the sin-
 gular number, as tho' they made but one Church. The
 Christians of the same city are always call'd a Church, but
 those of the country are constantly term'd *Churches*. So we
 read of, not the Church, but the *Churches of Judea*, Gal.
 i. 22. *i. Theſſ. ii. 14. Macedonia*, 2 Cor. viii. 1. *Asia*,
 1 Cor. xvi. 19. *Galatia*, 1 Cor. xvi. 1. Gal. i. 2. Upon this
 place *Ierom's Comment* is very good : " 'Tis to be observ'd,
 " that he says, *to the Churches of Galatia* ; because in this
 " Epistle he did not write to the single Church of one city,
 " but in general to all the Churches of the whole province ;
 " and he calls them *Churches*, w hich he afterward reproves
 " for their being corrupted with errors."

In

* Upon *Acts* xiv. 23.

In the dispute I had some time since with Dr. *Wells*, I deny'd there was mention made in the New Testament of any Church but the Church Catholic, or the Church of one particular place or city. That Gentleman was pleas'd to alledge two instances to the contrary. One was the Church of *Corinth*, which, he pleasantly fancied, comprehended in it all the Christian assemblies that were in *Achaia*. This he would gather from the words of the Apostle : *To the Church of God, which is at Corinth, with all the Saints that are in all Achaia.** And so he endeavour'd to confound, what the Apostle most expresly distinguishes. But no body will easily believe, the Christians of the whole region of *Achaia* were contain'd in the one Church of *Corinth*, when he consider'd, that Church did not so much as comprehend the Christian assembly of *Cenchrea*. The same Apostle shews, that at *Cenchrea*, which was a port belonging to *Corinth* ; and very near it, there was settled a Church distinct from that of *Corinth*.† The other instance produc'd by my Adversary was that of *Crete* ; but no such Church is mention'd in Scripture. And they who make *Titus* Bishop of *Crete*, must hold that all the *Cretians* made but one Church. Whereas Dr. *Nichols* would have *Titus* a Bishop, and yet thinks the *Cretians* under his care were form'd into several Churches. But now if the Episcopal authority in that Island was, according to this notion, committed to none but *Titus* ; what were the *Cretians* to do upon his death ? Who then would have the power of chusing, and ordaining a new Bishop ? I can hardly think, the Apostle so manag'd the affairs of the Churches, as that they had not severally a power within themselves of continuing that order, which he settled among them. And was there no other reason, I could not easily fall in with the Episcopal scheme ; according to which no Church is, or can be, so constituted, as to be able to subsist without the help of strangers ; but utterly loses the power of ordination, as often as their Bishop dies.

Chrysostom, Oecum. nius, Theophylact, and Theodorit, all testify, as I shall shew, that the Apostle would not commit so large an Island to one man. And truly, whoever reads the Epistle to *Titus*, without any party bias, presently sees, he was not fix'd there by St. *Paul*, as the ordinary Bishop of the *Cretians* ; but was only left there for some services necessary

cessary to be perform'd at that particular time. The Apostles travelling through various countries, preached the Gospel wherever they came ; and then those whom they converted, they form'd into Churches : and of these first fruits they ordain'd some to be Bishops, and some to be Deacons ; chusing and discerning them by the Spirit, as Clement of Rome tells us. And yet, since such young beginners were not, immediately upon their conversion, so fit to discharge the sacred function ; they were to be train'd up to it by teaching, exercise and study, for which time was requisite. Whence the Apostle, while the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit abounded in the Church, forbids the ordination of a *Novice*.* Now when the Apostle was making haste to visit other regions, he could not, for want of time, ordain Bishops for all the *Cretians*, and set some other things in order, that were wanting among them. Hence he gives commandment to *Titus*, his companion in travelling, to stay and take care of those things : *For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain Elders in every city, as I had appointed thee.* † He did not therefore settle him as Bishop of *Crete*, but left him there according to the present exigence of affairs, that, when he had dispatch'd those affairs, he might make haste to be with him again ; as is plain by what he says, chap. iii. 12. *When I shall send Artemas to thee, or Tychicus, be diligent to come to me to Nicopolis : for I have determin'd there to winter.* And if *Titus* must therefore be call'd the Bishop of *Crete*, because he was left there by the Apostle ; why may he not by the same reason be reckon'd the Bishop of *Dalmatia*, since he seems to have been sent thither by him ? || But let us hear what our Author has further to say of *Titus*.

His Charge, we find, was not that of a meer Presbyter, to preach the word and administer the sacraments ; but more than that, to set in order the things that were wanting, and ordain Elders in every city in Crete ; which none below the dignity of a Bishop might do, without the greatest wound and scandal to religion.

We need not be told, this is the opinion of the abettors of the Hierarchy. But that is here taken for granted, which is the main thing that needs to be prov'd. He is of opinion, there were some Presbyters, who had not the power of

* 1 Tim. iii. 6.

† Tit. i. 5.

|| 2 Tim. iv. 10.

of ordaining granted to them ; which is the chief, if not the only point here in debate. But he is mistaken, who expects to find us easy enough to assent to this kind of fallacious conclusions. In a word, I deny there are any such Presbyters mention'd in the Holy Scriptures. As for those ordain'd by *Titus*, I will presently shew, they had the power of ordination. In the mean time, I think it worth remarking ; that as Christ at first appointed not a Monarchical, but an Aristocratical form of government in his Church (which appears from what I have said already, and from *Matth. xviii. 18, 19, 20.*) so the Apostles were very careful, after his ascension, to retain the same : who therefore (as we learn from the *Act*s) travell'd up and down the world, and order'd ecclesiastical affiirs, not alone, but being accompany'd by some Presbyters. Whence there is no reason to believe, that *Titus* alone was to ordain Elders aniong the *Christians*. *Titus*, I confess, was to have the chief hand in all administrations ; but if all things had been committed to his management alone, for what purpose were *Zenüs* and *Apollos* left with him in *Cretē* by the Apostle ? I desire our Judges also here to take notice, that they are all charg'd, as authors of the greatest wound and scandal to religion ; namely, that being *meer Presbyters*, and *below the dignity of a Bishop*, they invade his peculiar office. And who can grudge to be condemn'd by Judges, who will confess themselves guilty of so enormous a crime ?

For these reasons Eusebius calls *Titus* a *Bishop*. And who doubts he was a *Bishop* ? They, who think there is no difference between a *Presbyter* and a *Bishop*, will never call this in question. But supposing this had been render'd according to the Doctor's mind, that Eusebius says, he had the *Bishoprick* of *Crete* : I say, this can't be true, according to the *Episcopal* scheme, since a *Bishop* can be the *Bishop* only of one *Church*. Further, Eusebius does not deliver this as a certain thing, but only as a report. And how many false things were then reported ? such as the stories he relates concerning *James the Just*, out of *Hegeſippus* ; and concerning *Simon Magus*, out of *Justin*, &c. And since Eusebius mentions not his vouchers, and relates perhaps nothing but what he had by report, we need not much regard his authority ; especially since the very learned *Bishop of Oxford*, a rigid assertor of the *Hierarchy*, has told us : " That the " first ages of the *Church* took such a liberty in counter- " feiting, and were so very easy in believing, that the cre- " dit

“ dit of their history is very much weaken’d thereby; and
“ not only the world, but the Church of God, has just rea-
“ son to complain of her fabulous times.”*

In like manner Timothy was ordain’d Bishop of Ephesus. Next to the first Church of Jerusalem, constituted immediately by Christ himself, which should be an Example to all Churches; there is none, to which we should rather desire the modern Churches should be conform’d, than that of *Ephesus*. St. Paul commits it to the government of the Presbyters (whom he also calls Bishops) and that when *Timothy* was present, as some learned men with great probability conjecture. Whence ’tis plain, *Timothy* could not be, as the Episcoparians pretend, the first Bishop of *Ephesus*. Nor are there wanting other good evidences of the truth of our opinion. The Bishop of a Church was not to wander about, but to be fix’d in his own Church. But *Timothy* staid not long at *Ephesus*; but being sent by the Apostle, travell’d thro’ various regions: and by the same right he is reckon’d the Bishop of *Ephesus*, he ought to be reckon’d the Bishop of *Macedonia*, *Berea*, *Corinth*, or *Thessalonica*.† And if *Timothy* was indeed the Bishop of *Ephesus*, why should the Apostle beseech him to continue at *Ephesus*? If he had been backward to it, there was more reason for his commanding, than beseeching him.

The arguments which the Doctor brings from the first *Epistle to Timothy*, dont prove him to have been the Bishop of that Church. For the things, which the Apostle commanded *Timothy* to do, were not to be done by himself alone; the Bishops settled before in that Church were to join with him therein. Nor can it be any wonder, that the Apostle gives a charge particularly to *Timothy* about them. The chief care would belong to him, as a person who by use and experience had gain’d more skill, and was fit to lead the rest. But whatever authority was given to *Timothy*, had, before his coming, been granted to the Bishops settled at *Ephesus*, and belongs without distinction to all Presbyters; as appears by many clear testimonies of the Holy Scripture. Nor are other Examples of this way of speaking wanting in the New Testament. So those things, which belong’d in common to the whole Apostolical order,|| are

* Menitio ad Lest. ad Cn. oper. Cytr. p. 53.
xiii. 23. Act. xix. 22. and xvii. 15. 1 Cor. iv. 17.

1 See 2 Tim. iv. 21. Heb.
19. John. xxi. 15, 16. 1 Thes. iii. 2. || Mat. xvi.

are by our Saviour himself given in charge, and promis'd to Peter particularly, as the *first* or *chief* of them, as he is call'd, Matth. x. 2. And thus many of the antients explain our Lord's words to him. Thus *Theophylact*: " Al-
tho' it be said only to Peter, I will give thee; yet the same was given to all the Apostles." * In like manner *Ambrose*: " I will give thee, says he, the keys of the kingdom of heaven.---- What is said to Peter, is said to the Apostles in general." † *Augustine* goes the same way: " As among the Apostles, when there were twelve of them, and the question was put to all, Peter alone returns the answer, *Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God*. And 'tis said to him, I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; as tho' he alone receiv'd the power of binding and loosing; whereas he made that answer in the name of all the Apostles, and receiv'd this promise together with them all, as representing the whole united body of them. [Tanquam personam gerens unitatis.] " || But *Photius* is yet clearer, who, rejecting the interpretation of *Eulogius*, gives this as the sense of Christ's words: " Altho' this be spoken to Peter, yet in the person of their chief, the same power is given to the rest of the Apostles." ‡ Thus *Chrysostom* explains the words of Christ, *Ioan. xxi. 15, 16*. " Why passing over all the rest, do's he speak of these matters only to Peter? Because he was the chief Apostle, the mouth of the Disciples, and the top of the company." *

Now if our Adversaries arguments, from what is said so particularly to *Timothy*, will prove him to have had a Monarchical power in the Church of *Ephesus*; why may not the Papists, by the same kind of argument, from our Saviour's words to *Peter*, assert that he had such a Monarchical power in the Catholic Church? Why may not they talk of *Peter*, just as our Author does of *Timothy*? But to what purpose did St. Paul give him these instructions about governing the Church, if he were not superior to others? † The Papists may use exactly the same Argument: To what purpose did our Saviour give Peter these Instructions about governing the Church, if he were not superior to the rest of the Apostles? But he goes on:

If

* Upon Matth. xvi. 19. † Fnarr. in Psalm. xxxviii sub. fin. || In Joann. Tract. 118. ‡ Biblioth. ced. 280. p. 1600. * In Joann. Homil. 87. † Pag. 239.

If his rank and power were not above that of common Presbyters, how could he be authoriz'd, not only to take cognizance of their misdemeanors, but likewise to correct those whom he found culpable? I have answer'd already, this power was not given to Timothy alone. The power of governing a Church belongs to its whole Presbytery; nor is there any Bishop or Presbyter in the Church, with respect to whom the Presbytery is not authoriz'd to take cognizance of his misdemeanors, and correct him, when found culpable. And Timothy was no more among the Bishops of *Ephesus*, than Peter among the Apostles; who, tho' he was their chief, might yet fall under the censure of his fellow Apostles. And truly, if any thing particular be suppos'd granted to *Timothy* and *Titus*, above other Presbyters; that must belong to them, not as Bishops, but as Evangelists, or such extraordinary Ministers as were to have none to succeed them in their office. But that I may dispatch this affair: 'Tis most certain the Presbyters, who were ordain'd, either in the Church of *Ephesus* by *Timothy*, or in the Churches of *Crete* by *Titus*, had themselves the power of ordination; and consequently neither *Timothy* nor *Titus* were Bishops, in the sense our Adversaries put upon that word. The Episcoparians and Presbyterians agree, that the powers of government and ordination go together; if therefore those Presbysers had the former, they must of necessity have had the latter also. But that they had the power of government appears from the Apostle; who requires that a person to be ordain'd a Bishop, should be blameless, &c. one that rules his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity: * and gives this reason for it; for if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the Church of God? † The care then of the Church of God is committed to them, and they are ordain'd the rulers thereof; as Dr. *Hammond* well expresses the meaning of that reason given by the Apostle, in his Paraphrase upon it. " For sure he that cannot rule so much a less province, will be unfit to be made a governor of the Church of God. " The same is evident concerning those ordain'd by *Titus*: *A Bishop*, says the Apostle, must be blameless as the steward of God; that is, says the same learned Commentator, " as becomes one that hath the government of God's family intrusted to him. "

" him." He was therefore of opinion, that those whom they ordain'd, were Bishops properly so call'd, and had themselves the power of ordination: and we therein readily agree with him.

Such now, most learned Arbitrators, are the arguments which the patrons of the Hierarchy fetch from the Holy Scriptures to establish their own Prelacy, and disprove your form of administration. With such sorry weapons they boastingly pretend (who would think it?) that the Presbyterian government has long ago been mortally wounded. Relying upon these arguments, they many of them deny, not only that we, but that you also, in whatever Reform'd countries, have any Church, Ministry, Sacraments, or even Christianity it self; that so they may the more intirely secure these things to themselves and the Papists. I am griev'd, if what they pretend is true: I am indeed griev'd for your sakes, my Brethren, that you should be thus wandring, without the pale of the Church, from the way of salvation. Since so clear a light shines round about you; open, I beseech you, at length your eyes, and suffer not your selves to remain any longer in that thick darkness, in which you have liv'd hitherto. Quit your gross errors, and disdain not any longer to accept of a new and valid ordination from our *English* Prelates. Cease to deceive your people with a counterfeited authority, to defile them with prophane water, and to mock them with a sham Eucharist. Hence you may gues, of what sort those *London Cases* of the Episcoparians against us are; than which our Author says, *he has seldom seen any book wrote with more politeness and solidity.** By this one, you may judge of the rest of their writings. Without doubt these arguments would long ago have appear'd ridiculous to themselves, as well as to us, had they not had some others of a different kind: I mean, the secular advantages annexed to their notions. Nay, they themselves seem to distrust the Holy Scripture's defence of their principles, when they so eagerly fly to their great refuge of the Fathers. Mind now with how much triumph he begins his appeal to their writings.

But if the antient records of the Church be consulted, they will give ample testimony to the Episcopal order. If he

he would have confess'd the truth, he should have said: Altho' little help can be expected to our cause from the Holy Scriptures, and they afford us no testimonies of any great weight, yet we need not despair; for that defect will be made up abundantly by the number, if not the worth, of testimonies of another sort. Suppose this now to be true, let all those *antient records* give *the most ample testimony to the Episcopal order*: are we to reckon them a rule of faith or discipline? Can any thing, upon their authority, be said to be necessary in the Church, concerning which the Sacred Writings are perpetually silent? Certainly, if the word of God is the only rule of ecclesiastical discipline: *If all Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, reproof, correction, and instruction in righteousness*; that the man of God (that is, the Minister of the Gospel) *may be perfect, throughly furnish'd to every good work*;* there is no need we should heed any other writers, where the Scripture is silent. Whatever is not found herein, if it should be lawful, yet cannot possibly be necessary. Further, that I may speak my mind freely: If we were certain by the writings of the antients, that the Apostles us'd some things, of which we have no mention in the Holy Scriptures, I hardly think we should be under any necessity of retaining them always in our Churches. For besides the Holy Scriptures we have no revelation of the divine Will. God has no where commanded us to make the judgment of any uninspir'd men, however antient they were, a rule to our selves for the ordering our faith or discipline. Whatsoever is in the Church made a rule of truth and goodness, must be obvious even to the lowest of the people, that so all may be satisfy'd they are bound by God's command. Now this is true of the Holy Scriptures, but not of the writings of any of the antients. Upon which account therefore I might dismiss the Doctor, with the antient writers he brags of; since he has brought nothing of moment from the Bible to establish the Episcopal dignity. But that there may be no cause of complaint, I will endeavour likewise to trace their opinion.

Now here 'tis especially to be observ'd, that if the Fathers are to be esteem'd for their antiquity; then the older, the more valuable they are, and the more authority they should

should have with us. If the Episcoparians will grant us this demand (and who can help seeing the equity of it?) there will be no great reason, for our being afraid of the Fathers hurting our cause, or for their triumphing in them as the patrons of their own. We have two of the most antient of them clearly on our side, *viz.* *Clement of Rome*, and *Polycarp*. There are no signs of ecclesiastical Monarchy in *Clement*. A Presbyterian can hardly declare our opinion more clearly and fully than in his words. Every thing he says of the form of ecclesiastical government exactly agrees with the Scripture. Hence the Episcopal writers differ as much about his meaning, as they do about the New Testament: there are almost as many interpretations of his words, as there are writers among them, who mention his opinion; as might easily be shewn, if there were occasion. He never distinguishes Presbyters from Bishops; but these names signify the same with him, as they do also with the Sacred Writers. He makes the Church of *Corinth* to be subject not to one single person, but to a company of Bishops or Presbyters. He reproves the *Corinthians* for their making an opposition against their Presbyters. Finally, that I may omit other matters, he acknowledges only a twofold order of Ministry. Thus he tells us: "The Apostles preaching up and down in countries and cities, ordain'd the first fruits or converts of those places, discerning them by the Spirit, to be Bishops and Deacons of those who should afterwards believe."*

To *Clement* we may add *Polycarp*, who also mentions only two orders in his Epistle. "Wherefore, says he, you must abstain from all these things, and be subject to the Presbyters and Deacons, as to God and Christ."†

If then any credit is to be given to these two most antient witnesses, an Aristocratical form of government obtain'd from the first beginning of the Christian Church. Many other antient writers confirm the same opinion.

I do not indeed deny, that in every Church there was one chief Presbyter, who was their constant Moderator. I am so far from blaming this custom, that I think it was deriv'd from the Holy Scriptures, as I have endeavour'd to prove in a little Treatise I once had some thoughts of printing. However I assert, that first or chief Presbyter was not of

a

a different order from the rest; nor was he the sole ruler or Monarch of the Church. The writers of the second Century began, I confess, to distinguish the names of Bishop and Presbyter; although that is not done universally and constantly by them. This is not deny'd by Bishop *Burnet*, who says: " And I the more willingly incline to believe Bishops and Presbyters, to be the several degrees of the same office, since the names of Bishop and Presbyter are used for the same thing in Scripture; and are also used promiscuously by the writers of the two first Centuries." * Nor do any writers of that time confirm their opinion, who hold the offices of Presbyters and Bishops, were distinct kinds or orders of Ministry. None of them say a Presbyter, when chosen in the room of a deceas'd Bishop, had a new imposition of hands to ordain, or, as we now usually speak, to consecrate him. The writers, indeed, of the third and following ages testify, this was the practice of their time; namely, when it was the custom for men to be solemnly initiated into such offices, as God had no where appointed. Thus in *Cyprian's* time, hands were laid upon *Lectors*, (that is, those who read the Scriptures in the Congregation, and were inferior to Deacons) if not upon *Acolyths* and *Subdeacons*. † But let us return to our Author.

For *Ignatius*, *St. Peter's Scholar*, and conversant with the *Apostles*, mentions three orders in the Church, *Bishops*, *Priests*, and *Deacons*. ||

I acknowledge, *Ignatius*, in the places refer'd to, mentions *Bishops*, *Presbyters* and *Deacons*: but he never affirms, that the power of ruling the Church, and ordaining Ministers is only granted to the *Bishops*. But on the contrary, he always admonishes the people to submit to the *Bishop* and *Presbyters*. Nor is it any wonder, if the power of the chief *Presbyter*, whom I allow to have been constant *Moderator*, did by degrees increase, and was inlarg'd beyond its due bounds. Nay, the more holy, and the more diligent in managing the Churches affairs they appear'd to be; the more readily would the rest of the *Presbyters*, and the body of the people leave the chief care of the Church in their hands. And as the name *Bishop* imports labour, rather

* *Vindict. of the Ch. of Sccl. p. 311.*
Edit. Epist. ad *Trall. scet. 2. ad Phil. scet. 8.*

† *See Cypr. Epist. 38, 39. Oxf.*

ther than honour,* as *Augustine* says, and the chief Presbyter then apply'd himself principally thereto; so that name, contrary to Scripture use, began to be appropriated to him. As to *Ignatius*, therefore, altho' in the passage alledg'd he distinguishes between a Presbyter and a Bishop; yet no one, I think, will ever be able to prove, he thought them to be of different orders, or that a Bishop was more than what I have allow'd. If any thing is found in other places of his Epistles; which may seem to favour the opinion of our Adversaries; it is partly to be ascrib'd to an affected way of writing common to the *Asiatics*; and partly to the comparisons he uses, and many times with very little judgment. But let us hear what further evidence he brings from *Ignatius*.

And commands, that tho' the Bishop be a younger man than the Presbyters, they should however shew him all honour and respect. For the proof of this, he brings a passage out of his Letter to the *Magnesians*; which, tho' it be not set down at large, or translated in the *English*, as in the *Latin* edition, I shall yet present the reader with, making some remarks upon it. 'Tis thus in the *Greek*: Καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ πρέπει μὴ συγχρεῖσθαι τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τῇ ἐπισκόπῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ διάπου Θεοῖ ταλεῖς πάταροι οὐτοῖς αὐτῷ απονέμενοι, καθὼς ἔγραψεν καὶ τὸς ἀγίοις περιστέρες, ἐπεργούσι πότεροι τοῦ εαυτούτου γελεεικὸν τάξιν, ἀλλὰ ἀσφενίους ἐν Θεῷ συγχαρεῖσις αὐτῷ. This passage is exceeding obscure. The word *συγχρεῖσθαι* is render'd by Dr. *N. Familiarius ac superbe uti*; and the sense seems to require the rendering it to that purpose; tho' the common use of the word would hardly lead to it. It signifies *conti*, as the old *Latin* interpretation renders it, that is, *to have dealings with one*, or, *to borrow*; neither of which can be here admitted. Thus the word is well render'd by the vulgar *Latin*, *Non enim coutuntur Iudei Samaritanis*; that is, *For the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans.* † *Vossius* took notice of this, in his Notes upon the place: "Συγχρεῖσθαι, says he, in the *Acts of the Apostles*, (he meant in *John*) signifies *conti*, *to have dealings with one*. So 'tis render'd in the old *Glossaries*, and the old version of *Ignatius*; *sid vos decet non conti astate Episcopi*. This translation is obscure, if the word be so render'd, which yet neither can, nor ought to be otherwise render'd. But *Ignatius* says, they should not *conti*, that is, bor-

“row, and draw unto themselves the Episcopacy, of a “young Bishop.” But he should have taken notice, that Ignatius says not, μὴ συγχρέσθαι τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν; but, μὴ συγχρέσθαι τὴν ἀλικία. But further, Ignatius is not there speaking to the Presbyters, as our Author, and perhaps *Vossius* imagin'd; but to the people: and that he might the more excite them to their duty, he proposes to them a good example. Now, there was no reason to fear the people should be able to get his Episcopacy, that is, his power, into their hands. This interpretation therefore, I think, must be rejected, and the other of our Author be embrac'd; that Ignatius does not mean, they should not invade his power, but that they should not despise his youth; in opposition to which he urges them to reverence him. But then the expression is harsh and unusual. Again, those words of Ignatius, & περσειλαγόλας τὴν φανομένην νεωλεικὴν τάξιν, seems very ill render'd by our Author. For what? Does not νεωλεικὴν τάξις signify rather, a *novel constitution*, as *Blondel* and other learned men render it, than a *juvenile ordination*, as our Author turns it? And indeed, τάξις never signifies *ordination*, I mean in the ecclesiastical sense, when 'tis taken for imposition of hands. 'Tis commonly enough us'd for ordination, when thereby is meant only a *constitution*. Here therefore the old Latin version is to be prefer'd, which renders it *ordinem*. Now *ordo* here I take to be put for the office it self: and so the word is perpetually us'd in the New Testament, as the *order* of Aaron, of Melchizedec, &c. Lastly, περσειλαγόλας is here render'd *respicientes*, regarding; without any authority. I therefore thus render the passage upon the whole: *And it becomes you not to make bold with the age of your Bishop; but to pay him all respect and reverence, according to the power of God the Father: as I have known holy men do, who were more aged; not assuming to themselves that degree which has lately appear'd in the Church, but with a godly prudence giving place to the Bishop.* Since Ignatius speaks to the Church in general, and is urging the people to reverence the Bishop, notwithstanding his youth; I am apt to think, the making περσειλεγες in this place respect persons years, rather than any office, is not disagreeable. However, I shall not contend, if any one insists upon its signifying Presbyters. The question now is: What this new constitution was? To which I answer with *Hilary the Deacon*: That whereas before this precedence was granted according to persons age, or (as *Eutychius* and *Jerom* say of *Alexandria*)

andria) according to their standing ; now it was confer'd according to their endowments and abilities ; and so the younger were sometimes prefer'd to the elder. And *Ignatius* would therefore have those, who being older had not receiv'd this novel order or degree, pay a regard and reverence to such as were younger and prefer'd before them. And what is all this to our Author's purpose, whether it be render'd his, or my way ? Is it strange, the chiefest respect should be paid to him, who was in the chiefest place ? This will not seem a new thing to the Presbyterians, who always treat their Moderators in that manner ; and that, however young they happen to be.

I could not but take particular notice of this passage, upon my comparing the larger and shorter Epistles, that are attributed to *Ignatius*, together. Mr. *Whiston* has advanc'd a notion, that the larger are the genuine ones ; and attributes the shorter to *Athanasius*, or some of his party about his time. Now I must confess, the shorter Epistles seem to me the more antient, upon the most impartial inquiry I could make. I only mention this as a specimen of those evidences, which convince me. For if that interpretation I have given of this passage be allow'd (and indeed no other can be well born) who can doubt, whether it belongs to the antient times of the Church ? Had *Athanasius*, or any of the later Fathers of the fourth or fifth Century, writ these shorter Epistles, as an abridgment of the larger, as is pretended ; what could enter into their heads, to occasion them to speak of this as a new order ? The notions of those times are quite contrary hereto. But now, if we suppose the passage to stand thus in the most antient edition ; 'twill not be at all strange, that a later hand should alter it to what it now is in the larger Epistles. Do but consider, how at this day, men, who find this passage disagreeable to their own sentiments, put a gloss upon it, and make it speak of a *juvenile ordination*. Just so when the writer of the larger Epistles found this passage inconsistent with his own apprehensions, and the ordinary practice of the age he liv'd in ; he alter'd it, and put it into plain Greek, expressing what it was natural enough for one of later times to say. For thus the passage runs, in what I count the interpolated Epistles : Καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ πρέπει, μὴ καταρεγενῆν τῆς ἡλικίας τῇ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀλλὰ κατὰ γνώμην Οὕτε παῖδες πᾶσαι εὐλεπτὴν ἀντώνεμαν, καθὼς ἔγραψεν καὶ τέσσαρις πρεσβυτέρους, & τέσσας τὴν επινομένην ἀριθμὸν ταύτην, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν Ἐπίφενσιν. That is : You ought not to despise

despise the youth of the Bishop ; but, according to the mind of God the Father, yield him all reverence : as I have also known the holy Presbyters do, not regarding his apparent youth, but his godly wisdom.

Let any one, who is skill'd in criticism, judge, which is more probable ; that a dark place should be alter'd to a clear one, or a clear easy passage be made dark and obscure ? Which is most likely, that an abridger (without making this passage a jot shorter) should put it into terms utterly disagreeable to his own time ; or that an interpolator, not understanding his author, should make him speak according to the sense of his own time ? Who can think any man would change *κατατερπνήν τῆς οἰκίας*, which is an easy, natural expression, into, *στυγχεῖδας τῆς οἰκίας*, which is awkward and uncommon ; and especially when there is no end he can be thought to serve by it ? But how evident is the reason of changing that expression to the other, to make the sense plain ? Compare the terms *περσιλλότας* and *ἀποπνήλας*. Which of these suits best the later ages ? The latter runs easy, in the style of the fourth or fifth Century ; but the former, according to the true sense I have given of it, can belong to none but the more antient times. I think, upon the whole, Mr. Whiston has demonstrated, that the shorter Epistles are much corrupted, and need great corrections ; but I cannot be persuaded by his arguments, that the larger ones are not interpolated. And till we can get a more exact edition of Ignatius's Letters, those we have at present seem to me of little use.

But to return from this digression : our Author alledges one place more out of Ignatius's Epistle to the *Philadelphiaians*, which is this : *As many as belong to God and Jesus Christ, keep with the Bishop.* But he means only, while the Bishop discharges his office unblameably, and according to the mind of our Saviour. Nor do we make any doubt, whether it be our duty to adhere to such Bishops.

Justin Martyr mentions the President, or Bishop of the Church in his time.* And in the margin thus he confirms it: ἡ πρεσβύτερος τῷ περιεστῷ τὸν ἀδελφῶν ἄρχος—See Euseb. Hist. lib. 4. c. 23.

This is an instance of the acuteness of the Translator, who cites *Eusebius* for this passage of *Justin Martyr*, which is not

* pag. 240.

not there mention'd, but is found in *Justin's second Apology*. The truth is, the Doctor in his *Latin* edition had omitted to set down the place in *Justin*; but had alledg'd another testimony out of *Eusebius*, to prove the word *πρεσβύτερος* was used by *Dionysius*, *Justin's contemporary*, to signify a Bishop. I believe the Doctor was satisfy'd, by the hint I gave, he had mistook *Eusebius* for *Dionysius*, and so had blotted out that remark. But his Translator too imagin'd, this reference to *Eusebius* belong'd to *Justin's* words, which it does not.

Justin's words in his famous *Apology* are these: " Then " is brought to the President of the Brethren, bread, and " a cup of wine and water. He then taking these, offers " glory and praise to the Father of all, through the name " of the Son, and by the Spirit; and gives thanks at large, " for our being favour'd by him with these things. When " he has concluded his prayers and thanksgivings, all the " people answer aloud, *Amen*; that is, *so be it*. After his " giving thanks, and the peoples answering, *Amen*; they, " who are call'd among us Deacons, give to every one of " the people present of the bread, wine and water, which " he blessed, and carry it to those who are absent."* From which place the most learned Mr. *Blondel* has argued: That *Justin* acknowledges only two degrees among the Clergy, the President and the Deacons; and three sorts of persons in the Church, the President, the Deacons, and the People.† But to speak my mind honestly; however pleas'd I am with his judgment, discover'd both in his other works, and in this his most learned *Apology*; yet this explication of *Justin* could never yet satisfy me. I rather think, *Justin* makes four sorts of persons in the Church; *the People*, *the Deacons*, *the Brethren*, and *the President of the Brethren*. And by the *Brethren* I understand *Presbyters*. I think the Scripture uses the word *Brethren* frequently in this sense. And since I apprehend some difficulties may be solv'd by this one observation, I will mention two places of many to this purpose. *Rom. xvi. 23.* *Eraclius, the Chamberlain of the city, saluteth you; and Quartus, a Brother.* Who can think, *a Brother* here signifies only a Christian in general? The *Romans* would have known by the salutation it self, that he was a Christian; nor was there any need the Apostle should particularly mention it: for the Heathens did not use to send their saluta-

tions to a Christian Church. 'Twill not be easy, I think, for a person to imagine any other reason for the Apostle's calling *Quartus* a Brother, rather than *Eraustus*, or any of the rest who sent their salutations to the Romans. The other place I shall mention is, *Philip.* iv. 21, 22. where the Apostle clearly distinguishes the Brethren from the rest of the Saints, or Christians. *The Brethren, which are with me, greet you. All the Saints salute you, chiefly they that are of Cesar's household.* And that *Justin* speaks of the Brethren in this sense, may appear from his own words in that *Apology*. A little before he had said: *We bring the baptiz'd person ἐπὶ τὸν λεγούσεν αὐτοὺς, to those call'd Brethren.* But now if the Brethren signify'd the whole assembly, why had he not said, *we bring him to the People?* But when he says, *those called Brethren*, he without doubt means, persons who were in some peculiar sense so call'd; just as in the passage I have set down, speaking of the Deacons, he says, *they who with us are call'd Deacons.* Now beside the Presbyters, there are none to whom you can suppose this appellation could especially belong. And thus every thing in *Justin* is easy and plain. Nor can any one wonder, he should mention *the President of the Brethren*, when he had before, in his *Apology*, suggested, that some persons among them were in a peculiar sense stiled, *the Brethren*. The great reason why I understand *Justin* in this manner, is, because otherwise we must necessarily conclude, that in his time every Church was govern'd by one single Bishop or Presbyter. *Justin* is not, through his whole *Apology*, speaking of any one particular Church, but of all the Churches in general. And if Presbyters are not to be understood by *the Brethren*, *Justin* must make no mention at all of them; nor can you find any other Minister whatever to have been in the Church, beside the President, and the Deacons. But this is contrary to all antiquity. Ecclesiastical writers with one consent testify, there were always many Presbyters in every Church. I except here only *Epiphanius*, who has given us his conjecture, or, I may call it, his dream concerning the usage of the Apostles: "When there was not a multitude, there were not found persons to be ordain'd Presbyters, and there they were content with a single Bishop in a place." * We meet with nothing like this in the New Testament, and

* *Heret.* 75. of the Arians, p. 508.

and therefore I doubt not *Epiphanius* was mistaken. However, I cannot forbear mentioning one observation of his, since he was so stiff a defender of the Episcopal Dignity. "There was need, says he, of Presbyters and Deacons; for by these two ecclesiastical affairs might be manag'd. Wherefore where no person was found worthy to be made a Bishop, that place continu'd to be without a Bishop." But now, if ecclesiastical affairs might be manag'd by Presbyters and Deacons, Presbyters must have the power of ordination and government. But to return to *Justin*: Some may think, I now defend the *Hierarchy*, by arguing, that *Justin* acknowledges a President of the Brethren, that is, the Presbyters. But it must be observ'd, that I speak of a President only for order sake, but do not suppose him to have had any power over the Brethren. I may here well enough apply the words of *Cicero*, spoken indeed of another matter: "When many are equal in dignity, one only can have the first place."* The word *πρεσβύτερος*, which I have render'd President, I grant, signifies sometimes a person who has a ruling power; but 'tis most false to say, 'tis never used otherwise. Every one knows, there are in all languages some words of doubtful signification. So *princeps*, in *Latin* authors, sometimes signifies a ruler, and sometimes no more than the first; as *Casaubon* has observ'd in much the like controversy.† In like manner we say, the *πρεσβύτερος*, or President, signifies sometimes one who has authority over the rest, and sometimes one who is not superior to the rest in dignity, but has the first place among them only for order sake. The late most learned Bp. *Stillingfleet* will supply us with a famous instance of this sense of the word, than which nothing can be more apt to our purpose. "The *Ephori* at *Sparta* enjoy'd a parity of power among them; but among these, to give name to the year, they made choice of one who was call'd *ἐπίτιττος*, and him him they call'd, *πρεσβύτερος τῶν ἐπίτιττων*, as *Plutarch* tells us. Where we have the very name, *πρεσβύτερος*, attributed to him that had only this primacy of order, without any superiority of power; which is used by *Justin Martyr* of the President of assemblies among the Christians."|| Lastly, tho' I make no doubt, but that in *Justin's* time there was one certain person chosen from among the rest, who had the first place, and presided constantly among the Presbyters;

* Pro Muren.

† Exercit. in Paron. xv. sect. 2. p. 333.

|| Iren. p. 301.

byters; yet Justin's ~~pages~~ must not only signify him, but any other who supply'd his place in his absence; namely, ~~τον το λόγον οὐδέποτε, him that was the chief speaker: *~~ or else we must confess, that neither prayers could be offer'd, nor the Sacrament be administer'd, but by one person in a Church. But I have said enough of Justin: I now go on to our Author's other arguments.

And not only that most antient Historian Hegesippus, but the great and learned Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, has left Catalogues of the primitive Bishops.

We pay little regard to the authority of *Hegesippus*; who, from his fine story of the Martyrdom of *James the Just*, appears to have been a man of great credulity and little judgment. The famous Bishop *Stillingfleet* has observ'd, those Catalogues are so very different, that nothing certain can be gather'd from them. But let us for the present suppose, that they who give these Catalogues are persons who deserve credit, and that they all exactly agree in their story; 'twill not hence follow, those Bishops were Church Monarchs, and that they were the rulers of their Presbyteries. Bp. *Stillingfleet* has most fully and solidly confuted this pretence. I wish no one would henceforth build upon it, without first answering what he says about it. He shews, the same was the case among the *Archons* at *Athens*, and the *Ephori* at *Lacedemon*; the succession was reckon'd by the *Archon*, or *Ephorus*, *ἐπίτρυπος*, tho' he had no superior power to the rest. From whence he infers: "That meer succession of some single persons named above the rest, in the successions in Apostolical Churches, cannot inforce any superiority of power in the persons so named, above others, supposed to be as joint governors of the Churches with them.-----This argument from succession is weak, and proves not at all the certainty of the power those persons enjoy'd." † And altho' the successions in the Church are oftentimes thus briefly and summarily given, it being a tedious busines to reckon up all the Presbyters that have ever been in any Church; yet the Fathers, when they speak of the successors of the Apostles in general, and dont need to speak so compendiously, use to speak not only of Bishops, but of Presbyters under that character; as I have before observ'd from *Irenæus*.

Clemens

* *Acta xiv. 12.*

† *Iren. p. 325.*

Clemens Alexandrinus takes notice of three distinct orders in his time, and makes Presbyters the second.

Mr. Blondel has well explain'd Clement's meaning, and shewn that he acknowledges only two orders of Ministry, and calls the same person a Presbyter, who, he had said just before, was made a Bishop by the Apostle. But 'tis best to set down his own words: "Clement gives the name of Presbyter to that servant of Christ, to whose care St. John had committed the young man, and whom he had stiled Bishop. For when he affirms, the Apostle used these words: *O Bishop restore what I committed to your charge: and a little before, writing in John's stile, says: Looking upon the Bishop, who was set over them all, he said, I commit this young man to thy care: he presently adds: The Presbyter therefore receiving him, &c.*"* As to the place cited by our Author, where Clement is suppos'd to make the three distinct orders of Ministers to be in imitation of the Angelical glory, it very much favours our cause; as is plain to any one, who considers what Blondel says upon it. For Clement acknowledges not three, but only two, as well angelical, as ecclesiastical Ministries; as appears by this passage of his: "In the Church the Presbyters bear that office, which makes men better; the Deacons, that which is perform'd in attending upon and serving them." [I conceive his meaning is, that whereas Presbyters were design'd to improve mens minds by instructing and teaching them; the Deacons were intended to serve them in external concerns. He then adds] "The Angels perform both these services to God."† [That is, by waiting on God, and doing his will, they may be consider'd as resembling the Deacons; by instructing men, they resemble the Presbyters.]

I will add two passages more, which Blondel has not taken notice of. The former of them clearly proves, Presbyters were in his time esteem'd the Pastors and Rulers of the Church: and consequently, according to the Episcopal scheme, endow'd with the power of ordination. For thus he, who himself was but an ordinary Presbyter of the Church of Alexandria, speaks of himself, and those of his station: "We are Shepherds, set over the Churches, according to the example of the good shepherd; but you are the sheep."‡ But if the Bishop alone is the Pastor, or Shepherd, and Ruler

ler of his Church, as our Adversaries say, how could *Clement* speak after this rate concerning himself? The other testimony shews, that Presbyters used, in his time, to lay on hands in blessing persons; which must be either in confirmation, or in reconciling penitents; the power of performing which is thought to have belong'd only to those, who had the other power of ordination. His words are: "Upon whom shall a Presbyter lay his hand? whom shall he bless? Not the woman thus adorn'd [with false hair] but another person's hair; and in blessing that, he blesses the head of that other person."*

Our Author next passes to *Origen*; but seeing he has not refer'd us to any place in him, I forbear to say any thing of him. If any one desires to know his mind, let him consult the learned *Blondel*.†

As to the Fathers of the succeeding ages, I shall not detain my reader with a particular examination of their testimonies. I readily grant what our Author asserts, that Bishops were then reckon'd superior to Presbyters. But if our *English* Bishops would follow the example of *Cyprian*, and do nothing without the consent of their Clergy, our controversy about Episcopacy would be soon over. But 'tis well known, *Jerom* was a stiff defender of our opinion. Wherefore since our Author has ventur'd to attack his reputation upon that account, I think 'twill not be improper for me briefly to defend it. Concerning him then the Doctor says thus:

At last came St. Jerom, tho' not till above three Centuries after the Apostles times; who valuing himself upon his learning, which indeed was very great; and being provok'd by the insolence of some Deacons, who set themselves above Presbyters; to the end he might maintain the dignity of his order against such arrogant persons, he advanc'd a notion never heard of before, viz. That Presbyters were not a different order from Bishops; and that a Bishop was only a more eminent Presbyter, chosen out of the rest, and set over them for preventing of Schisms.||

How untruly *Jerom* is represented as the first patron of our opinion, may appear by what I have said already. But who does not perceive, the Doctor speaks here out of prejudice? When *Jerom* overthrows the foundation of the Hierarchy, then he values himself haughtily upon his learning; but

but when it makes for our Adversaries purpose, his authority is equal to his learning. But I am afraid, our Author, *valuing himself upon his learning*, affirm'd that which he was not able to prove; namely, that *Jerom's* being *provok'd by the insolence of some Deacons*, was the first occasion of his embracing our opinion. This might be said with greater probability, if we were to learn what was his judgment in this matter only from his Epistle to *Evagrius*; but since he delivers the same in his other writings, how shall we be assur'd, he first fell into our opinion upon that occasion? By what arguments can it be prov'd, that *Jerom* did not write his Commentary upon *Titus*, and his Epistle to *Oceanus* (wherein he defends the same opinion) before he wrote his Letter to *Evagrius*, and so before that occasion was given? And altho' the Doctor here mentions *the insolence of some Deacons*, that he might represent the provocation as very great, by its being offer'd by several, combin'd together in a design; yet *Jerom* himself makes mention only of one obscure person, whom he speaks of with contempt. "We read, says he, in *Isaiah*; *A foolish person will speak foolish things.** I hear of a fellow, who has broke out into that extravagance, that he prefer'd the Deacons to Presbyters, that is, to Bishops." Nevertheless we dont build so much upon *Jerom's* authority, as upon the strength of his arguments, which have never yet been fairly answer'd. But next comes a pleasant fancy concerning him.

But at last, when he grew more cool and considerate, he granted that *Bishops* succeeded in the room of the *Apostles*; and were as much above *Presbyters*, as *Aaron* was above his sons. And for the confirmation hereof, he cites, in his margin, that same Epistle to *Evagrius*. And is *Jerom's* great learning at last come to this, that he should be thought to write inconsistencies in so short an Epistle? While he was penning the beginning of his Epistle, he was so provok'd, that he advanc'd a notion never heard of before, that *Presbyters* were not a different order from *Bishops*; but by that time he got to the middle of his short Epistle, he grew cool and considerate; and then he grants, the *Bishops* succeeded in the room of the *Apostles*. But what shall we say to the latter end of his Epistle? Was he then afresh provok'd? Had he lost again his coolness and

and consideration? Let Bp. Crofts of Hereford answer this: " And now I desire my reader, if he understand Latin, to view the Epistle of St. Jerom to Evagrius: and doubtless he will wonder to see men have the confidence to quote any thing out of it, for the distinction between Episcopacy and Presbytery; for the whole Epistle is to shew the identity of them."* And if Jerom calls Bishops the successors of the Apostles, can he be thought to deny the same to be true concerning Presbyters? Must not he necessarily assert the same thing of Bishops and Presbyters, who says, there is no distinction between them.

But he produces another passage out of Jerom, to shew what he granted after he was grown cool and considerate. 'Tis taken from his Epistle to *Heliodorus*, wherein he says: 'Tis not easy to stand in the stead of Paul, to be of the same degree with Peter, who now both reign with Christ. And thus Jerom grows cool and considerate, long before he could, according to our Author's opinion, have been provok'd. 'Tis certain that Epistle to *Heliodorus* was writ by him when he was very young, long before the other to *Evagrius*. This is attested by Jerom himself. " When I was a young man, says he, and in a manner a boy, and was checking the first fallies of my wanton age with the hardships of a wilderness life, I wrote to thy uncle *Heliodorus* a Letter of exhortation, &c. † And by that Epistle it self it appears, Jerom was not ordain'd, when he wrote it; whereas that to *Evagrius* was, by the Doctor's own confession, writ by him when he was a Presbyter. And altho' the words cited by the Doctor dont at all express that Father's opinion concerning our question; yet 'tis evident by other passages in the Epistle, he was not then of the same mind, that he was afterward, when he wrote to *Evagrius*. To give therefore a just account of this matter: When Jerom was a youth, and almost a boy, he favour'd the tenets of the Episcoparians; but when he was come to maturity of age, was ordain'd a Presbyter, and had spent much time and study in reading the Holy Scriptures, he acknowledg'd the truth of that opinion we defend; and, for ought appears, he persisted in it to the end of his life.

Our Author adds: *In his Catalogue of writers, he owns James was ordain'd Bishop of Jerusalem.* Jerom there produces the words

* Naked Truth, p. 45.

† Epist. 2. to Nepotian.

words of *Hegesippus*, who delivers that story. And if his being Bishop of *Jerusalem* be understood as I have explain'd it, none of our side will deny it.

Lastly, *Jerom's* Epistle to *Nepotianus* is refer'd to, wherein he says : " We know the Bishop and Presbyters are, what *Aaron* and his sons were." But this is not inconsistent with the judgment of *Jerom*, mention'd before. For in the same manner does he express himself, in that very Letter to *Evagrius*, wherein he stoutly defends the equality of Bishops and Presbyters. " What *Aaron*, and his Sons, and " the Levites, were in the Temple ; the same let Bishops, " Priests, and Deacons, claim to themselves in the Church." Dr. *Hammond* argued from this passage, that *Jerom* either maintain'd the divine right of Episcopacy, or else contradicted himself. But *Bp. Stillingfleet* gives a good answer to this : " The plain meaning then of *Jerom* is no more but " this : That as *Aaron* and his Sons, in the order of the " Priesthood, were above the Levites under the Law ; so the " Bishops and Presbyters, in the order of the Evangelical " Priesthood, are above the Deacons under the Gospel. " For the comparison runs not between *Aaron* and his Sons " under the Law, and Bishops and Presbyters under the " Gospel ; but between *Aaron* and his Sons, as one part of " the comparison under the Law, and the Levites under " them, as the other : so under the Gospel, Bishops and " Presbyters make one part of the comparison, answering " to *Aaron* and his Sons, in that wherein they all agree, " viz. the order of Priesthood ; and the other part, under " the Gospel, is that of Deacons, answering to the Levites " under the Law."* Let the reader apply the same observation to the passage our Author has taken from his Epistle to *Nepotianus*, and he will easily see, 'twill as well fit that also. I will shut up this debate concerning the difference between Bishops and Presbyters, so far as it receives light from the Fathers, with the words of the same learned Bishop I just now mention'd. " As to the matter it self, " I believe, upon the strictest inquiry, *Medina's* judgment " will prove true, that *Jerom*, *Austin*, *Ambrose*, *Sedulius*, *Primasius*, *Chrysostom*, *Theodorit*, *Theophylact*, were all of *Aerius* " his judgment, as to the identity of both name and order " of Bishops and Presbyters in the primitive Church."†

We

We now coine to another kind of debate. Dr. Nichols attempts to vindicate the titles and honours of our *English* Bishops. Few of our side, especially of late, have given our Adversaries any trouble upon this head. For tho' we never lik'd Bishops should be intangled in such offices and businesses, as must of necessity draw away their minds from sacred things ; yet since the objection might seem invidious, they have seldom heard of it from us ; except when they have forc'd us to take notice of it, by their mentioning it first of their own accord, and endeavouring to defend it by frivolous excuses, rather than arguments ; nor should I have said any thing about it, if our Author had pass'd it over in silence. I desire my readers to observe, the matter in debate is not, whether respect and honour is to be given to persons in the sacred office ? A man must be a great stranger in our controversy, who thinks we make any doubt of it. Nor are we much concern'd, that some Ministers are distinguish'd from the rest by those honourable titles they so fondly seek. Let them, who are tickled with such inticements, keep to themselves those honours which to us seem no way necessary. The question which is here chiefly in debate is : Whether Ministers, and especially those, with whom alone, according to the judgment of our Adversaries, the care of the flock is intrusted, should be intangled with those affairs of state, that are most foreign to their function ? Let us now see how our Author defends the Bishops. Thus then he discourses :

But by the Objectors leave, 'tis more reasonable to say, that those who are once invested with this high dignity in the Church, should by no means decline the marks of honour annex'd to it. For such titles and terms of respect are the main fences of authority, whereby the magistrates reputation and power are secur'd and guarded ; it being natural for mankind to be much taken with whatever is splendid and glorious, and to yield a ready obedience to their superiors, while they reject the government of their equals with contempt. 'Twas therefore wisely provided by the laws, that Bishops, who are to rule Presbyters in the Church, should be adorn'd with the highest honours : because if they were no better than common Ecclesiastics, they would be so far from governing their Clergy, that they would not be at all regarded by them.

Our Author has now spoke out plainly. But in the mean while, what sort of Bishops are these, so obnoxious to contempt, that without these annex'd marks of honour they cannot escape it ? Surely they are very different from

the

the most antient Bishops ; for they, without the help of any of these titles, preserv'd their reputation and authority well enough. Nor are they less unlike to the Pastors of the Reformed Churches abroad ; who are not conteinn'd by their flocks, notwithstanding they are not made Lords. But is it to be believ'd, that our Saviour was ignorant of this ? or that he did not foresee his Ministers, without *these main fences of authority*, would, in time to come, fall into contempt ? Shall we say he was so void of forecast, as never to secure his Ministers from that inconvenience ; nay, that on the contrary he should warn them to beware of these honours ? But *Jesus called them unto him, and said, Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great, exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you : but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister : and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant. Even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.* *

But I suppose 'tis enough for the Dissenters, and for ordinary Presbyters, to imitate our Saviour in that low estate, in which he liv'd while he was here on earth ; but it becomes the Bishops to bear a resemblance of him according to his present circumstances, as he is exalted and glorified. But Christ himself has well taught his Ministers, to secure their authority in quite another method. Further, since our *English* Bishops have not only those titles of honour, but as Peers sit in the House of Lords to manage the great affairs of state, by what right can they attend upon these things ? Will they also say the same thing was lawful for *Timothy*, who, as they pretend, was himself a Bishop ? St. Paul's words raise some doubt in my mind about it. *Thou therefore endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ. No man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life ; that he may please him, who hath chosen him to be a soldier.* † But if the opinion of the Episcoparians is true, *Jerom* had good reason to say a *Bishop* was a *name of dignity*. || However, 'twas our Author's happiness, he had always the antients ready at hand for any service.

Nor, says he, is their title of *Lords* unprecedented, having the practice of the primitive Christians to support it ; who gave like honours to their *Bishops*, as being supreme governors in the Church. ‡

For

* Matt. xx. 25, &c. comp. Luke xxii. 25, &c.
† 2 Tim. ii. 2, 4.
‡ Epist. ad Evag.

¶ pag. 242.

For the proof of this he alledges the *Epistle to Julius Bishop of Rome, in Sozomen, Book 3. c. 23.* which is inscrib'd : *Τῷ Κυρίῳ μακαρωτάτῳ, To the most happy Lord :* and some other passages of the like nature.

Who now can help perceiving, there is no shape antiquity cannot appear in ; no purpose it cannot serve ? What can there be, that may not after the same rate be defended by it ? However, I can't but wonder more antient examples of this kind are not alledg'd, since they were not far to seek. What ? Shall we think *Julius, Damasus, Ambrose* and *Augustine*, Bishops of the fourth Century, were the first who had the honourable title of *Kύειοι*, which our Author renders *Lords*, given to them ? I must be so fair as to acknowledge, there are much older instances hereof. Thus *Philip, John xii. 21*, and *Paul and Silas, Acts xvi. 30*. are call'd *Kύειοι, Lords*. I hope our countrymen will remember this, if ever they undertake a new translation of the Bible ; that they may take care to mend the faults of those places, and change that civil compellation of *Sir*, which is in the present editions, into the more honourable one of *Lord*. Certainly our Author should have prov'd, the Bishops were antiently rank'd with the Nobles of their country ; and that this title was not given them as a civil compellation, but as an expression of their honourable quality. Every one knows, persons of an ordinary rank used, both among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, to be bespoke in this manner. And the Dissenters are as much strangers, as the Episcoparians, to the clownishness of the Quakers ; and are ready to use this civil address, not only to the Bishops, but to any person who makes a tolerable figure in the world. But to speak seriously ; what valuable antiquity claims these civil honours and offices for Bishops ? The *Apostolical Canons*, as they are call'd, determine quite otherwise : " Let " not a Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon undertake worldly " business ; otherwise let him be depos'd. * We have said " a Bishop should not meddle with the administration of " public affairs, but attend upon ecclesiastical businesses. " Let him therefore be persuaded to forbear such meddling ; " or let him be depos'd. For no man can serve two masters, " as our Lord has told us. † Let a Bishop, a Presbyter, or a " Deacon, who goes into the army, and desires to hold the " office of a *Roman* magistrate, and the priestly admini- " stration.

* Can. 7.

† Can. 21.

“ stration together, be depos’d. For the things of Cesar be-
 “ long to Cesar ; and the things of God, to God.”* The same
 order is given by the Councils of Calcedon, Carthage, Mantz,
 and Tibur. The testimony of Cyprian, in this case, is very
 remarkable : “ Dear brethren, says he, I and my colleagues,
 “ who were present, and our fellow Presbyters, who sat
 “ with us, were very much troubled, when we knew that
 “ our brother, *Geminus Victor*, when he died, in his last will
 “ named a Presbyter to be guardian to his child : it having
 “ been some time since order’d, in a council of Bishops,
 “ that no man should by his will make any of the Clergy,
 “ or God’s Ministers, a guardian or trustee ; seeing all who
 “ are honour’d with the divine Priesthood, and fix’d in the
 “ Ministry of the Clergy, ought to confine their service to
 “ the altar and sacrifices, and should give themselves to
 “ prayer. For ’tis written : *No man that warreth, entangleth
 himself with the affairs of this life ; that he may please him, who
 hath chosen him to be a soldier.* And since that is spoken
 “ of Christians in general ; how much more ought not the
 “ Clergy to entangle themselves with the affairs and snares of this
 “ life ; who, being taken up about divine and spiritual af-
 “ fairs, are not to depart from the Church, and mind secu-
 “ lar and earthly busineses ?”† And a little after, he says :
 “ They judg’d therefore, that no Brother, when he left the
 “ world, should name any Clergyman to be guardian or
 “ trustee ; and if any one did, no offering should be made
 “ for him, nor should any sacrifice be observ’d for the year-
 “ ly commemoration of his departure.” So that death it-
 self did not exempt men from punishment, who gave oc-
 casion to the Clergy to entangle themselves in civil affairs ;
 but a severe wound was given to their memory. *Chrysostom*
 is yet more strait handed to the Bishops. His words de-
 serve to be well observ’d by our Clergy, who often boast
 mightily of him, and other antient writers. “ I say (they
 are his own words) “ the Bishops should have nothing but
 “ food and raiment, that they may not have their desires
 “ drawn out after these things.”||

Further, when St. Jerom, as our Author tells us, in his Letters to St. Augustine, styles him : *Domino vere sancto & beatissimo Pape Augustino* : Aug. Epist. 17, 18 : ’Tis evident, *Domini* here must be understood in the more loose and com-

mon sense, and answers to that title, we familiarly give to persons we dont know, of *Sir*, or *Master*, &c. For the same *Jerom* has elsewhere well observ'd, that Bishops should consider they are Priests, and *not Lords* : *non Dominos*.*

But so much for the Fathers. Let us next descend to more modern writers, I mean, to our Reformers, whose authority cannot be reasonably rejected, since the Doctor in another place speaks thus of them : *When we want authority for any of these things, we can quote our Tyndals, Cranmers, Latimers, Hoopers, most learned divines, and blessed martyrs.* † I shall therefore now bring all these as witnesses and defenders of our opinion.

Let *Tyndal* be first heard, who uses these words : “ Let them [Kings] rule their realms themselves, with the help of laymen that are sage, wise, learned, and expert. Is it not a shame above all shames, and a monstrous thing, that no man should be found able to govern a worldly kingdom, save Bishops and Prelates, that are taken out of the world, and appointed to preach the kingdom of God?” And having cited *John xviii. 36. Luke xii. 14: and ix. 62. Matth. vi. 24.* he goes on thus : “ To preach God’s word is too much for half a man. And to minister a temporal kingdom is too much for half a man also. Either other requireth a whole man. One therefore cannot well do both.” ‡ And in another place : “ Wherefore if Christ’s kingdom be not of this world, nor any of his disciples may be otherwise than he was ; then Christ’s Vicars, which minister his kingdom in his bodily absence, and have the oversight of his flock, may be none Emperors, Kings, Dukes, *Lords*, Knights, temporal Judges, or any temporal officer ; or, under any false names, have any such dominion, or minister any such office, as requireth violence.” †

Next to *Tyndal* follows *Crammer*, who thus writes in a Letter to my Lord *Cromwel* : “ Even at the beginning of Christ’s profession, *Diotrephes* desir’d gerere primatum in ecclesia, to have the preheminence in the Church, as saith St. John in his last Epistle. And since, he hath had more successors, than all the Apostles had ; of whom have come all these glorious titles, stiles and pomps, into the Church.

“ But

* Epist. II. ad *Nepot.*

† *Vid. p. 176.*

|| *Obedience of a Christian Man :*

in his works, p. 124.

‡ *The Pract. of the Popish Prelates, p. 342.*

“ But I would, that I, and all my brethren the Bishops, “ would leave all our stiles, and write the stile of our offices, calling ourselves the Apostles of *Jesus Christ* : so that “ we took not upon us the name vainly, but were so even “ in deed : so that we might order our Diocess in such sort, “ that neither paper, parchment, lead nor wax, but the “ very Christian conversation, might be the letters and “ seals of our offices ; as the *Corinthians* were unto *Paul*, to “ whom he said: *Ye are the letters and seals of our Apostleship.* ” *

Another of the *blessed Martyrs*, whose authority the Doctor so highly values, is *Latimer*, who, in his Sermon of the *Plough*, speaks thus: “ But this much I dare say, that since “ *lording* and *loitering* hath come up, preaching hath come “ down, contrary to the Apostles times. For they preached, and *lorded* not. And now they *lord*, and preach not. “ -----Ever since the Prelates were made *Lords* and *Nobles*, “ the *plough* standeth, there is no work done, the people “ starve.” A little after he speaks of the excuses they make: “ They are otherwise occupied, some in *Kings* mat- “ ters, some are *Embassadors*, some of the *Privy Council*, “ some to furnish the *Court*, some are *Lords of the Parlia- ment*, some are *Presidents*, and *Comptrollers of Mints*. “ Well, well. Is this their duty? Is this their office? Is “ this their calling? Should we have *Ministers of the Church* to be *Comptrollers of the Mints*? Is this a meet “ office for a *Priest*, that hath cure of souls? Is this his “ charge? I would here ask one question: I would fain “ know who *comptrolleth* the Devil at home in his parish, “ while he *comptrolleth* the mint? If the Apostles might “ not leave the office of preaching to be *Deacons*, shall we “ leave it for *minting*? -----A *Bishop* hath his office, a “ flock to teach, to look unto; and therefore he cannot “ meddle with another office, which alone requireth an “ whole man. He should therefore give it over to whom “ it is meet, and labour in his own business, as *Paul* writeth “ to the *Thessalonians*: *Let every man do his own business, and follow his calling.* Let the *Priest* preach, and the *Noble* “ man handle the temporal matters.” †

The next witness is *Bp. Hooper*, from whom I shall transcribe the following passages: “ Look upon the Apostles chiefly, “ and upon all their successors, for the space of 400 years, “ and

“ and then thou shalt see good Bishops, and such as diligently applied that painful office of a Bishop to the glory of God, and honour of the realms they dwelt in. Tho’ they had not so much upon their heads as our Bishops have, yet had they more within their heads, as the Scriptures and histories testify; for they applied all the wit they had unto the vocation and ministry of the Church, whereunto they were called. Our Bishops have so much wit, they can rule and serve, as they say, in both states; in the Church, and also in the civil policy. When one of them is more than any man is able to satisfy, let him do always his best diligence. If he be so necessary for the court, that in civil causes, and giving of good counsel, he cannot be spared; let him use that vocation, and leave the other; for ‘tis not possible he should do both well. ‘Tis a great oversight of the Princes and higher powers of the earth, thus to charge them with two burdens, when none of them is able to bear the least of them both. They be the King’s subjects, and meet for his Majesty to chuse the best for his court, that be of the realm; but then they must be kept in their vocation, to preach only the word of God, and not to put themselves, or be appointed by others, to do things that belong not to a Bishop’s vocation.”*

“ They [the Bishops] know, that the primitive Church had no such Bishops, as be now a-days. †----If the fourth part of the Bishoprick remain’d unto the Bishop, it were sufficient; the third part to such as should teach good learning; the second part to the poor of the Diocese; and the other to maintain men of war for the safeguard of the commonwealth; it were better bestow’d a great deal. For now it is ill used and bestowed, for the greatest part, upon those that have no need of it; or else upon such ill men, as should be maintain’d with no man’s goods. It were well done to provide for such, as, by ill bringing up, cannot now otherwise live; and provide such means, that hereafter no more offend in that kind of life. If any man be offended with me for my thus saying, he loveth not his own health, nor God’s laws, nor man’s, out of which I am always ready to prove the thing said to be true.”||

And

* Upon the Commandm. p. 78.

† Ib. pag. 74.

|| Ib. pag. 75.

And have not now the Dissenters good reason to glory, that these so very great men have been of the same opinion with them? Nor is it fair to represent this as our objection peculiarly, since the things objected against were displeasing to our first Reformers, to the antient Fathers, and to our blessed Saviour himself. And altho' I have only alledg'd four of our Reformers, men whose authority was most valued by our Author; yet I could add abundance more of the Church's Bishops, Presbyters, Martyrs, or Confessors. Such were *Frith, Mors, Bradford, Allin, Coverdale, Parker, Beacon, and Aylmer*, that I may name no more. But whoever desires to see their testimonies, which are well worth reading, may consult Mr. *Prynne*, to whom I am indebted for hinting several of these.* *In Marg.*

The Episcoparians, as I have observ'd before, hold, every Bishop is the only Governor and Pastor in his Diocese, that is, his Church. But now, if we should grant, that Christ appointed a Monarchical government in his Church; yet since some of their Churches are of such a prodigious extent, as for instance, that of the Bishop of *London*, which comprehends *Middlesex, Essex, part of Hertfordshire, and all the English colonies in both the Indies*; we can never be persuaded, that any single person can be fit to govern so vast a Church. And we cannot but wonder any Protestant Divines, who have declar'd against the Pope's having the government of the Catholic Church, should be so forgetful of some of their own arguments, as to claim so vast an authority for one *English Bishop*. And yet our Author next proceeds to defend this great absurdity.

But now, as to the bounds of antient Biskopricks, compar'd with ours: whereas it is pretended, that the primitive Bishops power was confin'd to one congregation; we answer in short, that our Adversaries are very much mistaken, if they think the antient Bishops power was limited to one single village, or Church. †

It must be own'd, some Dissenters have been of that opinion, that no single Church ought to exceed the limits of one congregation. Nor are there wanting some plausible arguments for that notion, as a very learned Gentleman of the long robe, now in one of the highest stations of his profession, has shewn, in a Treatise, which our Adversaries have not yet had time enough to answer, tho' it was printed five

and twenty years ago. * But the account given of the Church of *Jerusalem*, in the *Acts of the Apostles*, convinces me, and several more, that the other opinion is the truer ; nor have the very learned and ingenious arguments of that author been able to drive us from it. As for my own part ; I think Christ left the Church of *Jerusalem* under the government of a plurality of *Presbyters*, all equal in dignity and power. The Apostles, following his example, settled the same order in all the Churches they founded. Hence each Church of old was govern'd by one *Presbytery* in common. So that a particular Church is to be limited after this manner : That as long as all the affairs of it can be manag'd by one such Council of *Presbyters*, it should remain one single Church ; but when it is so inlarg'd, that one single *Presbytery* is not capable of hearing and determining the several cases of all the members, that should come before them ; or that the *Presbyters*, living at such remote distances from one another, cannot meet together to manage the affairs of the Church, as often as is needful ; then a new Church, and a new *Presbytery*, should be set up. But that two or more congregations in the same city, or neighbourhood, may be under one *Presbytery*, and so make but one particular Church, is a matter past doubt with me. And I desire the reader to take notice, that those, who are of the contrary opinion, did not separate from the *Conformists* upon this account. For when King *Charles*, upon his restoration, had promis'd, in his Declaration, to take care that the *Bishops* should not for the future govern their Churches without the consent and assistance of their *Presbyters* ; our *Ministers*, whether of the one opinion or the other, waited upon him publicly, with an *Address* of thanks, and hop'd that this would produce a lasting peace. But this by the way.

Our Author next gives a reason of his opinion : *It being notorious that it [the Bishop's power] extended at first all over the largest provinces. Not only the great city of Ephesus, but all Asia Minor was Timothy's Diocese : Titus was Bishop of the whole island of Crete, famous for its many Cities.* † *Dr. Nichols thought it was Chrysostom's judgment, that Timothy was by the Apostle constituted Bishop of all Asia Minor, and Titus of all Crete ; otherwise what he says is nothing to the purpose.*

* Inquiry into the Constitut. Discipl. &c. of the Primit. Church.

† Chrysost. in 1 Tim. v : & 2 Tim. iv. Id. in Tit. i.

pose. For the question under debate is this: Whether the primitive Churches were of the same extent with the *English* Diocesses? Whatever power Evangelists (as *Timothy* and *Titus* were) may be said to have had in any Churches; yet all the writers for the Hierarchy grant, every Church should have its own Bishop; and many of them plead, according to *Cyprian's* judgment, that no one is a Bishop over Bishops.* Wherefore, if there were several Bishops in *Asia* and *Crete*, there must of necessity have been several Churches also. And since our Adversaries hold, our Bishops are successors to *Timothy* and *Titus*, not as they were Evangelists, but as they were Bishops; it only remains to be inquir'd, whether they acted as Bishops in the whole region of *Asia*, or *Crete*; that is, whether there were no other Bishops beside them in those countries? This is what our Author endeavours to prove, if I understand him right. Of the thing it self I have treated before out of the Holy Scripture. Now we inquire, what *Chrysostom* thought of it. But 'tis certain, *Chrysostom* thought there were other Bishops in *Crete*, beside *Titus*. "That thou mayest ordain Elders," says the Apostle: "He means Bishops. In every city, says he: for he would not have the whole island committed to one man; but that every one should have and mind his own proper cure: for so he knew the labour would be easier to him, and the people to be govern'd would have more care taken of them; since their teacher would not run about to govern many Churches, but would attend to the ruling one only, and so would keep it in good order."†

In like manner *Theophylact*: "He means here Bishops, as likewise in his Epistle to *Timothy*. He says, In every city: for he would not have the whole Island committed to one man; but that every city should have its own Pastor: for so the labour would be the easier, and the care taken of them the more exact."||

Nor does *Oecumenius* differ from them: "He had left him, says he, having made him first a Bishop himself, that he should ordain Bishops in every city. — For he would not have the whole island of *Crete*, being a large one, committed to the care of one man; but that each city should have its own Pastor. But the Bishops he here calls Presbyters."‡

* In Council, Carthag.

† In Tit. i. 5.

|| In loc.

‡ In loc.

So that 'tis clear, that *Chrysostom*, *Theophylact* and *Oecumenius*, thought the whole island was not committed to *Titus*, as the Bishop thereof. *Chrysostom*'s words, in the beginning of that Homily, led our Author into his mistake. There, he says : “ This *Titus* was one of *Paul*'s company, well esteem'd of by him. For he would never have committed the whole island to him ; he would never have commanded him to supply what was wanting ; (for he says, *That thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting*) nor would he have left to his judgment the making so many Bishops ; if he had not plac'd a great confidence in him.” * And he discourses to the same purpose elsewhere : “ This *Titus*, says he, was a very extraordinary person ; so that the Apostle would commit a whole island, and that a very large one too, I mean *Crete*, to him.”

Now these passages dont contradict what I alledg'd before out of him. *Chrysostom* asserts, *St. Paul* would not commit the whole island to *Titus*, as the ordinary and sole Bishop thereof ; but that he left him there upon this account, that he should go over the whole island, and plant a Church in every city, or set in order such as were planted before, and ordain Elders in them ; and perform, as soon as he could, such other things, as the Apostle, by reason of the straitness of his time, was hinder'd from doing himself. And when *Titus* had done thus, he was then (as *Chrysostom* seems to have thought) to undertake the government of one of those Churches thus constituted. The reader may apply the same answer to what is alledg'd concerning *Timothy*. But if *Timothy* was the only Bishop of *Ephesus* and all *Asia Minor*, as our Author pretends ; what will become of those particular Churches of *Asia*, I mean *Smyrna*, *Pergamus*, *Thyatira*, *Sardis*, *Philadelphia* and *Laodicea* ? We must then, alas ! lose all these Churches ; and, which is a much more melancholy thing, we must lose their Bishops also. These things do not well agree with the sentiments of the Episcopal party. After this rate, those famous Churches, expresly mention'd in Scripture, must have had no Bishop but *Timothy* ; nor a Bishop and a Church any longer be look'd upon as related in that manner, which they use to pretend. Nay, the *Angels of the seven Churches* will be depriv'd

* *Hom. x. in 2. Tim: in c. iv. 20.*

depriv'd of their dignity, and be turn'd into meer Presbyters, the more to inlarge the authority and the Church of *Timothy*, their only Bishop.

But our Author produces some other examples from ecclesiastical History : *Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, had all Egypt for his province.**

Eusebius's words are : “ In the tenth year of *Severus*, *Letus* had the prefecture of *Alexandria* and all *Egypt* ; but *Demetrius* had lately succeeded *Julianus*, as Bishop over the parishes that were therein.” But either Dr. *Nichols*, or *Eusebius* is greatly mistaken. For if only one Bishop rul'd all *Egypt* ; how could *Dionysius*, who, after *Heraclas*, succeeded *Demetrius*, write letters to the Bishops of *Egypt*, to *Conon of Hermopolis*, *Ammon of Berenice*, and *Basilides of Pentapolis*? † Nay, *Paphilus* and *Eusebius*, in their *Apology for Origen*, make mention of *Demetrius* and some other Bishops of *Egypt*. || There were therefore more Bishops in that province ; but the Bishop of *Alexandria* manag'd the affairs of the Church thro' all *Egypt*, *Thebais*, &c. as Archbishop, as *Epiphanius* observes ; who mentions the Bishops of *Egypt*, and fully clears this matter. ‡ But now, since our Adversaries distinguish between an Archbishop's Province, and a Bishop's Diocese ; we have no reason to believe, the limits of a Church are to be determin'd by the former of these.

Cyprian's jurisdiction extended beyond the populous City of Alexandria [falsely printed for *Carthage*] *all over the mighty provinces of Numidia and Mauritania.*

Cyprian's words, refer'd to, are : “ But because our province spreads it self very wide, for *Numidia* and both the *Mauritania's* are join'd to it.”* Our Author thought, *Cyprian's* Church reach'd as far as the province in which he liv'd. The great absurdity of which must easily be discern'd by any one, who is converstant in his writings. *Cyprian* elsewhere speaks of all the Bishops that were in his province, or beyond the seas : † of *Agrippinus*, and the rest of his fellow Bishops, who at that time govern'd the Lord's Church in the province of *Africa* and *Numidia* : || and of the Bishops that presidèd in *Numidia*. ‡ But what need many words? 'Tis certain from the Council of *Carthage*, there were many Bishops in *Numidia*, *Mauritania*,

* *Euseb. E. H. lib. vi. c. 1. [leg. 2.]* † *Euseb. E. H. lib. vi. c. 47. lib. vii. c. 26.* ‡ *Vid. Photii Biblioth. cod. cxviii. p. 298.* ‡ *Her. lxviii. (quaest. Melatian.) sect. 1.* * *Epist. L. iv. ep. 2. quaest. 84. in edit. Oxon.* † *Epist. 43. Epist. 71.* ‡ *Epist. 72.*

Mauritania, and *Zengitana*, wherein *Carthage* stood. If any one questions it, he need only consult the learned Bishop of Oxford's notes upon that Council. If it were not for this mistake of *Cyprian's* meaning, I should hardly think it worth while to take notice, that it was the custom in those days for all the Bishops in a province to meet together frequently, to consult about ecclesiastical affairs. The province then, wherein *Carthage* was, contain'd *Zengitana*, *Numidia*, and both the *Mauritania's*, and in each of them many Bishops Churches.

Hitherto our Author has brought nothing, that makes for the defence of his cause ; now therefore he betakes himself to the authority of *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, refering us to four places in them ; three of which are false printed, and are not now mended in the Translation.* But since I am past doubt, that city Churches at that time consisted of several congregations ; and since I dislike not they should do so, I have no mind to dispute about those passages.

But I would here observe by the way ; that our Author does not rightly conclude from *Cornelius* and *Optatus* compar'd together ; That every *Presbyter* in that city [Rome] had his proper Church and congregation to himself. For the congregations at *Rome* had each of them two *Presbyters* to take care of them ; as Dr. *Maurice* has observ'd out of *Hilary* the *Deacon*, and thinks no body took notice of this before himself : † tho' *Blondel* had made the same remark long before, and given many examples of it. ‡ And *Valesius* in vain endeavours to defend the opinion of *Baronius*, concerning this matter, against *Blondel*. †

Lastly, our Author pretends, that *Jerom* appropriates the power of ordination to the Bishops ; because in that famous Letter to *Evagrius*, wherein he has demonstrated the identity of a Bishop and a *Presbyter*, he says : *Quid enim facit, excepta ordinatione, Episcopus, quod Presbyter non faciat?** But who can believe, that *Jerom*, the most learned of all the Fathers, should in so very short an Epistle write inconsistently ? 'Tis but fair to admit any such convenient explication of an author's words (especially if he be a learned man) as will make him best agree with himself. But our Author makes a difficulty, where there is none. For

Jerom's

* pag. 244. † *Def. of Diocef Epif. p. 47.* ‡ *Apol. p. 224, 225.* † *Not. in Euseb. E. H. lib. vi. c. 43.* * *p. 241.*

Jerom's meaning is plain enough ; who, when he here excepts ordination, does it upon the account of the custom of the Church, not of any command of Christ. His words therefore are thus to be understood : *What does a Bishop, (now according to the present usual practice of the Church) except ordination, which a Presbyter may not do?* So that Bishop Crofts did not without cause represent it as a vain and confident attempt, to fetch arguments from that Epistle, to establish the distinction between Episcopacy, and Presbytery.*

C H A P. II.

Of Deans and Chapters.

IF a man compares the power which our Adversaries say belongs to Bishops, with their ordinary practice, he will find a considerable difference between them. For tho' they ascribe to the Bishops alone the power of government in the Church ; yet they allow a large jurisdiction to Deans and Archdeacons, who are Clergymen ; and to Chancellors and Commissaries, who are laymen. And which is strange, they pretend antiquity for both. Dr. Nichols has here heap'd a great many things together, which are foreign to our controversy, and so will need the less refutation. The first thing he pretends is, that we object against these things only out of envy.

For none of the Puritans, says he, ever declaim'd against Cathedral dignities, till by their Schism they had cut themselves off from all hopes and possibility of enjoying them. Humphreys, Whittingham, and Fox, chief men among them, could bear the infide of a Cathedral well enough, till Cartwright made an absolute defection and separation from the Church. †

The Translator here has been guilty of an egregious blunder, by rendering : *Ante Schisma a Cartwrighto suscepsum: Till Cartwright made an absolute defection and separation from the Church.* Cartwright made no separation from the Church at all. But as to our Author, what he here says does not well hang together. For when the Puritans began to find fault with these offices, they had not cut themselves off from all

* Naked truth, p 44, 45.

† pag, 247.

all hopes and possibility of enjoying them. For some of the Puritans, as *W* hittingham and *Fox*, if not *Humphreys*, enjoy'd them at that time, and many years after. According to our Author's account, the *Admonitions* came out in 1572, and the last part of *Cartwright's Answer* was printed in 1577. Now *Fox* died not before 1587, nor *Humphreys* before 1588. *

Further, if the revenues of those dignities were bestow'd as rewards and encouragements upon the most learned Divines, according to their respective merit, the Puritans would not have dislik'd them upon that account. But it troubled them, that idle persons, who excell'd not their neighbours in parts or industry, from whom nothing considerable could be expected, should be hired to lead an idle life with a great reward, which might be bestow'd to much better advantage for the Church and State: and that parish Ministers should be thus drawn away from their cures, being forc'd, according to the Canons, to reside a certain part of the year in their Cathedral Churches: † and lastly, that the rights belonging to Presbyters in general, should be granted to these alone. Thus the Dean and Chapter chuse the Bishop, or pretend to do it; for the King properly chuses him. But by what right do they arrogate this to themselves, and exclude the rest of the Presbyters? Our Adversaries do very ill in making first a difference between Bishops and Presbyters, and then another between Presbyters themselves, without the authority of either Scripture or antiquity.

But who, that is not an utter stranger in church History, doth not see that in the first ages, a good number of Presbyters, like our Prebends, had their residence about the Bishop in the head city of the Diocese, to be as it were his senate and council on all occasions?

We may well congratulate our Episcoparians their Deans and Chapters, since from them they are able to discern the usefulness of a Presbytery. We are truly fix'd in the opinion, that in each Church there was antiently a good number of Presbyters; which custom we think they, who came after, did ill to alter. That the Church was formerly govern'd by that council of Presbyters, together with their President, we learn from *Ignatius*, *Cyprian*, and such other antient authors; as 'tis also confirm'd by the testimonies pro-

* *Sic Full.*

† *See C. xlii of thes. 1603.*

produc'd by our Author in his margin. How this agrees with what is said in the foregoing Chapter, concerning the power of Bishops, let others judge. But when he represented that *senate or council* as consisting of some Presbyters, who, *like our Prebendaries, had their residence in the head city*, while the other Presbyters, who belong'd to the same Church, were excluded ; he should have taken care to prove this account by some good arguments. For we utterly deny there was any such practice in the first ages of the Church. Wherefore our Adversaries must prove, if they are able, that there were two sorts of Presbyters in the antient Church, of which the one made up this council, the other having nothing to do in it ; or else they must acknowledge the far greatest part of their Presbyters have lost that honour, which formerly belong'd to their office. And if the office of these Canons is consider'd, according to the state 'tis now in, they can really in no sence be said, as a *senate or council*, to assist the Bishop. A Bishop is no more oblig'd to ask advice of them, than of any of the rest of his Presbyters, or of the laity. The offices and jurisdictions of Bishops, and Deans are distinct ; and so in the exercise of their authority, the Deans are no more subje^t to the Bishops, than the Bishops are to the Deans.

What follows in our Author, abundantly confirms our opinion, that Diocesses, or Churches, of so large an extent, ought not to be committed to a single Bishop. But when he says in behalf of these Deans and Prebendaries, that they *live about* the Bishop, that *their authority and advice may stand him in great stead* upon occasion ; * therein he imposes upon his readers ; for this is neither requir'd by the law, nor found true by experience. In a word, these Deans and Prebendaries are of no manner of use, but often-times a hindrance to the Bishops in governing their Diocesses. And therefore when the late Bishop Burnet said to a Doctor, just after his preferment to the Deanery : That whereas there us'd to be quarelling between the Bishops and Deans of *Salisbury*, he hoped they two should live in peace : the new Dean gave him this answer : *My Lord, I can't imagine why we should not, since your Lordship has nothing to do with me, nor I with your Lordship.* Our Author was sensible what he has hitherto said was a poor defence, and therefore he endeavours to defend these Deans and Chapters another way.

But

But supposing there were no need of their prudence, to assist the Bishop in the affairs of his Diocese: We apprehend the Dean and Chapter are not oblig'd to assist the Bishop, nor the Bishop to seek their help or advice, according to the constitution of the Church of England. If the matter be otherwise, it ought to be made appear; else what he said just before is superfluous. But let us see what use they serve for, since they are of none in the government of the Church: yet it would be for the interest of the Church, that such a body of Presbyters should live together in the Cathedral of the Diocese, if it were but to attend on the daily service of the solemn Prayers. And must men be hired at so dear a rate, to be present at the Prayers of the Church? In parochial Churches, where only two or three Ministers have salaries, prayers are read often enough. But here the prayers are inore solemn; namely, by reason of the curious singing of the Choristers, and the melody of the Organs, which is the subject of the next Chapter, and is, according to our proverb, *More cost than worship*. The Doctor adds: That such service being duly and regularly perform'd here, might serve for a pattern to Ministers in more remote parts of the province: * God forbid! May that solemn singing at least be confin'd to the Cathedrals; tho' it were much better laid aside in them also. But if once it should spread it self, together with its appurtenance of Choristers and Singing-men, into our parochial Churches, we may bid adieu to religion and piety. that the laity's omissions in this duty might be aton'd for, in some measure, by the Clergy's great diligence. I wonder our Author did not here also appeal to the ancient writers. For who does not know, that our ancestors some ages ago were of that opinion, that the Clergy ought to have a stock of merits, ready to clear the score of the people's sins? A most gainful doctrine this has been to the Clergy, as the Papists find it to this very day. And if it were certainly true, I should think the wisdom and prudence of our nation deserv'd great commendation, that has so prettily provided by a public charge, that no one should miss of a share in these hired merits: nor should I think the advantage dear, at any price that would purchase it.

But perhaps these men are exceeding useful, as our Author next pleads, by their frequent preaching. Nor indeed

deed will I deny, they may be of some use in this respect. But whoever compares the number of sermons they preach, with the profits they receive, will readily own they are well rewarded for their pains; and that they cannot make amends for the mischief done in those Cathedral towns and cities, by the tribe of Singing-men, Organists, and such like fellows.

In the next place, our Author proceeds to describe these Dignitaries, as so many *Gaius's*, hospitably entertaining both the Clergy and the laity.* But tho' I have not heard much proof of this, I will not particularly examine what he says, since it might seem invidious.

But besides, there is a further use of Cathedral dignities, viz. That the more learn'd Divines may have encouraging rewards before their eyes, to incite and stir them up to more than ordinary pains in their studies. They would deserve great commendation upon this account, if they were truly bestow'd according to mens merit. But the Doctor presently acknowledges they are not: And whereas persons of no greater merits than their neighbours, do sometimes enjoy these preferments; the fault is not to be laid upon the Church, but rather upon the common error of all nations and ages, in which ambitious and confident men have ever insinuated themselves into the favour of the great ones; and by assuming much to themselves, and allowing little to those that deserve better, have aim'd at these very preferments, and left no stone unturn'd, to obtain them speedily. † Since then, slothful and ignorant men sometimes enjoy these preferments, and the Church has taken no care to prevent it; without doubt she must be in the fault that they obtain them, who are unworthy of them.

There is yet one argument more our Author makes use of: If it were not for these Cathedral preferments, we should have nothing in the Church to confer upon learned Foreigners. For they scarce ever attain to such a mastery in our language, as to be fit for preaching, and other duties of parochial Cures. But several of them have found an honourable refuge in our Cathedrals, when they have left their own country for the love of our Church, or been forc'd from it by the severity of their Prince. || What a wretchedly poor nation has he now made us! Who can believe the *English* have no other way of providing for foreign Refugees? The *Dutch*, and other Reform'd countries,

* pag. 261.

† Vid. p. 253.

¶ pag. 252.

tries, tho' they have none of these dignities, have yet honourably entertain'd and provided for many of our Brethren, who fled out of *France*, for the sake of their religion. And indeed, so few Foreigners have ever obtain'd any of these dignities, that this must needs be look'd upon as a feign'd excuse, that has nothing in it.

But since these Deans and Chapters have nothing, as we have seen, in antiquity to defend them; some may inquire, Whence had they their original? In that, Bishop *Burnet* informs us: "The Deans and Chapters, says he, "had their authority at first by Papal Bulls, and have now "their exemptions and jurisdictions continu'd to them "only by a proviso, in the Statute of the 25th of "Henry VIII."* And he affirms they do all the acts of Episcopal jurisdiction. † Which, as I observ'd before, is very contrary to the Episcopal scheme.

I will conclude this Chapter with the words of the great Mr. *Calvin*. "Those Cathedral dignities are of no use at all for the true government of the Church; much less Chancellorships, and the rest of those rascally offices. Where shall we then place them? Truly the word of Christ, and the practice of the primitive Church, excludes them from the honour of Presbyters. And yet they say they are Presbyters: but we must pull off the mask; so we shall find their profession widely different, and most remote from that office of Presbyters, which the Apostles describe to us, and was found in the antient Church. And therefore, since all such kind of offices, whatever titles they are honour'd with, are newly invented, having no foundation in any divine appointment, or in the antient practice of the Church; they ought to have no place in the description of that spiritual government, which the Church has receiv'd, as being made sacred by the word of the Lord himself. Or if they would have me speak more plainly and coarsely: Since Commissaries, Canons, Deans, and such like idle follows, do not, with so much as their little fingers, touch any part of that office, which is necessarily requir'd in Presbyters; 'tis not to be born, that they should, by falsely assuming that honour, profane the holy institution of Christ."||

C H A P.

* Reflec^t. on Atterb Book of the Rights, &c. of a Convocat. p. 10 † Ibid p. 11.

|| Instit. lib. iv. c. 5. sect. 10.

C H A P. III.

Of Singing and Music in Churches.

There are three things which we must here carefully distinguish ; and the rather, because they are confounded by our Author. First, Plain Singing, which we affirm has been in use from the beginning of the Church, and is grounded upon the example of our Saviour, and the command of his Apostles. Secondly, Cathedral or Antiphonal Singing, which we take to be neither useful, nor very antient, being the device of the fourth Century. Lastly, Musical Instruments, join'd with Singing in the Church, which we say are the invention of a yet much later age, *viz.* the thirteenth or fourteenth age of the Church. Now let us hear our Author :

They should consider how unjustly they condemn vocal and instrumental music, which even nature, by a tacit approbation, has brought into use. We never condemn vocal music, without which there can be no singing. Nay, our Author himself tells us, We are for the most part extremely addicted to singing Psalms.† How do these things then agree? But let us go on with him :*

For, says he, *not to enter into the fictions of the poets, [namely in the ages most venerable for antiquity] concerning it, how woods and wild beasts have follow'd it, and the dead been rais'd by it; we find, by our own observation, that brute creatures are sensible of it, and stand still to hear it.* 'Tis a wonder he should here omit to mention the antient writers of the Church, of whom he uses continually to boast. For not only the fabulous poets, but some of these also, have long ago made the same observation. So Clement of Alexandria says, deer and horses are delighted with music. But what he there adds is very remarkable, that these instruments are fitter for beasts than men.|| But the Doctor reckons up yet more of the admirable effects of music: *That barbarity itself is mollified by an harmonious variety of sounds; that unsociable retir'd people may be prevail'd on by it to leave their solitude, and be pleas'd with our company and diversions.*-----

G g

Now,

Now, since our souls are so much accustom'd to worldly matters, as to be very cold and slow to the love of God; we have need of such helps as these, to warm our affections, and put them in motion. That there is a great force in music, and that it wonderfully pleases men, is certain. Nor are we so unmusical as to deny it. But the question is: Whether it be fit for the worship of God; or can, by its own virtue, excite devout and spiritual affections in us? Plain singing we acknowledge is pleasing to God, and serves to raise pious affections, because 'tis commanded under the New Testament: nor can that, I think, be doubtful to any Christian. But from a general command concerning singing, it does not presently follow, that we must use musical instruments in our worship: that surely must be prov'd by other arguments. Nor is it enough, that they are able to stir and clear our minds; for 'tis not lawful for us to bring in all such things, of our own heads, into God's worship. Who knows not, that wine has the like virtue, to clear mens minds, and warm their affections? And yet 'tis unlawful to use it in the worship of God, except where 'tis commanded, in the Lord's Supper. Vain therefore are the allegations of our Author, in defence of his party upon this head. And unless our Adversaries can prove, that our minds are carry'd toward spiritual and heavenly things, by some hidden virtue, that nature has planted in these musical instruments, or by a certain divine grace accompanying them, as God's own institutions; they really say nothing to the purpose. But it may not be amiss here, to take notice of an observation, which our Author makes elsewhere, and which is very pat to our present purpose.

“ The Christian religion, says he, shines brightest in its own native dress; and to paint it, is but to deform it.” *

For these reasons Music was used in the Temple at Jerusalem, by the appointment of God himself. † The Translator has here mended our Author, who says, in the Latin edition: *For these reasons the antient Church of God used Music in their worship, in the Temple at Jerusalem, God himself approving of it.* This I take to be a great mistake.

For the Jews us'd not Music in their worship for any such reasons, as our Author has before alledged; but only, because

because God had commanded them so to do; as the Scripture most expressly testifies. *And he set the Levites in the house of the Lord, with Cymbals, with Psalteries, and with Harps, according to the commandment of David, and of Gad the King's Seer, and Nathan the Prophet; for so was the commandment of the Lord by his Prophets.** God had forbid the Jews, to bring any thing into his worship of their own head. Hence he not only shew'd to Moses the pattern of the Tabernacle, and of all the utensils thereof: but when the Temple was to be built at Jerusalem, he shew'd to David, by his Spirit, both the form of it, and all the instruments to be used in it. As to the Translator, who would seem to turn the expression to import, that God for our Author's reasons appointed the Jews to use these musical instruments; I will then believe, he knows what God's reasons were, when he shall please to inform us, in what part of his word he has acquainted him with them. No man now will wonder *our Blessed Saviour, who reprobates all superstitious rites and innovations which he found introduc'd into that Church, should say not a word against Music;* since it was expressly appointed by God himself; and so could not be reckon'd a superstitious rite, or an innovation introduced into that Church. But it does not hence follow, that he would have it continu'd in that Evangelical worship he appointed. But at length our Author proposes what we really object:

But now, that the ceremonies of the Jewish law are abolish'd, it seems not very agreeable to Christian simplicity, that in our gravest assemblies, there should be such chanting of Voices and Organs, Singing Men and Boys, taking their turn on each side the Quire. To which he answers: But why do these Objectors condemn themselves by their own practice? For they are, for the most part, extremely addicted to singing Psalms; and such Psalms as are very much vary'd from the Original, by the measures and rhymes into which they are put.† Singing, as I said before, is a duty commanded in the New Testament: hence some musical measures are necessary, since without them it cannot be perform'd. We therefore obey a divine command by singing David's Psalms, not as they came out of his mouth,

* 2 Chron. xxix. 25. See also Exod. xxv. 9, 40. xxvi. 30. xxvii. 8. Numb. viii. 4. Deut. iv. 2. v. 32. xii. 32. Josh. i. 7. Exod. xxv. 1 Chron. xxviii. from ver. 11. to the 19. Compare also, 1 Chron. viii. 13, 14, and xxx. 12. † pag. 256.

as the *Latin* edition observes; that is, not in *Hebrew*, but turn'd into *English* metre. But by what divine command are musical instruments, in the worship of God, to be defended?

Now, who is shrewd enough to give a good reason, why instrumental Music shou'd be lawful in the Jewish Church, and vocal unlawful in ours? No body pretends to it, good Mr. Translator. Nor did our Author write so childishly as you represent him. Who asks, who is shrewd enough to give a good reason, why instrumental Music should be reckon'd a Jewish ceremony, and vocal Music should not? And in answer to him, I say: There is no great need of subtilty, to give a good reason for this difference, which is sufficiently plain of it self. For, if both these were antiently number'd among the Jewish ceremonies, neither of them is to be used, as such, under the New Testament. One, therefore, we reject as a Jewish ceremony; the other, we retain as the institution of Christ. And certainly a man must be blind, who does not see, that Trumpets, Harps, and such like musical instruments, belong'd to the pomp and ceremony of the Jewish worship. Now all these things are abrogated, together with the law that appointed the worship; unless any of them appear afresh injoin'd by some particular command. Further, our Author mistakes in thinking we judge it unlawful to sing David's Psalms in prose, as he hints afterward. We only say, that kind of singing used in Cathedrals is so curious and difficult, that 'tis beyond the capacity of the common people; and so is not adapted to the edification of the Church.

That which further vindicates the way of Singing we are pleading for, is the practice of the primitive Church.* Could our Author think us persons, so very easy to be deceiv'd? If almost all antiquity, as his own expression is, vindicates this way of Singing; why has he not alledg'd so much as one word out of antiquity in the behalf of it? This is a variation from his usual custom, who upon other occasions is wont to dun us with the testimonies of the antients, which are little or nothing to the purpose. But I will presently pull off this mask of antiquity, under which he so often tries to hide himself, when I come to shew, the use of musical instruments has been but very lately brought into the

Christian

Christian Church. But first I will consider what he says of the *Antiphonal* way of Singing.

And it is probable, that the very first worship in the Christian assemblies was perform'd by such singing of Psalms ; for Pliny mentions nothing else they did there, but sing Hymns, secum invicem, by turns, or in parts, to Christ as to God. Our Author would never have thought this passage was to his purpose, if he had not read it with a party prejudice. Of all the Critics, whose Comments upon that Epistle of Pliny I have met with, *Catanaeus*, an Italian Papist, is the only man who takes notice of this way of Singing, tho' they use not to omit any thing relating to the customs of the antients. Dr. *Nichols* thinks those words, *dicere secum invicem*, signify, to sing by turns, or in parts. I think they mean no more than to sing together ; or, as *Vossius* explains him : " His meaning is, that " the Priest was not the only person who sang ; but others " singing also, they stir'd up one another. Whence *Tertullian*, in his *Apology*, c. 39. after he had spoke of their " Love Feasts, adds : *After we have wass'd our bands, and the* " candles are lighted, every one is desir'd to sing to God in the " midst of the company, according as he is able, either out of the " Holy Scriptures, or somewhat of his own composing." Nay, *Tertullian*, in another place in the same *Apology*, gives an account of the Christian solemnities, from this passage of *Pliny* ; but says not a word of this Singing by turns. " We find, " says he, it has been forbidden to make a search after us. " For when *Plinius Secundus* was governor of a province, " and had condemn'd some, and made others comply, be- " ing disturb'd by the great multitude of the Christians, he " consulted the Emperor *Trajan* ; acquainting him, that, " besides an obstinate aversion to sacrificing, he could dis- " cover nothing concerning their mysteries [*de sacramentis*] " but that they held assemblies before day, to sing to Christ " and [or as] God, &c. " *

The Antiphone, or chanting of the Psalms by turn, is taken notice of by *Socrates*, as a very early practice of the Eastern Churches ; for he makes *St. Ignatius* to be the author of it.

That must be a rare cause, that needs such fabulous stories to defend it. *Socrates* himself owns, he tells this story upon a common report, which we all know is little to be credited in such matters : and perhaps he himself did not

* See Chap. 2.

believe it. Thus he concludes his relation : “ And such is “ the report concerning these Antiphonal Hymns.” And if this story has any truth in it, how came it to pass, that it should never be mention’d in the least by *Ignatius*, in his *Epistles*, by the Writer of the account of his Martyrdom, or by any other author before *Socrates*? But to *Socrates* I oppose *Theodorit*, as antient a writer, and as good a witness ; who tells us, *Flavianus* and *Diodorus* were the first authors of this usage. “ These first, says he, divided the Quires into “ two parts, and taught the singing *David*’s Psalms by turns. “ This, being first begun at *Antioch*, soon spread it self “ through the whole world.”* Now this happen’d about the middle of the fourth Century. Further, tho’ I always thought *Socrates* a very useful writer, yet I cannot believe he deserves much credit, when he gives an account of several of the miracles and visions of the antients ; especially when I consider what a wretched fable, of *Helena*’s finding Christ’s Cross, he has inserted into his *History*, as tho’ it deserv’d to be believ’d.† Now if what he relates of *Helena* is not to be credited, much less is what he tells us of *Ignatius*, who liv’d at a much greater distance from his own time. Finally, in what prodigious danger must religious worship be, if it is to be order’d according to such uncertain visions ? *Tertullian* thought quite otherwise of these visions, when he explain’d the Ἐρπτνέα τῷ αὐτοῖς λαοῖς, which the Apostle condemns, || not as meant of the giving worship to Angels, but of the worship taught by them. “ If, says he, he blames some, who told them, from the “ visions they had of Angels, that they were to abstain “ from meats : Touch not, &c.‡

And it was soon received in other places. I grant, it spread very much, after it was once set on foot. But this was not till the middle of the fourth Century. Nor are any more antient authors of it to be found, than *Flavianus* and *Diodorus*, who were both of them laymen, when they invented it. And in one of them, viz. *Flavianus*, our Adversaries have no great cause to triumph ; since he was guilty afterwards of gross perjury.*

And none of the antient Fathers mention it otherwise, than as a very laudable and pious usage.

To prove this, he cites *Basil* ; tho’, in the passages refer’d to,

* E. H. lib. ii. c. 24. † Lib. i. c. 17. || Col. ii. 18. ‡ Adv. Marc.

lib. v. c. 19. † Soz. lib. vii. c. 3 & 11.

to, he is speaking of Singing in general, and says not a word of this alternate way. See *Basil. Hom. in Psalm. I. p. 126, 127.* But tho' *Basil* says nothing of it in that place, yet it must be own'd he zealously defended it ; as in his Epistle to the Clergy of *Neocæsarea*, who were much offended at the bringing in of this usage.* Nor does he deny, that the antient manner of Singing was alter'd in his Church. Farther, not only the Clergy of *Neocæsaria*, but *Augustine* also, judg'd not this usage to have been *very laudable and pious*. " The pleasing my flesh, which I should not suffer to weaken my mind, often deceives me, while my sense does not so accompany my reason, as patiently to follow it ; but endeavours to outrun and lead it, tho' it is only to be minded for the sake of the other. And so in these things I sin, not perceiving it, tho' I perceive it afterwards. Sometimes, while I guard excessively against this deceit, I err thro' a too great severity ; but this is very seldom. So that I wish all the nice Singing of *David*'s Psalms were remov'd from mine and the Church's hearing ; and that seems safer to me, which I remember I have been often told of *Athanasius* the Bishop of *Alexandria*, who made the reader of the Psalm sound it with so little alteration of his voice, that he was more like to a person delivering a speech, than singing."† Nor do the words of *Jerom* much favour this Cathedral way of Singing : " We must therefore sing, and make melody, and praise the Lord, rather with the heart, than the voice. For this is what is here said : *Singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord*. Let young men mind this ; let them mind it, whose office is to sing in the Church. We must sing to God, not with the voice, but the heart. They are not artfully to supple their jaws, and their throat, after the manner of the tragedians, that theatrical notes and songs should be heard in the Church ; but they are to praise God with fear, with good works, and the knowledge of the Scriptures. If a man has an unpleasant voice, if he has good works, he is a sweet singer in God's ears. Let the servant of Christ so sing, that not the voice of the singer, but the things sung may please ; that the evil spirit, that was in *Saul*, may be cast

“ out of those, who in like manner are possessed by him ;
 “ and not be let into those, who have turn’d the house of
 “ God into a stage.”* But what would *Jerom* have said,
 if he had ever been present at such Cathedral Singing as
 ours ?

Further, the two and thirty Commissioners, appointed by King *Edward VI.* who were the most eminent persons in the nation, either for divinity or law, found fault with this manner of Singing, and advis’d the laying it aside. Hear what they say themselves : “ In reading Chapters, and “ singing Psalms, Ministers and Clergymen must think of “ this diligently ; that God is not only to be prais’d by “ them, but that others are to be brought to perform the “ same worship, by their counsel and example. Where- “ fore, let them pronounce their words distinctly, and let “ their Singing be clear and easy, that every thing may be “ understood by the auditors. So that ’tis our pleasure, “ that the quavering, operose Music, which is call’d *figur’d*, “ should be wholly laid aside ; since it often makes such “ a noise in the ears of the people, that they can’t under- “ stand what is said.”†

And so much for this Cathedral way of Singing. I come now to say somewhat of the antiquity of Musical Instruments. But that these were not used in the Christian Church in the primitive times, is attested by all the antient writers with one consent. Hence they figuratively explain all the places of the Old Testament, which speak of Musical Instruments ; as I might easily shew by a thousand testimonies, out of *Clement of Alexandria*, *Basil*, *Ambrose*, *Jerom*, *Augustine*, *Chrysostom*, and many others. I can hardly forbear laughing, when I meet with some of their allegorical interpretations. Thus, an Instrument with ten strings, according to them, signifies the Ten Commandments, as the unknown author of the Commentary upon the *Psalms*, among *Jerom’s* works, often explains it.|| But the pleasantest fancy is the explication of those words : *Praise him with stringed Instruments and Organs.*‡ “ That the guts being twisted by “ reason of abstinence from food, and so all carnal desires “ being subdu’d, men are found fit for the kingdom of God, “ to sing his praises.” But *Chrysostom* talks more handsom- ly : “ As the Jews prais’d God with all kind of Instruments ; “ so

* In Eph. v. 19. † Reform. Leg. Eccl. tit. De Div. Offic. c. v.

|| In Ps. xxxii. 2. xlvi. 2, &c. ‡ Ps. cl. 4.

" so we are commanded to praise him with all the members of our bodies, our eyes, &c." * And Clement of Alexandria talks much to the same purpose. †

Besides, the antients thought it unlawful to use those Instruments in God's worship. Thus the unknown author of a Treatise, among *Justin Martyr's* works : " Q. If songs were invented by unbelievers with a design of deceiving, and were appointed for those under the Law, because of the childishness of their minds ; why do they, who have receiv'd the perfect instructions of grace, which are most contrary to the foreaid customs, nevertheless sing in the Churches, just as they did, who were children under the Law ? Answ. Plain Singing is not childish, but only the Singing with lifeless Organs, with Dancing and Cymbals, &c. Whence the use of such Instruments, and other things fit for children, is laid aside, and Plain Singing only retain'd." ‖

Chrysostom seems to have been of the same mind, and to have thought, the use of such Instruments was rather allow'd the Jews in consideration of their weakness, than prescrib'd and commanded. ‡ But that he was mistaken, and that Musical Instruments were not only allow'd the Jews, as he thought, and *Isidorus of Pelusium*, (whose testimony I shall mention presently) but were prescrib'd by God, may appear from the Texts of Scripture I have before refer'd to.

Clement, as I have mention'd already, thought these things fitter for beasts, than for men. And tho' *Basil* highly commends, and stily defends the way of Singing by turns ; yet he thought Musical Instruments unprofitable and hurtful. He calls them, *the inventions of Jubal of the race of Cain*. And a little after, he thus expresses himself : " *Laban* was a lover of the Harp, and of Music, with which he would have sent away *Jacob* : If thou hadst told me, said he, I would have sent thee away with mirth, and musical instruments, and an Harp. But the Patriarch avoided that music, as being a thing that would hinder his regarding the works of the Lord, and his considering the works of his hands." * And a little before, he says thus : " In such vain arts, as the playing upon the Harp, or Pipe, or dancing

* In *Ps. cl.*

† *Pedag. lib. ii. c. 4.*

|| *Resp. ad Orthodox. Q. 107.*

‡ In *Ps. cl.*

* *Comment. in II. c. v. p. 956, 957.*

“ dancing, as soon as the action ceases, the work it self vanishes. So that really, according to the Apostle’s expression, *The end of these things is destruction.* ” *

Isidore of Pelusium, who liv’d since *Basil*, held, Music was allow’d the Jews by God, in a way of condescension to their childishness: “ If God, says he, bore with bloody sacrifices, “ because of mens childishness at that time; why should “ you wonder, he bore with the Music of an Harp and a “ Psalter? ” †

Nay, there are some ecclesiastical officers in the Church of *England*, who, for their very profession and employment, would have been kept from the communion of the Church, except they desisted from it. So we are inform’d by the *Apostolical Constitutions*: “ If any come to the mystery of “ godliness, being a player upon a Pipe, a Lute, or an Harp; “ let him leave it off, or be rejected.” ‡

From what has been said, it appears, no Musical Instruments were used in the pure times of the Church. It became Antichristian, before they were receiv’d. *Bellarmino* himself does not deny, they were late brought into the Church. “ The second ceremony, says he, are the Musical Instruments, which began to be used in the service of the Church, in the time of Pope *Vitalian*, about the year 660, as *Platina* relates out of the *Pontifical*; or, as *Aimonius* rather thinks, *lib. iv. De gestis Francorum, c. 114.* after the year 820, in the time of *Lewis the Pious*. ‡

Dr. *N.* would hardly have denied, the Church of *Rome* was become Antichristian, when they were first brought in; even tho’ we should allow *Bellarmino*’s first date of them to be the true one. But a Reform’d Divine may well be ashamed of that antiquity, that does not exceed the rise of Antichrist. But I am fully satisfy’d, both *Bellarmino*’s dates are false, and that Instrumental Music, in the worship of God, is much later than either of those accounts allow. For as to *Platina*, he seems to suspect the truth of what he wrote: “ *Vitalian*, says he, being careful about the worship of God, made an ecclesiastical rule, and order’d the Singing, with the addition (as some think) of Organs.” * Again, *Bellarmino*’s *Aimonius* is not the true *Aimonius*. For (as Dr. *Cave* says) *Aimonius of Fleury*, who wrote, *De gestis Francorum*,

* pag. 955.

† Epist. lib. 2. ep. 176.

‡ Lib. viii. c. 32.

‡ De Missa,

lib. ii. c. 15. Item, De bon. Oper. lib. i. c. 17.

* In Vital.

Francorum, flourish'd about the year 1000; and his History, which begins at the destruction of Troy, is brought down as far as the coronation of King Pipin, or to the year 752. For what comes after that, and makes up the fifth Book, and the latter part of the fourth, is the continuation of another hand.*

Farther, that these Instruments were not used in God's worship, in *Thomas Aquinas*'s time, that is, about the year 1250, he himself is witness. "In the old Law, says he, "God was praised both with Musical Instruments and human Voices, according to that *Psalm* xxxiii. *Praise the Lord with Harp, sing unto him with the Psaltery, and an Instrument of ten strings.* But the Church does not use Musical Instruments to praise God, lest she should seem to jude. Therefore, by a parity of reason, she should not use Singing."† The like objection is made by our Author. But *Thomas* answers: "As to this objection, we must say, "as the Philosopher, *Lib. viii. Polit.* that Pipes are not to be used for teaching, nor any artificial Instruments, as the Harp, or the like; but whatever will make the hearers good men. For these Musical Instruments rather delight the mind, than form it to any good disposition. But under the Old Testament such Instruments were used, partly because the people were harder and more carnal; upon which account they were to be stir'd up by these Instruments, as likewise by earthly promises; and partly because these bodily Instruments were typical of something." Upon which place Cardinal *Cajetan* gives us this Comment: "'Tis to be observ'd, the Church did not use Organs in *Thomas*'s time. Whence, even to this day, the Church of *Rome* does not use them in the Pope's presence. And truly it will appear, that Musical Instruments are not to be suffer'd in the ecclesiastical offices we meet together to perform, for the sake of receiving internal instruction from God; and so much the rather are they to be excluded, because God's internal discipline exceeds all human disciplines, which rejected these kind of Instruments."||

If any one objects the practice of some Foreign Churches, I answer with Mr. *Hickman*: "They are laid aside by most of

* Hist. Liter. p. 597.

¶ Cit. Hotim. Lex. voce *Musica*.

† Secunda secundæ Quæstio 91. art. 4. & conclus. 4.

“ of the Reform’d Churches : nor would they be retain’d among the *Lutherans*, unless they had forsaken their own *Luther* ; who, by the confession of *Eckard*, reckon’d Organs among the *ensigns of Baal*. That they still continue in some of the Dutch Churches, is against the minds of the Pastors. For in the National Synod at Middleburg, in the year 1581, and in the Synod of *Holland* and *Zealand*, in the year 1594, it was resolv’d, *That they would endeavour to obtain of the magistrate the laying aside of Organs, and the singing with them in the Churches, even out of the time of worship, either before or after sermons* : so far are those Synods from bearing with them in the worship it self.” *

The Church of *England* herself had formerly no very good opinion of these Musical Instruments ; as may appear by her Homilies : “ Lastly, God’s vengeance hath been, and is daily provok’d, because much wicked people pass nothing to resort unto the Church ; either for that they are so sore blinded, that they understand nothing of God or godliness, and care not with devilish malice to offend their neighbours ; or else for that they see the Church altogether scour’d of such gay gazing fights, as their gross phantasie was greatly delighted with ; because they see the false religion abandon’d, and the true restor’d, which seemeth an unsavory thing to their unsavory tast, as may appear by this that a woman said to her neighbour : Alas ! gossip, what shall we now do at Church, since all the Saints are taken away ; since all the goodly sights we were wont to have are gone ; since we cannot hear the like Piping, Singing, Chaunting, and playing upon the Organs that we could before ? But, dearly beloved, we ought greatly to rejoice and give God thanks, that our Churches are deliver’d out of all those things, which displeased God so sore, and filthily defil’d his holy house, and his place of prayer.” †

A great number also of the Clergy in the first Convocation of Queen *Elizabeth* in 1562, earnestly labour’d to have Organs, and that pompous theatrical way of singing laid aside, and miss’d the carrying it but by one vote, as I observe elsewhere. And in this *Archbishop Parker* concur’d with them, or at least did not oppose them.

I will

* *Apol.* p. 139.

† *Hom. Of the place and time of prayer, part 2.* p. 131.

I will add one or two testimonies of Papists against this Cathedral way of worship. The first shall be *Polydorus Vergilius*.

Having taken notice of *Austine's* dislike of that way of singing in his time, he thus proceeds: " But in our time it seems much less useful to the commonwealth, now our Singers make such a noise in our Churches, that nothing can be heard, beside the sound of the voice; and they who come there (that is all that are in the city) are satisfy'd with the Consort of Music, which their ears itch for, and never mind the sense of the words. So that we are come to that pass, that in the opinion of the common people, the whole affair of religious worship is lodg'd in these Singers; altho', generally speaking, there is no sort of men more loose or wicked: and yet a good part of the people run to Church, as to a theatre, to hear them bawl: they hire and encourage them; and look upon them alone as ornaments to the house of God. Wherefore, without doubt, it would be for the interest of religion, either to cast these jackdaws out of the Churches; or else to teach them when they sing, they should do it rather in the manner of reading, than bawling; as *Austine* says *Athanasius* order'd, &c." *

Next hear the judgment of *Erasmus*: " Let a man be more covetous than *Crassus*, more foul-mouth'd than *Zoilus*, he shall be reckon'd a pious man, if he sings those prayers well, tho' he understands nothing of them. But what, I beseech you, must they think of Christ, who can believe he is delighted with such a noise of mens voices? Not content with this, we have brought into our Churches a certain operose and theatrical Music; such a confus'd disorderly chattering of some words, as I hardly think was ever heard in any of the *Grecian* or *Roman* theatres. The Church rings with the noise of Trumpets, Pipes and Dulcimers; and human Voices strive to bear their part with them. ----- Men run to Church as to a theatre, to have their ears tickled. And for this end Organ makers are hired with great salaries, and a company of boys, who waste all their time in learning these whining tones. Pray now compute how many poor people in great extremity might be maintain'd by the salaries of those singers." † Lastly,

* *De Invent. Rer. lib. vi. c. 2. p. 379.*

† *In 1 Cor. xiv. 19.*

Lastly, *Lindanus* says : " Who will compare the Music of this present age, with that which was formerly us'd ? " Whatever is sung now, signifies little for informing the people ; which 'tis certain the antients always design'd. " *

C H A P. IV.

Of the Public Liturgy.

BEFORE I examine our Author's arguments, or rather his reproaches, I shall briefly, but plainly declare our opinion. We say then :

1. That a set Form of prayer is not in it self unlawful. We acknowledge our Saviour deliver'd such an one, compos'd by himself, to his Disciples, for them to use in prayer. Nay we advise such weak people, as are not able to compose their own prayers, to make use of the Forms prepar'd by others.

2. That prescrib'd Forms of prayer and Homilies are necessary, when there is not a sufficient number of Pastors, who can make their own Prayers or Sermons. We commend the prudence of our first Reformers in this respect, who, by composing Homilies and Forms of prayer, endeavour'd, as much as might be, to provide a help for the doleful ignorance of the Clergy.

3. That 'tis a very useful thing, Ministers should offer their Prayers to God, without being tied to a Form. For we know that such is the temper of mens minds, that they less attend to the same thing, when often repeated. We own this is a fault ; but yet 'tis a fault that cleaves so close to us, that we cannot expect to be freed from it, as long as we are here in the world. Nevertheless we are to use our utmost endeavour, to engage and fix our minds in prayer ; for which purpose, the not using a Form seems to us of singular advantage ; and upon that account we would have Ministers much used to this way of praying. And experience teaches us, this tends considerably to promote piety. For since he, who seldom employs himself in private Prayer,

* Panopl. lib. iv. c. 78.

Prayer, will be very unfit to pray without a Form in the assembly; Ministers will be in a manner necessitated to give themselves to religious exercises.

4. That no Form of prayer can be devis'd by men, that will fit all the various and sudden cases, that may happen; and that therefore conceiv'd Prayer should not be forbidden, even where the use of a Liturgy is prescrib'd. Many of the Episcoparians deny this; but Dr. *Nichols* here falls in with us.

5. That the Holy Spirit assists good men, not only by raising their desires, but by suggesting fit and proper matter for them. And we think they cannot deny the truth of this, who pray that *by God's holy inspiration they may think those things that be good.* *

6. 'Tis not clear to us, that the use of the *English* Liturgy is prescrib'd by any sufficient ecclesiastical authority; since the constitution of our *English* Synods has not any warrant, we can yet discover, either in the Holy Scriptures, or antiquity.

7. The *English* Liturgy seems to us confused and immethodical, abounding with many vain repetitions, and not the most fitted for public worship. We value and commend the Foreign Liturgies, as pious and useful, wherein God is address'd in a continued Prayer; but we can't approve our Liturgy, wherein the short prayers are divided between the Minister and the people; and many of their little Collects have often more of preface and conclusion, than petition in them. Wherefore, though the Presbyterians, for the sake of peace, would not refuse the use of a grave, well compos'd Form, with a reserve for the liberty of exercising their gifts; yet they think it very unreasonable to be tied to the use of the *English* Liturgy, according as it is at present.

8. Since the *English* Liturgy is so defective, and the Conformists will not suffer it to be mended; we say we are very unjustly blam'd, that we order our religious worship in a better manner, and more to the edification of the people. Many things are to be yielded for peace, but since our Adversaries have no regard to it; what should hinder our thorough reforming our worship, and suiting it to the greater profit of the Churches, without regarding their

* Collect for the 5th Sunday after Easter.

their fancies? But I proceed now to examine our Author's calumnies:

But how will they prove, that those sudden suggestions, which they pour out in their assemblies, are the dictates of the Spirit? For if we mind their indecent repetitions, and uncouth, flat and foolish expressions, they will be found so unworthy of the Holy Spirit, that any wise man would be very much ashame of them.*

The Apostle bears witness, that the Holy Spirit assists Christians in prayer, *Rom.* viii. 26. They are therefore commanded to pray in the Holy Ghost, *Jude*, ver. 20. And our Saviour himself has assur'd us, that his Father will give his Holy Spirit to them that ask him, *Luke* xi. 13. Why then should we doubt of God's giving us that assistance of his Spirit he has promis'd, when we earnestly pray to him for it? Nor will impartial Judges much credit an Adversary's account of our religious service, who was perhaps never in his life present at it. They who have visited *Great Britain*, know, there are none more pious than our people in the whole nation. Since therefore honest pious men, who daily attend our Prayers, think otherwise of them, and find them very useful to improve them in godliness; we need not much trouble ourselves about the calumnies of spiteful men, who know nothing of the matter. And if the Spirit, as I said, not only inflames the desires of pious suppliants, but suggests also suitable matter for their requests; why should we refuse his help in either respect? And yet this they do, who tie themselves up to a Form. Our Author, if he would have done any thing to the purpose, should have prov'd, that God never gives his Spirit to Christians, and particularly to Ministers, for that end I have mention'd; or at least, that the Dissenters are men who cannot partake of that benefit.

Further, what our Author says here, seems not well to agree with the account he gives of us himself in another part of his Book: "Now, says he, their Discourses are "sober and correct; they study and compose them; " they have purg'd out the old musty obsolete words; " they take care not to be abrupt and incoherent." † If these things are true of our Sermons, who will believe we use indecent repetitions, and uncouth flat and foolish expressions in our Prayers? But he goes on:

If

If we consider the different phrase and method of their Prayers, some being Calvinistical, others Arminian ; tho' we could think the Ho'ly Spirit would descend to the singularities of these Theologists, yet we must not charge him with such contrarieties and clashings as they are guilty of. Who, I pray, are those Arminians among us ? Our Author perhaps here meant the Quakers, or some of the Anabaptists. But if we will speak the truth, the Arminians themselves are hardly Arminians, in offering up their prayers to God. But if there be any strength in this objection of our Author, the Conformists must necessarily quit all pretence to the Spirit's assisting any of them in prayer ; for they offer the same prayers to God, which, some of them understand in a Calvinist sense, others in an Arminian. Thus in the Burial office they *beseech* God, that it may please him, of his gracious goodness, shortly to accomplish the number of his elect. Now some of them hold, that none were elected by God from all eternity, who, when they hear this expression, imagine none else are meant by the elect, but good and holy men. Others presently, according to the Calvinist scheme, think of some certain persons ordain'd to salvation by God's eternal decree. Why then may not another person, with a small variation of our Author's words, by the same argument say : If we consider the different sense they put upon their own Prayers, some of them taking them in a Calvinistical, and others in an Arminian meaning ; tho' we could think the Holy Spirit would descend to the singularities of these Theologists, yet we must not charge him [which were an impiety to be abhor'd] with such contrarieties and clashings as they are guilty of ? And is not the Church of England in a fine condition, according to this argument ? But let us hear what follows.

Some of these Devotionists [of which term of reproach I shall take no notice, because 'tis only the Translator's] in the beginning of their Prayers can hardly speak ; after much coughing and hemming, with much ado a few broken words drop out : a while after, their cold tongues seem as it were thaw'd, and move more glibly ; and then presently you have a torrent of words, and they are in raptures. Now these motions are easily to be accounted for, by assigning them to the blood or spirits, which circulate in the body slower or swifter at different times. But what man in his wits can think, that the Ho'ly Ghost should be at a stand for words, and want to be helped out by hems and coughs ?

This is exactly according to the manner, in which our Adversaries use to treat us. Nothing is so sacred with

them, but whenever 'tis to their purpose, they will turn it into ridicule. Must the Holy Ghost be thus abusively treated ; and if he assists men, who are pious, but yet imperfect, and perhaps under a bodily indisposition, must he presently be charg'd with all the defects and infirmities which they discover ? But why may not this be an objection against his cause as well as ours ? What Christian would like to be present at those prayers, in offering which, he could not expect the help of the Spirit ? And yet a Conformist may have occasion to *hem* or *cough*, as well as those most contemptible creatures, as they think, the Nonconformists. What the design of this kind of arguing is, I can't imagine, unless it be to deny that the Spirit helps any Christians in prayer. We ought to judge charitably, and not upon slight evidence ; and therefore 'tis not hastily to be presum'd of any one, that in his prayers he coughs on purpose, and without occasion. But if any one, whether Conformist or Nonconformist, is chargeable with this, I should say he was indeed guilty of a great error ; but not that he was therefore certainly and utterly destitute of the Spirit's assistance. No man lives without faults, he is best who has least.

But where's the hurt of a man's beginning with a low voice, and raising it by degrees ? They who treat of the art of speaking, dont use to condemn this. " In every voice there is a *medium*, says *Craffus*, and each voice has its own peculiarly : hence 'tis both useful and sweet to raise the voice by degrees, for to speak aloud at the beginning is clownish. " * To the same purpose *Quintilian* : " A soft pronunciation is commonly most proper at the beginning. " † Nor do I think the Apostle *Paul*, tho' he had the largest measure of the Spirit, abstain'd from using any art in speaking, with respect either to his voice, or gesture. ||

Sudden conceptions are generally crude and confus'd, without any method or order : many things in them are obscure and unintelligible, which, for haste of uttering, the mind cannot digest. But now in our compos'd Offices every thing stands in its proper place. ‡

We grant the prayers in a Liturgy may be so dispos'd ; but we say too, that other prayers without a Form may be express'd

* Cicero de Or. l. iii. c. 61. vii. l. iii. ad Her. c. 12.
lib. xi. c. 3. † See Acts xxvi.

‡ pag. 260.

† Institut. Orat.

express'd distinctly, and in good order enough ; provided a Minister is well vers'd in, and accustom'd to religious duties, and is not very unhappy in his elocution. Nay, he hardly seems qualified to discharge the sacred Office, who is not able to compose both his own Prayers and Sermons. And whereas people are, when they join in such prayers, uncertain what will come next, that is no prejudice to them, since by this means their minds are kept the more attentive to what they are about. And whatever our Author is pleas'd to say of *confusion*, and want of method ; I must needs say, our Prayers would very much displease me, if the confusion of them equall'd what I have observ'd in their compos'd Liturgy.

The people have nothing to ask of God, but what they may well weigh and consider of at home : and if they meet with any thing which they dont well understand, they may have recourse to the expositions of learned Divines, which are easily had. But extemporary Prayers leave men at a stand, whether they should say Amen to them, before they have consider'd whether they contain nothing contrary to sound faith, and Christian virtue, nothing but what is fit to be pray'd for.

In prayer no words are to be used, but what are plain and easie, which *leave not the people at any stand*, but are as soon understood as utter'd ; so that they presently know, without any difficulty, whether they should assent to them, or not. Nor does God impute to any man those Petitions, to which he does not assent. Further, if a man finds good reason to dislike the Liturgy, which he has well weigh'd and consider'd at home, our Author's objection then recoils upon himself. And as on one side, *the expositions of learned Divines are easily had* ; so on the other, learned Divines themselves may be without difficulty consulted. And 'tis no small inconvenience of our Liturgy at least, that the things which, perhaps, were formerly proper enough, but upon an alteration of circumstances are found to be otherwise, cannot be alter'd without a grievous offence. This will be plain by giving an Instance. Our Adversaries, in King James the Second's time, were displeas'd both with his religion and designs ; and thinking themselves to be in great danger, they pray'd heartily for the success of the Prince of Orange in private ; but when they used the Liturgy in public, they pretended to pray that God would " strengthen King James, that he might vanquish

“ and overcome all his Enemies.”* And so in the *Litany*, they used these words : “ That it may please thee to keep “ and strengthen, in the true worshipping of thee, in righ-“ teousness and holiness of life, thy servant *James*, our most “ gracious King, and governour. That it may please thee “ to be his defender and keeper, giving him the victory “ over all his enemies.”

Which no man can promise for them before hand, who remembers what prayers were made by the great masters of this art in our late troublesome times ; how confus'd, how seditious, how blasphemous they many times were. †

We doubt not these things might be true of some Secta-
ries, and Heretical persons, who then invaded the sacred of-
fice. But what's that to us ? Our Author should have
shewn, that the Presbyterians were guilty of such things.
’Tis very unjust to blame us for those actions of frantick
men, which we detest. But if any thing may be infer'd
from our Author's argument, by the same reason all ser-
mons must be put down, and men be tied up intirely to the
use of homilies. For, no doubt, they talk'd after one and
the same rate, in their sermons and prayers. But I have
had occasion to speak of this before.

But every pious person may fully and freely assent to our Common Prayers, because he can be acquainted with them before hand ; and may be very hearty in his petitions, as being well assur'd that he asks nothing amiss.

But what if those Common Prayers, being known before
hand, and read too with the explications of learned Divines,
appear unfit for us to assent to, or to use ? And such in-
deed they seem to us. But our Author does not meddle
with that, which we look upon as the greatest inconve-
nience in Forms ; namely, that mens wandering minds will
very hardly attend to the same thing, repeated over a thou-
sand times. Hence the Minister's tongue frequently out-
runs his thoughts ; as has appear'd, when they have inad-
vertently pray'd for any of the Royal Family, who used to
be nam'd in their prayers, after they were dead. Which
might be proved by the testimony of such as have been pre-
sent at the time.

In short, a Minister's unpremeditated prayers can hardly keep up the gravity of his assembly ; many things dropping from him, which are

are trifling, and unbecoming a Divine ; besides the loss he is sometimes at for matter, which forces him, rather than be quite mute, to vent very impertinent incoherent stuff, such as provokes the spleen of men, that are otherwise serious enough.

Thus 'tis the manner of some, to speak evil of the things they know not. * Our Author here shews, he knew nothing of our assemblies, where men dont use to laugh and jest, which is his expression, except such happen to drop in, as treat all serious things in that manner. But supposing Ministers drop'd a less proper expression, they ought not to be thought worthy of such treatment ; especially since the prayers of the antients were not always the most exact, to say nothing worse of them. This is taken notice of by *Austin*, who, by a prudent advice, endeavour'd to prevent honest mens being laugh'd at upon that account. "When they, says he, come " to be made Christians, who excel others in the art of " speaking, we must inculcate upon them one thing, over " and above what we do upon other illiterate persons ; " namely, we must diligently admonish them to be clothed " with Christian humility, that they may learn not to despise those, who, they will see, more carefully avoid a fault in their actions, than in their expressions ; and may " not dare to compare an eloquent tongue with a pure " heart, tho' they have been used to give it the preference. " — Make them understand, that not the voice, but " the affections of the soul, reach God's ears : for then " they will not laugh, if they observe any of the Bishops, and " Ministers of the Church, are guilty of barbarisms, or solecisms, " in their praying to God ; or dont understand, but blunder " in the words they pronounce."† Whence, by the way, 'tis plain Bishops and Ministers were not bound up, at that time, to the use of a set form of words in prayer.

If any extraordinary occasion happens, either for prayers or thanksgivings, the Bishops are empower'd by our laws to compose special Forms.||

We are glad this is done now and then ; but experience tells us, there is good reason to complain of the long time such Forms are preparing. Thus, for instance, in the year 1703. we had a most terrible storm, that affrighted the whole nation : This happen'd on a Saturday, and the next Lord's day the Dissenting Ministers every where humbled

themselves before God, and bewailing their own and the nation's sins, earnestly besought him to turn from the fierceness of his anger. But the Churchmen were forc'd to wait some time, till the Bishops could meet together, and draw up a Form for this purpose, and get it printed and dispers'd through the nation. This I mention'd in one of my Letters, that I might shew the usefulness of Free Prayer ; but I found some were so extremely fond of their Forms, that tho' they could not deny there was great reason for the whole nation earnestly to seek God upon that account ; yet they chose rather to deny there was any necessity of their doing it, before the Bishops had provided suitable Prayers, than they would let the honour of their Liturgy suffer in the least.

Or if any thing unusual happens in the circumstances of private persons ; if it be any way fit to be mention'd in prayer ; it may conveniently enough be brought in by the Minister, in his Prayer before Sermon.

Now I congratulate myself, that those *extempore* Prayers, which our Author has been hitherto bantering, are at length acknowledg'd to be at all useful. But 'tis well known, that many of the Church of England wish this liberty was entirely taken away. And among the rest, this seems to be the sense of those, who had the care of this Translation. For the Translator has quite alter'd the Doctor's words, and has render'd them thus : *And as for the unusual circumstances of private persons, they want not sufficient helps and directions in such cases.* Now what are those helps and directions, I pray, in such cases ? 'Tis plain, by his thus quite altering the sense, he is against a Minister's bringing those cases into his prayer before Sermon ; and where else he can bring them in, I can't imagine. So that the true meaning of this dark and blind expression must be, that he needs no help in those cases, being directed to let them alone. I suppose one reason of this alteration is, the earnest endeavour of some men lately, to lay aside the Minister's praying in the pulpit before sermon ; and the Translator, being of the same mind, thought it improper to mention the Minister's inserting any thing in that prayer, which he would not have him use.

I come, in the next place, to inquire, with our Author, into the antiquity of Liturgies. Now here we object, as he says, *That the primitive Church affords them no pattern of a Liturgy.* And to this he answers thus :

If they mean the Apostolic age, we freely own there were no Liturgies then, compos'd with such accuracy and exactness, as they were afterwards.

There is little fairness in this passage. I wish our Author would plainly deny or affirm, there were Liturgies written in the *Apostolic age*. If he denies it, he must own the Dissenters herein follow the example of the Apostles. If he affirms it, I desire some good evidence of his assertion. He has to do with adversaries not very credulous, who, when any thing is propos'd to them, as used in the Apostles time, and therefore fit to be imitated, insist upon its being prov'd, by clear and undoubted testimonies, to have been then receiv'd. But what means this expression: *There were no Liturgies then, compos'd with such accuracy and exactness, as they were afterwards?* Does he think there were any Liturgies at all? By what mischance were they lost, or could they be lost, since they would have been as continually read, and as carefully handed down to posterity, as the Bible itself? And what necessity was there they should, after the Apostles decease, be compos'd with greater *accuracy and exactness*, than when they were alive? If there had been any Liturgies in their time, I should fancy they would be far above the polishing of all after ages, as being compos'd, or at least revis'd, by the Apostles themselves. But our Author was of another mind. And hence our Adversaries had rather appeal to the writers of the after ages of the Church, than to the Apostles. The order taken by the Apostles had not, forsooth, sufficient accuracy and exactness, but was to receive that advantage from those who came after them. Nevertheless, if they had set us such an example, we should much better like their plain and less accurate order; than the elaborate, perhaps, but too officious emendation of their successors.

Nor was there any occasion for such helps in the Apostles days, when miracles were not ceased, and prayers were confessedly made by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

The Apostles had a regard not only to their own, but to after times. If therefore they apprehended there would be afterwards *occasion for such helps*, we cannot doubt they would have made provision for the use and advantage of the Church. Besides, does our Author think, that all those, who were ever allow'd to pray in the Church, in the Apostles days, were endow'd with the *power of miracles*, or

with *inspiration*?* The Apostle seems to deny it. Why then might not those, who had not these extraordinary gifts, want such helps? If they were not then necessary, why should we think them so now? That an ability to pray without them, may be attain'd by much exercise and study, is clearly prov'd by the most learned Bp. *Wilkins*, who wrote a Book on that subject. If then this gift of prayer may be acquir'd by use and study, 'tis not more necessary now to require all men indifferently to use a Liturgy, than it was in the Apostles time.

When this gift fail'd, Liturgies were drawn up more fully, as ours is; and many of the prayers of inspir'd men were inserted in them. But there was never any age of the Church, wherein there were not some Forms of prayer in the public worship.

If a Liturgy must be used, that, which has the prayers of inspir'd persons in it, is doubtless to be prefer'd to all others. Thus our Adversaries use to cry up their Episcopacy, Discipline, Liturgy, and any thing else that belongs to them, as Apostolical. Our Author mentions elsewhere the commendation given the Liturgy by the Parliament: "That no one could doubt, the authors of that work were aided by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost."† And indeed who can make any doubt of it, if what he here says be true? For our Reformers must not be look'd upon as the authors of the Liturgy; but those *divine men*, who pour'd out *prayers in the Church, not without an inspiration from heaven*, as 'tis in the *Latin* edition; and from whose mouths were taken, if not all, yet some at least, of the prayers, which are in their Liturgy. But who were those *divine men*, from whose mouths these *prayers* were taken? Who were the *scribes*? Whom does he bring for witnesses of the fact? We, such is our dulness, know not how to assent to these new conjectures, When what our Author asserts shall be solidly prov'd, I will vouch for our controversy's being at an end. For we dont reject Forms compos'd by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost; but those *English* ones, which, if we are not greatly mistaken, smell of a very different composition. And why may we not now retort our Author's words upon himself? "But how will they prove, that the *prayers* they pour out in their assemblies, are the *dictates of the Spirit*?"|| Further, when our Author says: *There was never any age of the Church,*

* 1 Cor. xii. 28, 29, 30.

† See pag. 9. of the Lat. edit.

|| pag. 259.

Church, wherein there were not some Forms [the Translator adds, of prayer] in the public worship. We grant it, if he intended it of Forms for singing. We dispute not about them, nor about the Lord's Prayer. The question is, whether there were, in the first ages, any Forms of prayer of human composition, which the governors of the Church were oblig'd constantly to use?

The Jews, whose plan of worship our Saviour follow'd in many things, used a public Liturgy in their Synagogues.* And what then? Are Christians therefore bound to use a Liturgy? Whatever Christ has transfer'd from their worship into his own, we think we ought carefully to embrace. But since he has only deliver'd us one Form, what signify the Jewish forms to us? But this public Liturgy of the Jews was compos'd by Esdras, and the great Synagogue, as learned men conjecture. But we are not to be directed, in our worship, by learned mens conjectures. We shall soon make a fine business of it, if we are. And if those learned men were right in their conjecture, why is not their Liturgy reckon'd a part of Canonical Scripture? And whatever some learned men may think, there are others not inferior to them, who look upon this as a Jewish and old wife's fable, that deserves no credit at all.

In the first place, they solemnly confess'd the sins of the people: then they gave thanks for God's mercies, in Hymns prescrib'd for that purpose: next they pray'd to God for their own, and the people's safety: and after all, the Master of the Synagogue dismiss'd them with a solemn benediction. Every body sees this was all Form and Liturgy. If this was all Form and Liturgy, our worship must be all Form and Liturgy also. The same things, tho' in a different order, are perform'd in our assemblies. Tho' I make no doubt of the Jews using a Liturgy, yet this does not prove they did so.

Nor was there any celebrated master among them, who did not teach his scholars some particular Form of prayer, whereby they might be known to belong to him. In compliance with this custom, our Lord taught his Disciples that which we call the Lord's Prayer. Since then we have one only master, even Christ, why should we not be content with that one Form of his composing, and not suffer our selves to be tied to the many Forms of other men? As to what the Doctor adds:

And

And when he was on the cross, he repeated a psalm of David as a Form of prayer : we know, some men have so conjectur'd, but with no great probability. Nor do I see how it can be prov'd. But let us suppose it to be a thing certain : it will not thence follow, we are always bound to use the same Forms, drawn up by men, of their own heads. Far be it from us, to think our spotless Redeemer labour'd under the same malady with us miserable creatures ; that he was liable to the same infirmities we are, or that he needed such a remedy as we do.

We have no dispute about the using a Form in singing, as our Author could not but know. And therefore passing over Pliny's testimony, who only speaks of singing, I proceed to Clement.

What was Clement's prescrib'd Canon of Liturgy ?* namely, but a Form of prayer ? If Forms can be establish'd by Clement's authority, 'twill be past doubt, that they were used in the Apostles time ; for he was cotemporary with them, and, as all grant, wrote that Epistle not only before St. John's death, but before some at least, if not before any of his writings were publish'd. But he speaks not a word of Forms of prayer. That the passage refer'd to by the Doctor may be the better understood, we must take notice, the quarrels in the Church of Corinth, and the sedition rais'd against the Presbyters of that Church, gave occasion to the writing that Epistle. Hence he gravely admonishes the *Corinthians*, to do all things orderly. "We ought, says he, "to do all things in order, which the Lord has commanded us to perform." For this end he sets before them the order of the *Jewish* Church : "To the chief Priest are given his own (*Liturgies*, that is) offices ; and to the Priests is assign'd their proper place ; the Levites have their peculiar ministries ; and the layman is bound by those precepts, which concern the laity."† Then follows the passage, our Author had in his eye : "Let every one of you, Brethren, give thanks to God in his own rank, having a good conscience, not transgressing the prescrib'd rule of his office ;" that is, the place God has set him in.|| Now what has this to do with Forms of prayer ? 'Twas no small mistake of our Author, to interpret that most antient writer, by the modern way of speaking. For,

* pag. 264.

† pag. 40.

|| Comp. Bp. Hooper, of Lent, p. 303.

For, *λειτουργία*, neither in *Clement's* time, nor in several ages after him, was used to signify a Form of prayer. Just thus the *Rhemists* pretend, those words of *St. Luke*, *λειτουργεῖν τῷ θεῷ*,* should be render'd, *as they were saying mass*.

Or what else was the one Prayer in *Ignatius*?† Hear what *Ignatius* says: ‘ Neither do you any thing without the “ Bishop and the Presbyters. Neither endeavour to let “ any thing appear rational to your selves apart. But when “ you meet together in the same place, let there be *one* “ *prayer, one supplication, one mind, one hope, in love, and* “ *joy unblameable.*’’ By the same argument our Author might prove, all the *Dissenters* use Forms: for whenever they also *meet together* in the same place, they have *one* *prayer, and one supplication*, in common to them all. For if the *Minister* leads in *prayer*, and all the *congregation* agrees in his *desires*, there is then certainly but one *prayer*, whether he *prays* with, or without a *Form*. Unless our Author had been in a great want of *testimonies*, he would not have endur'd to produce such *frivolous ones*, which are nothing at all to his *purpose*. Much of a sort with these are his two next *testimonies*, which I shall however briefly examine.

Or the *common prayers* in *Justin Martyr*? *We make*, says he, *common Prayers*. Thus the *English Liturgy* is call'd, *Common Prayer*. Whence our Author thought it past all doubt, that *Justin*, when he spoke of *common prayer*, must mean a *prescrib'd Liturgy*. But our *prayers* are not less *common*, though we use no *Forms*. But *Justin* presently after shews the *reasoun* why he calls these *prayers common*. “ After “ that, says he, we rise up all *nowīn*, *in common*, and offer “ *prayers to God*?’’ If *Justin*, or any other *antient author*, had mention'd their *reading* *prayers*, it would have been to the *purpose*; but *prayers* of any *kind*, cannot but be *common* to all those who join in them. Indeed, *Justin's* *expression* of *making* *prayers*, might be much more *plausibly* *allegd*'d on our *side*, than his other of *common prayer* can be on theirs. *Mr. Erasmus Warren*, a *writer* of some *note*, in a *Sermon*, wherein he highly extols the *English Liturgy*, explains the *Apostles* *expression*, *ποιεῖσθαι δεῖτε*, that *prayers be made*,^{||} to mean the *composing* a *Liturgy*. If that were true, why should not *Justin's* *words* be in the like *manner* under-

* *A&. xiii. 2.*† *Ad Magn. sect. 7.*|| *1 Tim. ii. 1.*

understood concerning the composition of the prayers? For no body will imagine the whole congregation made a Liturgy, and especially that they did it every time they met. But I shall have occasion to say more of *Justin* hereafter.

And the public prayer in *Cyprian*? Whoever reads the whole Passage in *Cyprian*, presently sees, how little this deserves an answer. For *Cyprian* there comments upon the Lord's Prayer after this manner: "Above all, the teacher of peace, and master of truth, would not have men pray, as in a single or private capacity, that when a man prays he should only pray for himself. For we dont say, *my Father, which art in heaven*; nor, give me this day *my daily bread*; nor does every one pray to have his own debts *only* forgiven; nor when a man asks not to be led into temptation, or to be deliver'd from evil, does he ask these things for himself alone. We have a public and common prayer; and when we pray, we pray not for one person, but for all the people; because we, the whole people, are one."* Who does not see now, in what sense *Cyprian* speaks of *public and common prayer*? But let what he says elsewhere, be compar'd here-with: "Let every one pray to God, not for himself alone, but for all the brethren; according as our Lord has taught us to pray; where he does not prescribe to each person a private prayer, [that is, a particular prayer for himself] but has commanded us, with a common prayer and harmonious supplication, to pray for all."†

Now the Doctor passes on to the composers of Liturgies: *Gregory Thaumaturgus* is said to have been the author of the Service us'd in the Church of Neocæsarea, from which they thought it not lawful to make the least variation. This is no where said of *Gregory*. The Doctor thought *Basil* affirm'd it, but he mistook *Basil's* meaning. He is in the place cited by the Doctor disputing against those, who thought it unlawful, in pronouncing the doxology, to say, *with the Spirit*.|| He endeavours therefore, to shew from the writings of the antients, that such a form of speech was used in their time. And first, he alledges the Epistle of *Dionysius of Alexandria*; then *Origen's* Comment upon the

Psalms;

Psalms ; and next, *Africanus* the Historian's *Epitome of times*. Thence he goes on to *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, and having spoken highly in his praise, he adds somewhat concerning the Churches of his country, which Dr. N. has thought to be to his purpose : "They have added to the " Church, neither deed, nor word, nor any mystical " figure, beside what he left them. Nay, many things, " which are done among them, seem defective by reason " of the antiquity of their constitution. For they who " succeeded in the government of the Churches, would " not bear to receive any addition of things found out " after his time." And then he appeals to the receiv'd custom of that Church. But I shall make a few remarks upon this passage of *Basil*.

1. The temper of the fourth Century is plainly here discover'd ; namely, that they were wonderfully delighted in inventing new rites ; which, therefore, in a short time, were increas'd to a prodigious number. For *Basil* intimates, that a vast alteration was made in most Churches, since *Gregory's* time.

2. 'Tis not probable *Gregory* compos'd any Prayer book, because *Basil* does not mention it. If any such book had been extant, how could it happen that when he cited *Origen* and *Africanus*'s writings, he should say nothing of this book of *Gregory*? By this means *Gregory's* opinion might have been certainly known, and the controversy *Basil* had with the Clergy of *Neocæsarea* might have been soon ended. Nor is it to be thought, that *Basil* would rather appeal to the practice of the Church of *Neocæsarea*, for *Gregory's* opinion, than to his own writing, if there had been any such.

3. *Basil* mentions no Form of prayer compos'd by *Gregory*, or any body else. And the same argument, by which our Adversaries would prove, that none but *Gregory's* Prayers were used in the Church of *Neocæsaria* ; will likewise prove, that nothing was read in that Church for Sermons, but only his Homilies. For *Basil's* words may as well be understood of sermons, as prayers.

4. Let the learned consider, whether *Basil* does not elsewhere say, what is directly contrary to this. When the Clergy of *Neocæsarea* complain'd, that the singing by turns, which *Basil* us'd, was not practis'd in *Gregory's* time ; *Basil*, in his answer, asks them, how they could prove it ? And then adds : *For you have not preserved any of his usages*

usages to this day. * And this I mention, that I may shew, the latter part of that Treatise of *Basil*, *De Spiritu Sancto*, is not without reason suspected by learned men to be interpolated, if it be not spurious.

Tis observ'd as a monstrous thing in Paulus Samosatenus, That he chang'd the Hymns antiently receiv'd in the Church, for new ones of his own composing. And well might his action be look'd upon as monstrous; for instead of the Hymns which used to be sung in honour of Christ, he hired sorry women to sing in the Church Hymns in praise of himself. And what is this to the Dissenters? *Tis true, this proves there were antiently Forms for singing.* But, what need that be so industriously prov'd, of which no body doubts? But now, if not only Hymns, but Forms of prayer also had been used in the Church at that time, no one will question, whether the doctrinal principles contain'd in both were the same. Wherefore if *Paulus*, being a vile Heretic, could not bear with the Hymns, for their contradicting his Heretical notions, and therefore chang'd them; certainly, for the same reason, he would not have retain'd the prayers. How comes it then to pass, that the Synod, which so severely censures him, for laying aside the Hymns, should say nothing at all of his crime in rejecting the Prayers? I can't therefore but strongly conjecture, from this very place, that there was then no prescrib'd Form of prayer in the Church. I cannot but add; that the monstrous wickedness of *Paulus*, did only lie in the abominableness of the Hymns he brought in. For long after his time, it was reckon'd no crime, as particularly in *Ambrose*, and others, to compose new Hymns for the use of the Church.

Constantine the Great, did not only command his soldiers to use Forms of prayer, but with a strain of piety, seldom found in princes, he compos'd some for them. Nor would the Dissenters at all scruple to command *Constantine* for what he did. For they themselves used in their sermons to advise, such as cannot pray without, to make use of Forms. Whence several of our Ministers have compos'd Forms for their assistance. We have, therefore, no controversy with our Adversaries, whether it be lawful to draw up Forms for the use of ignorant men, or pagan soldiers in secret. It seems

* Epist. lxiii. p. 844.

seems to us quite another question ; whether one certain Form of words may be prescrib'd to all the Pastors of the Church, to be always used by them in prayer ? Nor can Constantine be said to have done this, in imitation of the Church's prayers ; since, as he was not then baptiz'd, he could not have been ever present at them.

In Athanasius, we find some traces of an antient Liturgy, used at the celebration of the Sacrament.

Athanasius was accus'd, that he had curs'd the Emperor Constantius, when he was with his brother *Constans*. This calumny he refutes, and appeals to those present, that being desirous of the Emperor's welfare, he said: *Let us pray for the safety of the Emperor Constantius*. But he says not a word of a Liturgy, or an assembly in the Church. Nay he seems to have spoken to a crowd, or a mob, stirring up the people to pray to God for the Emperor. Hereupon the people cry'd out: *O Christ, help Constantius*: just as they do with us: *God save the King*. And that *Athanasius*, when he wrote this, did not dream of a Liturgy, but spoke only of the bawling acclamations of the mob, his next words shew: *And thus they continu'd praying*; that is, repeating that acclamation over and over, as is usual on such occasions. And is not this a fine testimony for the use of Forms ?

The other place of *Athanasius*, cited from his Epistle, *Ad solitariam vitam agentes*, is not in the Epistle it self, which is short, and exceeds not two pages ; but in an addition annex'd to it. *Athanasius*, or who ever else was the author, there describes the miserable condition of the Churches, and the great grief which was caus'd by the edict of Constantius ; and in a rhetorical manner he represents the complaints which they every where made to God, such as the thing it self seem'd to call for. For I can hardly think, he delivers the words of a Form. Nor is it probable the governors of the Churches could presently meet together, and draw up such a Form, that should be used in all the Churches ; and yet he speaks of the Churches in general. These are his words: " And such was the wicked edict " Constantius publish'd. The people were ready for mar- " tyrdom, and the rather hated the most wicked Heresy. " But there was mourning through the Churches, and " great groaning of those that cry'd unto the Lord; Spare " thy people, O Lord, and give not thine heritage for a " reproach to thine enemies ; but make hast to deliver us " out of the hand of the wicked : for behold they " spare

“ spare not thy servants, and prepare the way for
“ Antichrist.”

Cyril of Jerusalem mentions the Prayer in the *Liturgy*, call'd *Sursum corda*, and the *Trisagion*. * If it will do them any kindness, I can tell them of one much antienter than Cyril, even *Cyprian*, who mentions the *Sursum corda*. But who does not see, that is no prayer? ” The Priest, says “ he, prepares the minds of the Brethren, by using this preface before prayer: *Lift up your hearts*: that when the people answer: *We lift them up to the Lord*, they may be put in mind, they are to think of nothing else but the Lord, ”† And is such a preface, wherein God is not address'd, a Form of prayer? Thus our Ministers sometimes, before prayer, bespeak the people: *Let us call upon God*; or, *Let us pray*; or the like; and yet we would not be therefore thought to use Forms. As for the *Trisagion*, we contend not about it, since it was an *Hymn*, as is plain from the thing it self, and from Cyril's words, who calls it so.

And in the *Clementine Constitutions*, which were writ about this time, frequent notice is taken of Forms of prayer. The time is very uncertain when those Constitutions were written: and they have undergone so many alterations since, according to the different Customs of after times, as *Du Pin* acknowledges, that nothing can be gather'd from them. ||

A Canon of the Council of Laodicea orders, That the same prayers shall be us'd in morning and evening Service. Our Author, in the Margin of his *Latin* edition, quoted two Canons of this Council, the seventh, which requires Heretics when they return to the Church to learn the Creeds; which is so foreign to the business of Forms of prayer, that the Translator was in the right to take no notice of it. But the Doctor did not set down the number of the other Canon, and so the Translator concluded the other number belong'd to this; tho', by looking into my Answer, he might have seen 'twas otherwise. 'Tis Canon xviii, and runs thus: “ The same service of prayers must be perform'd at the ninth hour [that is, three a clock in the afternoon] and in the evening.” The Doctor here fell into his old mistake. For the word *λειτεργία* does not here signify a *Liturgy*; but a duty, or ministry, or the like. And this Canon is therefore punctually com-

* pag. 265.

† *De Orat. Dom.* p. 152.

|| *Nouv. Biblioth. tom. i. p. 31.*

comply'd with, whether the same or different prayers are offer'd.

Nazianzen speaks of antient Prayers of the Church used in his time. I will set down the passage, in which he speaks thus concerning the Emperor Julian. " He saw our religion was " great, both for the doctrines it contain'd, and the he- " venly testimonies given to it ; and that this was true " both of the Old Testament and the New : of the Old, " with respect to the predictions, and the notions of the " Deity, which shin'd forth, in some measure, therein ; of " the New, upon the account of the last appearance of God ; " and the amazing things caused by it, or accompanying " it. But he saw our religion was yet greater, and more " famous, for those Ecclesiastical Forms, [Rules or Canons, " τύποις] deliver'd to us, and to this very day preserv'd by us. " That even this might not escape his mischievous hands, " what does he contrive, what does he do ? He imitates " the Assyrian Rabshakeh.---- The same did this man think " to do, being ready to set up, in every city, schools, chan- " cels, and thrones, some higher, some lower ; and to ap- " point lectures and explications upon the receiv'd notions " of the Gentiles, whether they related to the ordering mens " manners, or to abstruser matters : and also a Form, or " Rule, of prayers to be sung in parts, εὐχῶν τε τύπον ἐν " μέρει, and of punishing offenders according to the degrees " of their offences, and of initiating, and perfecting persons, " and such like things as plainly belong to our discipline."* Dr. Bennet thinks the εὐχῶν ἐν μέρει cannot signify the alternate way of singing. I am of our Author's mind, who so understands that expression ; altho' 'tis much at one to me, if Dr. B's interpretation should be prefer'd. For if we understand Nazianzen, as Dr. N. does, concerning their way of singing, 'tis manifest then this testimony relates to Hymns, and not to Forms of prayer properly so call'd. But if we follow Dr. B's version, and suppose he means Prayers said at different times, some in the presence of none but the Baptiz'd, others before any persons whatever ; even then there will be no mention of Forms, except 'tis in that word τύποις. Now that, I conceive, in Nazianzen signifies a Rule, rather than a Form. In which sense 'tis used by the Apostle : Ye have obey'd from the heart that Form, τύπον, of doctrine, whereto

ye were deliver'd.* Upon which place *Oecumenius* has this remark: *τύπον δέ οὐτι διδαχῆς, δόν δεκταὶ κανόνες*, that is, the Apostle means, the Rule or Canon of doctrine. And thus the verb *τύπει* is of the same signification with *reprobatur*, and is join'd with it, as synonymous, in the same Homily, by another writer. † And that *τύπος* must be thus understood in *Nazianzen*, is evident, because he speaks as well of a Form, that is, a Rule, of punishing offenders, as of prayer. And indeed the Emperor might borrow from the Christians the alternate way of singing, or the dividing their prayers into parts, according to the state of the auditors: but Forms of prayer he could not learn of them, because they were in use long before, among the Pagans. And I observe, Dr. *Bennet* himself, however he contends earnestly that *τύπος* can signify nothing but a Form, yet chuses to speak as I do of one part of the *τύπος* mention'd by *Nazianzen*. “*St. Gregory Nazianzen assures us, says he, that Julian* “intended to copy after them, and to establish Rules for the “punishment of Heathens, according to their demerit.” ‡ And tho', I observe, some would make *τετλειων* to agree with *ἐνχών*,‡ yet in my mind the sentence coming between shews, it is a force upon *Nazianzen*'s words; and therefore my rendering his words is in that respect better.

Next to *Nazianzen* comes his friend *Basil*, from whom our Author quotes one or two passages. The first is in his Letter to the Clergy of *Neocæsarea*, where he brings them in as making this objection: *But these things [this way of alternate singing] were not practis'd in the Great Gregory's time.* And to this he answers in the next words: *Nor were those supplications, which you now make.* This, as our Author understands it, is directly contrary to what he makes *Basil* say in the preceeding page. There he tells us: *Gregory Thaumaturgus is said to have been the author of the Service used in the Church of Neocæsarea, from which they thought it not lawful to make the least variation.* And for this he alledges the same *Basil*'s authority. Now how can this be, if he drew up the Service, and they had alter'd it? But I dont think *Basil* in these passages contradicts himself, whatever he does in others, if he is the true author of them. For he does not here speak of the very words used in prayer, but of the manner of praying. He means, that there was a

great

* Rom. vi. 17. † Vid. Homil. contra eos. q. ii die Pasch. jejunant, inter operas. Chrysostomi. ‡ Brief Hist. p. 149. ‡ Vid. Not. in *Nazianz.* Invenit. in Jul. edit. a Mo. tagu, p. 68.

great difference between *Gregory's* and their way of praying. For ae pray'd with many tears, and a godly sorrow ; they without exercising any repentance : he was always in charity ; they swelling with passion, when they offer'd to God their supplications. Thus he explains himself : " I dont speak these things out of a desire of accusing you. I could wish you spent your lives in weeping and continual repentance, forasmuch as we also do nothing else but pray for the forgiveness of our sins ; only we dont endeavour to remove the anger of our God, as you, with the words of men, but with the oracles of the Holy Ghost." As tho' he had said : I dont speak out of any ill will ; but have therefore only blamed you, as unlike to *Gregory*, that I might provoke you to follow his example in his tears and repentance. And if I could do that, we should never fall under your censure, who in that very way seek the remission of our sins, using the *Psalms of David* for that end.

The next place quoted from *Basil* is this : " I know that communion in prayers is very advantageous."* And who makes any doubt of this ? Our Author, sure, thought there could be no communion in prayers, unless they were read out of a Liturgy. If so, how could there be communion in prayers in the *Apostles* days, when there was no occasion for such helps, when Prayers were confessually made by inspiration of the Holy Ghost ? †

But our Author further says of *Basil*, that he made a compleat Liturgy for the use of his own Church. Now this I see no reason to believe. For *Basil*, and the other Bishops of his time, industriously conceal'd the mysteries of the Christian religion, and all the prayers relating to them, from all those who were not admitted to them. " They, says he, meaning the Fathers, were well instructed to preserve the veneration of the mysteries by silence. For how could it be proper, publicly to proclaim in writing the doctrine of those things, which no unbaptiz'd person may so much as look upon ?"|| Many such passages occur in the writers of that age ; so that 'tis not probable, *Basil* would commit such things to writing. *Jerom* mentions not any such work of *Basil's* ; and tho', 'tis true, he does not speak particularly of all his writings ; yet had he ever publish'd such a work, of so public use in the Church, 'tis not likely *Jerom* should not come

to the knowledge of it; or that if he did, he would say nothing of it. The chief foundation of this opinion is, Nazianzen's ascribing to him ἐυχῶν διστάξεις.* But we must observe, Nazianzen is not there professedly reckoning up the writings of Basil, but giving an oratorical account of his great care of the Church.† There is no necessity therefore of our supposing, he meant a particular writing compos'd by him; 'tis enough, if up and down in his works he gives rules concerning the right manner of praying; and many such are still to be met with there. Or else this may relate, perhaps, to the alternate way of singing, which Basil brought into his Church, and signify the orders he gave about it. I the rather incline to this, because of his joining herewith εὐκορυφίαι τῆς βίβλου, the handsome ordering the Chancel. Upon the whole, I think 'tis not probable, any Liturgy was forg'd in the name of Basil, before the sixth Century. And so much for Basil, whose authority, I confess, is of little account with me, considering he liv'd so near the beginning of the Antichristian times.

Ambrose hath much to this purpose, and is himself reputed the author of certain Forms. He is so reputed, but falsely; whence neither Du Pin, nor Dr. Cave, mention any Liturgy among those works of his, which are lost. Dr. Cave's words deserve the reader's observation. "There are not wanting, says he, "some who would persuade us, that the Ambrosian Missal "was first compos'd by St. Barnabas, the first Archbishop " (as they say) of Milan, and the founder of that Church; "that it was inlarg'd by St. Mirocles; that at length it was "brought into its present form by St. Ambrose, from whom "also it took its name. But they offer us meer trifles, who "tell us such dreams as these; nor can they produce the "least testimony of what they say from the antients. The "first that, I know, expressly mentions it, is Walafridus Stra- "bo, about the Year 842; who tells us, *Lib. de Reb. Eccl.* "c. 12. that Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, settled the order of "the Mass, and other offices for his Church, and his neigh- "bours the Ligurians.||" And truly our Author has no where alledg'd any authorities to less purpose, than what he pretends to bring from this writer. Of the five places he refers to, the first only is Ambrose's writing, but relates not to our controversy. But I shall briefly go over them all.

The first is upon *Luc. xv.* and is wholly about the alter-
nate

* Vid. Cave Hist. Lit. p. 194.

† *Orat. 20.*

|| Hist. Lit. p. 758.

nate singing. But what signifies that to prayers? Forms of hymns for singing, we all grant, are both lawful and useful. As to the alternate way of singing, *Ambrose* might well mention it; for he was the first person, who brought the use of it into the Church of *Milan*.

All the rest of his testimonies are from works falsely father'd upon *Ambrose*; two of them, namely the first and last, belong to *Hilary* the Deacon, who is thought to be the author of that Commentary upon *Paul's Epistles*. But that author in neither place says one word of Forms of prayer. He shews, upon *1 Tim. ii. 1.* what they us'd to beg of God for Kings. And if that proves, they used Forms of prayer; the Dissenters may be prov'd to use them also, by the same argument, taken from the *Directory*, or their Addresses presented to our Princes. For therein we declare, what we desire in our prayers to God for them. In the latter place, *Rom. xv. 30, 31.* these are his words: " *Paul* begs he might be help'd " by their prayers, that he might be deliver'd out of the " hands of the unbelieving *Jews*; not because he was less " likely to prevail by his own prayers; but he has a regard " to due order, that the Church should pray for their gover- " nor." So that, if I understand the Doctor, he must have thought, there could be no praying without a Form; and that therefore, wheresoever the antients mention prayer, they must certainly speak of Forms.

The Treatise *De Sacram.* lib. iv. c. 4. speaks expressly of the Form of prayer in administering the Lord's Supper: and no wonder; for the author liv'd, undoubtedly, after Forms had crept into the Church. He sets down the very words of the Form, and no testimony more certain or express concerning any thing can be produc'd, than that is. And whoever will compare this testimony with those alledg'd before, will presently perceive a vast difference between them; whence 'tis easy to conjecture, the practice of the antients was very different in this respect from that of later ages. Why else should we not meet with as express and plain witnesses for Forms in the one, as the other? But neither *Ambrose*, nor any of his contemporaries, was the author of these books. *Du Pin* acknowledges, they were not writ by him. * *River* thinks, they appear'd not in the world till a little before *Pacharius Radbertus*, who first mentions them, about the year 840. †

Dr. Cave seems to approve of the opinion of Cardinal Bona, who was of much the same judgment with *Rivet* concerning them.* Bp. Burnet says, 'tis generally agreed, these books were writ some ages after Ambrose's Death. †

The remaining Treatise, cited by Dr. Nichols, as written by Ambrose, is that *De Dignitate Sacerdotali*. But this is not the true Ambrose, but Gerbertus, who was Pope Sylvester II. who died at the beginning of the eleventh Century. *Du* in cknowledges 'tis his ;|| and Mabillon has, upon the credit of a MS. copy, publish'd it under his name, and with this title; *De Informatione Episcoporum*. Dr. Cave, in treating of Ambrose's works, ascribes this to him ;‡ but afterwards he was sensible of his mistake, and own'd, it might justly be doubted, whether it was a genuine treatise of Ambrose, or no ; since it had nothing of Ambrose's spirit and good sense : and he commends Theophilus Raynaudus, who judg'd it to be more like Anselm's, than Ambrose's writings.* And yet when he is treating of Gerbertus, he agrees with Mabillon, in attributing it to him. † And this was his last opinion, as appears by what he says in his second volume.||

But our Author says, *it would be endless to relate all that hath been said of Liturgies by Chrysostom, Jerom, Austin, and Writers of the following ages, down to the Reformation.*

Whatever our Adversaries can alledge, from those less pure ages of the Church, can by no means hurt our cause; For besides that many corruptions were then crept into the Church, we never yet condemn'd every kind of using Liturgies, as unlawful. The Doctor gives an account elsewhere of Mr. Baxter's composing a Liturgy, which he and his Brethren desired to have establish'd, in lieu of the Common Prayer Book.‡ But Mr. Baxter was for having many things left to Ministers discretion, and that they should not be oblig'd to use always just the same words ; for he thought it sufficient, if, when they pray'd, they kept to the sense and design of what was express'd in the Form. This is also practis'd in some Churches abroad, where the Ministers sometimes pray with, and sometimes without a Form, before or after sermon. But the great matter in dispute between us, if our Adversaries would but please to mind it, is, Whether Ministers, to whom God has given an ability of conceiving their own prayers, ought

* Hist. Lit. p. 214. † Expos. of the xxxix Art. p. 533. || Annal. tons. ii. p. 216. ‡ Hist. Lit. p. 214. * In Addendis, p. 216. † Ibid. p. 594. p. 79. ‡ p. 79.

ought to be so tied up to a prescrib'd Form of words, as that they may never vary from it ? This is what we chiefly deny ; and our Adversaries will not easily be able to prove, there was any such order antiently in the Church, even after Forms began to be used in it. For what can be more certain, than that *Basil*, *Chrysostom*, and *Ambrose*, were not bound up to any particular Forms ; if they compos'd themselves, as our Adversaries pretend, new Liturgies for the use of the Church ? In the year 397, when Forms were in use, every Minister was allow'd, by the third Council of *Carthage*, to chuse, or compose, his own Form ; upon this one condition only, that he should first confer with his more understanding Brethren.* Now tho' we pretend not to pay much deference to the customs of that age ; yet if our Adversaries went no farther than this, we should not oppose them. No Council then, or Emperor, prescrib'd the same Form of prayers to all the Ministers in a province. *Chrysostom* indeed, in the Homilies cited by our Author, gives an account of the method of their prayers ; and largely relates how they prayed for the Catechumens, and what instructions they gave them before prayer. And if he used a Form, which may seem not unlikely, it signifies nothing to us, who never refus'd the use of a well compos'd Form ; altho', when the Church is bless'd with able Ministers, we think free prayer is to be much prefer'd to it.

Next follows *Jerom*, who, according to our Author, speaks of saying the *Psalms* alternately, *Ad Rust. Ep. 4* : 'Tis not strange if he should speak of this, which allacknowledge was used by *Basil* and *Ambrose*. In *Epit. Stab.* mentions the *Trisagion* : What Treatise this is of *Jerom*'s, I am not able to guess ; nor does the Translator help me. I thought, perhaps there might be a mistake of the printers, and that he meant *Epitaphium Fabiolæ* ; but I was out in my guess. But whatever treatise he cites, the *Trisagion* belongs to the *Hymns*, not to the *Prayers*. *Comm. in Psalm. xxxviii.* has those Liturgical phrases : *Spare us, good Lord. Remember not our offences, nor the offences of our forefathers, &c.* Those Commentaries are not *Jerom*'s, as *Du Pin* and *Dr. Cave* both acknowledge. Besides, there is no such thing in the place refer'd to. In *Lib. adv. Lucif.* he commends *Hilary* for making a *Liturgy*, and a book of *Hymns*. But why should he commend him for it, if there

was a Liturgy made before. None of the Episcopal party now commend Mr. Baxter for writing a Liturgy, different from that which they used long before his writing. But I would fain see *Jerom's* own words, for I find no such passage in the treatise here cited.

And now *Austin* brings up the rear ; and we are told, he speaks of *Liturgic Forms used throughout the Church. Ad Jan. Ep. cxviii. & De Eccl. Dogm.* He speaks largely of several customs, in his Letter to *Januarius* ; but there is not a word in it of *Liturgic Forms*. The other book, *De Dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis*, was not writ by *Austin*, as all men own, and as the editors in my edition acknowledge. The first part of it is the work of *Gennadius Massiliensis*, viz. as far as *chap. xxi.* The rest is of some later author ; particularly *chap. xxx.* cited by our Author, is attributed to *Celestine*, and is to be met with among the Additions, at the end of his Epistle.* For *Celestine's* Letter consists only of the first Chapters ; and the other part is the addition of a later hand ; and the tenth Chapter of it is the thirtieth of the Treatise, *De Dogm. Eccl.* Besides, whoever was the author, there is no mention of *Liturgic Forms* in that Chapter.

Austin is said to speak of *Prayers*, which the *Church* ever had, and will have, *De Dono Persev.* *Austin* there only speaks of the matter of their public *Prayers*, and not of any Form of prayer. Some were afraid lest the doctrine of Perseverance should throw men into despair. In answer to such, he says : “ But I wish they who are slow of heart, or “ weak, who cannot, at least as yet cannot, understand the “ Scriptures, or the explication given of them, would so, “ or not at all, hear our disputes upon this question, as ra- “ ther to mind the prayers, which the *Church* has always “ had from its very beginning, and will always have to the “ end of the world.”† But if he were speaking of *Forms*, who can think he could have dreamt, that the same *Forms* were then used in the *Church*, which were used from the very beginning of it ? But hear how he goes on more fully to explain himself : “ For as to this matter, which we are “ now forc'd not only to speak of, but to defend and vin- “ dicate, against Heretics newly sprung up, the *Church* “ was never silent about it in her *Prayers* ; altho sometimes

¶ she

* Vid. Epist. *Celest. pro Augustino, inter opera August.* Par. 1635. tom. vii. p. 612. 613. ¶ C. xxiii.

“ she did not think it necessary to publish it in her Sermons, when she was not urg'd to it by any adversary. “ For when was it that prayers were not made in the Church for infidels and enemies, that they might believe ? When had any Christian a friend, a neighbour, or a wife that was an infidel, and did not pray that God would give him a mind obedient to the Christian faith ? Or who ever did not pray for himself, that he might persevere in the Lord ? Or whoever heard a Priest making request to God for the faithful, and would venture to find fault with him, not in words, but his very thoughts, if he happen'd to express himself thus ; Grant him, O Lord, to persevere in thee to the end.” Concerning the expression of Common prayer, and the *Sursum Corda*, I shall say nothing here, having had occasion to speak of them already.

Next he proceeds to the Reformers, *Luther*, *Calvin* and *Knox*, who, he observes, all compos'd Liturgies for their followers ; but their Liturgies are contenn'd and despis'd by him. He might have added Mr. *Baxter* also to their number, of whose work he speaks with the like contempt. But the truth is, our quarrel is not so much about a Liturgy in general, as about that of the Church of *England*.

He adds, *And I don't know of one Church in the whole Reformation, but what approves of Forms, and owns them to conduce much to true devotion, it being the sole property (or honour, if they please) of our Nonconformists to despise and reject them.* *

But how does it appear, that we despise Forms of prayer ? What have we ever said that was disrespectful of the Forms used by the Calvinists ? Have we express'd any such contempt of them, as I have taken notice our Author does ? All that our Adversaries can pretend to blame us for, is, that we treat their Liturgy just as they do their Neighbours. 'Tis true, we think free prayer, if well manag'd, tends most to the edification of the Church ; but it does not thence follow, that we despise all Forms. Further, it cannot but seem strange to me, our Author should not know of one Church in the whole Reformation, but what approves and uses Forms. One would think, a person, so well acquainted with the state of all the Churches beyond the seas, should not be utterly without any knowledge of one so near as *North Britain*. For who does not know, that they neither are fond

of

of them, nor use them? This ignorance must therefore be only pretended, unless he did not judge the Church of Scotland to be a true and Reform'd Church. But now if we will own the truth, sincere piety is no where found to flourish more, than in that same Church of Scotland, which has laid aside all Forms. Compare with them those who are so fond of our *English* Liturgy, I am ashame'd to say, how great the difference is. Whence Dr. *Edwards* did not stick to reckon this among the advantages of the late Union: " That we shall be encourag'd not only to strictness of discipline, but of life, by the example of our Brethren, with whom we are now united." *

As for that invidious *cavil* at our *Liturgy*, that it was compil'd out of *Popish* books; I answer in short: That our *Reformers* took nothing from such books, but what was taken from the oldest writers.

Tho' it were easie to shew by many instances, that our Author here speaks unadvisedly, and contrary to the truth; I will, for brevity sake, only mention one thing, which I think is destitute of the authority of any good antiquity. The *prayers* in the *English* *Liturgy*, particularly in the *Litanies*, are divided, so as to be said partly by the *Minister*, and partly by the *People*. This was never done antiently that I can find. I dont speak now of such *interlocutions*, as, *Lift up your hearts, We lift them up to the Lord*, mention'd by *Cyprian*; or mutual salutations, as, *The Lord be with thee, and with thy spirit*, used in *Chrysostom's* time: but of that breaking of *Prayers*, properly so call'd, into parts, which is used in the Church of *England*; but would be in vain sought for in the antient Ecclesiastical writers.

We have many things out of the Greek *Liturgies* of *Basil* and *Chrysostom*; more out of the *Litanies* of *Ambrose* and *Gregory*.

All these *Liturgies* are spurious, or at least corrupted. Of those pretended to be compos'd by *Basil* and *Ambrose*, I have had occasion to take particular notice already. I shall here say somewhat of the other two briefly. Both *Du Pin* and *Dr. Cave* agree, the *Liturgy* that passes under *Chrysostom's* name is not his, at least in the present state of it. They think it was at first compos'd for the use of the Church of *Constantinople*; but has been variously interpolated

lated

* Sermon on the Union, p. 20.

lated since, according to the customs and usages of various Ages.* And if this be true, how can they tell what they have out of Chrysostom's Liturgy? *Du Pin* gives the like judgment of *Gregory's* Liturgy, that 'tis not now as it came out of his hands, that many things are since added, and what is his cannot be distinguish'd from what is not. But if it were exactly as he wrote it, it would be a copy unworthy of the imitation of Protestants; as may appear by his other works, which dont want for superstition. †

Very much out of the antient Forms of the Church, dispers'd in the works of the primitive Fathers, who writ long enough before the Roman Breviary, or Canon of the Mass were thought on. I grant, many things are put into the Roman Liturgies, which are borrow'd from the fifth and following Centuries, when abundance of superstition had crept into the Church: but tho' the Books themselves, in their present form, are of a later date; yet the matter of them may be trac'd much higher.

In short, our Liturgy preserves all those antient Forms pure and uncorrupt; whilst that of the Roman Church hath mingled much error and superstition with them. This cannot be true, since many Ceremonies of the antient Church are rejected, which, without doubt, had their particular Forms belonging to them; if all their Service was, as our Adversaries pretend, perform'd by a Liturgy. The Church of *England's* Liturgy has nothing of the antient Chrism, of the mixture of milk and honey mention'd by *Tertullian*, as given to persons presently after Baptism, of the white Garments such persons used to put on. Where shall we find in the *English* Liturgy, such prayers as they join'd with their oblations for the dead? Where are their prayers for the *Angel of peace*, for the *deferring the end of the world*, and many other such things which the antients speak of? And altho' we acknowledge the *Roman* Liturgies abound more with superstition than the more antient ones, and than that of the Church of *England*; yet we dont think these were wholly free from superstition, as I have observ'd elsewhere.

Now, who will believe Forms of prayer were in the three first and best ages of the Church injoin'd, or so much as us'd; when our Adversaries, who have made so

dili-

* See *Du Pin Nouv. Bibl. tom. iii. p. 32. Cave H. L. p. 252. t. Nouv. Ebl. t. m. v. p. 143.*

diligent and narrow a search, are not able to produce any thing from the writers of that time, that carries in it so much as a plausible appearance of evidence and proof? 'Tis in vain to search in that time for Forms, or the composers of them; nothing can be alledg'd from thence concerning Liturgies, concerning written prayers, or the reading of prayers in the Church: nay, we have many considerable testimonies of the antients to the contrary.

And let us hear in the first place *Hermas*, a most antient writer: "When, says he, a man, who has the spirit of God, comes into the Church of just men, who have the faith of God, and prayer is made to God, then the Holy Messenger [or Angel] of the divinity fills him with the Holy Spirit, and he speaks in the congregation as God would have him." * Who that Messenger is, I confess, I know not, unless he means Christ.

Justin Martyr gives this account of their manner of praying in the Church in his time: "He that is President offers prayers and thanksgivings according as he is able, ὅτι δύναμις ἀντῷ. † Our Adversaries think he meant only the ardency of his desires; but that does not seem probable: for then the expression would as well suit the people as the Minister; nor would he have so confin'd it, as he has done, to him. But let us compare this place with another, where he speaks of himself and his *Apology*, and uses the same expression. "Having therefore exhorted you according as we are able, ὅτι δύναμις περιτελέσεις, both by reason, and by a visible sign or figure, we shall be henceforth blameless, if you do not believe." || Since then the expression there manifestly relates to the construction of his *Apology*, why should it not in the other place as well refer to the composing of their Prayers? But our Adversaries alledge another place, where *Justin* uses, they say, the same expression concerning not the Minister, but the Peoples praying. But that cannot seem strange, since *Justin* there speaks of the prayers Christians offer'd privately at home. I will translate the whole passage, that his meaning may the more clearly appear. "That we are not Atheists, who worship the maker of the universe; who, we say (as we are taught) needs not blood, or sacrifice,

" or

* *Past. lib. 11. mand. 12. sect. 1.*
† *Ibid. p. 257.*

‡ *Apcl. 11. in fine. p. 162.*

“ or the burning of incense ; whom we praise as we are
 “ able, ὥστε προσεύχεσθαι, with prayers and thanksgiv-
 “ ing, for all the good things we live upon, εἰς τὸν περισσότερον
 “ εἰργαστὸν πάσιν : having receiv’d it by tradition, that the
 “ only honour worthy of him is, not to consume in the fire
 “ what he has made for our food, but to bestow it upon our-
 “ selves, and such as need it ; and to be thankful to him, ex-
 “ pressing in words our solemn praises for our birth, and all
 “ the means of health ; for the several qualities of things,
 “ and the vicissitude of seasons ; and to ask of him that
 “ we may obtain immortality thro’ faith in him : that
 “ we, I say, are not Atheists, what man who is in his
 “ senses will not acknowledge ? ” * *Justin* speaks not a
 word here of a Christian assembly, but only of the use
 they made of those things which the Gentiles offer’d in
 sacrifice. *Perionius* indeed in his verſion has render’d,
 εἰς περισσότερον πάσιν, in iis omnibus quæ offerimus, but
 that is only to serve his Popish cause ; for the sense plainly
 carries it as I have render’d it, *for all the good things we live upon,*
we use, or eat ; and in like manner has he elsewhere render’d
 it himself. Εἰς πάσι τοῖς περισσότερον πάσιν τὸν
 ποιητὴν τῶν πάντων : in omnibus quibus utimur. † It is no
 great wonder Papists catch at any thing in the writings of
 the antients, that looks like the mention of oblations ; but
 in my mind Protestant writers should not herein imitate
 them. And with as little reason, by the way, do they
 strain another expression, in that *Apology*, to the same
 purpose : “ *Ἄρτος περισσέεται, ότι οὐκ είναι.* ” For *Justin* does not
 there speak of their being offer’d to God, but to the Minister ;
 and therefore a little before, he express’d himself more
 fully : “ *Επειτα περισφέρεται τῷ περιεσθῶτι τῶν αὐτοφάνων ἄρτος.* ”
 So that upon the whole, I think all things concur to shew
 we rightly interpret *Justin’s* meaning.

Origen speaks of their praying in like manner : “ We
 “ worship, says he, one God, and his one Son, who is his
 “ word and image, with supplications and honours, accord-
 “ ing to our ability, offering to the God of the universe
 “ prayers and praises thro’ his only begotten Son. ” || And
 again : “ But the Grecian Christians in Greek, the Romans in
 “ Latin, and every one in his own proper language, prays
 “ to God, and praises him as he is able. ‡

Tertullian

* Ibid p. 132.

† p. 162.

¶ Contra Cels. lib. viii. p. 386.

‡ p. 422.

Tertullian is our next witness, who gives us this description of Christians in their prayers : “ We Christians pray “ for all Emperors, &c. looking up to heaven with our “ hands expanded, because guiltless ; with our head un- “ cover’d, because we are not ashamed ; *deniq; sine moni- toro, quia de peccatore* ; lastly, without a monitor, because our “ prayers flow from our own minds. ” * The Churchmen, in their disputes with us, frequently reckon it among the advantages of their Liturgy, that the eyes being fix’d upon the Common Prayer Book, are kept from wandering. But how contrary is this to the custom of the antient Christians, who, following the example of our Saviour, look’d up to heaven when they pray’d ? But the question is, What Tertullian means by those words, *sine monitore, quia de peccatore* ? We think he meant, that Christians prayers were not read out of a book, because their own *breast*, that is their own *minds*, suggested them. Our Adversaries reject our interpretation, and say, this *de peccatore* is all one as *memoriter*, by heart. Let our Arbitrators now judge whose interpretation is best. For if Christians used then to say their prayers by heart, and if their prayers were very long (as they actually were) there was great need of a *monitor*, or, as † *Pliny* calls him, a *custos*, that should attend, and be ready to prompt them ; since no man can be secure his memory shall never fail him. But how indecent would it be, if the Minister, who leads the congregation in prayer, should stand mute thro’ the failure of his memory ? And a *monitor* signifies properly one, who helps a person when he is at a loss, and suggests to him what he is to say. Whence persons, whose business this was on the stage, or in courts of judicature, were call’d *monitors*. Hence *Cicero* spake in that manner : “ I dont mind what you will say ; for I see “ ’tis not you who are to answer me, but that book which “ your *monitor* has in his hand. ” ‡ In the same sense *Pliny* uses the word in complementing *Trajan* : “ It was very “ pleasing, that you call’d the Knights by their names “ without a *monitor*. ” † Further, the master of the exercises among the *Romans* was call’d a *monitor* ; and from thence some would explain Tertullian’s words, but they are mistaken ; for the Minister who officiated, without doubt, was, in this sense, the *monitor* to the congregation. And therefore

* *Apol.* c. 20. † *H. N.* lib. xx. iii. c. 11. ¶ *De Divinitate in Vers.* ‡ *Paneg.* c. 23.

therefore Tertullian could not have said they pray'd without such a *monitor*. But if our interpretation be receiv'd, nothing could be spoken more pertinently. For 'tis all one as if he had said: "There is no occasion for a *monitor* with us, who should prompt the Minister when he prays; for his prayers are not learnt from a book, but flow from the pious and vehement desires of his heart."

But 'tis objected: That *pectus* signifies the *memory*, but is never used in that sense we take it in.* But it seems very wonderful to me, that learned men will venture to deny what every one, who has at all convers'd with *Latin* authors, must needs have observ'd. 'Tis well known, the antient Fathers of the Church did all in a manner agree with the *Peripatetics* and *Stoics*, in making the heart or *breast* the seat of the soul.† And there have been many among the more modern Philosophers and Divines, who have embrac'd the same opinion. Hence *pectus* is used figuratively for the soul, or for any faculty of the soul, not only by ecclesiastical, but by all other authors, either in prose or verse. Nothing more common in *Latin* authors, than *pectus apertum*, *fidum*, *amicum*; and *avidum*, *sordidum*, &c. 'Twould be endless to reckon up all the places where *pectus* is thus us'd by antient authors. I might mention several; but if the reader understands only *English*, they would signify little to him; and if he understands *Latin*, I refer him to the *Latin* edition,|| where he will find enough to this purpose.

There is another place of *Tertullian*, from which, one may reasonably conjecture, no other Form, besides the Lord's Prayer, was then prescrib'd. For he seems to have been of this opinion, that tho' it were lawful to use other prayers after the Lord's Prayer; yet the right of prescribing Forms belong'd to God only. "God alone, says he, can teach us how he would be pray'd to. The duty therefore of prayer, which was order'd by him and his Spirit, even then when it came out of our Lord's mouth, being embolden'd by this privilege, ascends into heaven, commanding to the Father, what his own Son has taught. Yet since our Lord, who fore-saw men's necessities; after he had deliver'd the Rule

" of

* See Bennet. Br. Hist. p. 93. † See *Tertull.* de *Animâ* & *xv. Hieros.*
Epist. ad *Fabiol.* tom. iii. p. 38. || p. 306, &c.

“ of prayer, said particularly, *ask and you shall receive* ;
 “ and there are several things which need to be ask’d,
 “ according to every one’s circumstances, the *rightful* and
 “ *ordinary* prayer [the Lord’s Prayer] being first us’d,
 “ as a foundation, we may lawfully add other desires,
 “ and build other petitions upon it ; only we must remem-
 “ ber his precepts, lest we as much fall short of being
 “ heard by him, as we do of obeying his precepts.” *
 So that they us’d to pray *de pectore*, that is, from their heart. Which is what God hears, as the same author tells us, in another place : “ God hears not the voice, “ but the heart, which he also looks into.” † And I must own, there seems little weight with me, in the objection made against this interpretation : That it signify’d nothing to the Emperor, whether they pray’d with, or without a Form ; and that therefore, it was not likely, *Tertullian* would trouble him with any account of it. For it signify’d as little to him, whether they pray’d with their hands expanded, or their heads cover’d, or not. And since notwithstanding that, he relates their custom in the one, I see not any reason, why he might not as well in the other. I will now add a testimony or two of the fourth Century.

Basil us’d free prayer, without a Form, as he witnessess of himself : “ When I was lately praying with the people, and concluded with the Doxology two several ways ; sometimes to God the Father, *with* his Son, and *with* the Holy Ghost ; sometimes, to God the Father, *through* his Son, *by* the Holy Ghost : some that were present reprov’d me ; saying I us’d not only strange, but inconsistent expressions.” || Another instance like this may be seen in *Theodorit*, H. E. lib. 11. c. 24 ; and *Philostorgius*, lib. iii. c. 13. From what *Basil* says, it appears there was no certain form of words prescrib’d for their Doxologies ; and yet one would think if any part of their prayers were tied to a set form of words, it should have been that which was used in their hymns as well as prayers, and used to be often repeated, especially in the Greek Churches ; whence some have thought the Doxology, at the end of the Lord’s Prayer, was not added by Christ himself, but crept into St. Matthew’s Gospel, from the custom

* *De Orat.* c. ix.† *Ibid.* c. xiii.|| *De Sp. S. c. 1. in fin.*

custom of the Greeks. In like manner *Ambrose* thought not himself tied to a set of words ; but took notice in his prayer, of a case that happen'd suddenly, while he was administering the Lord's Supper. " While, says he, I was offering, I understood one *Castulus*, whom the *Arians* call'd a Presbyter, was seiz'd by the people. They had met with him as they were going along in the street. I began to weep most bitterly, and, in the very oblation, to beseech God, that he would help, and that this man's blood might not be shed in the Church's cause ; and truly that my blood might be shed, not only for the safety of the people, but for the wicked themselves." * " Tis objected this was a private prayer ; but *Ambrose*'s words will not admit of that, who says it was, *in ipsa oblatione*, in the very oblation.

Lastly, That I may pass over many things, which the learned Mr. *Clarkson* has collected upon this head, I will close this Chapter with the testimony of *Epiphanius*, who writes thus in his Letter to *John* the Bishop of *Jerusalem* : " I could not also but wonder, when I heard that some, who use to carry reports backward and forward, adding always somewhat of their own, in order to stir up grief and strife among Brethren, have disturb'd you, and said, that when we pray at the Lord's Supper, we use to say thus upon your account : *Lord grant John may believe aright.* Dont think us so clownish as to be able to speak this out so openly and plainly. Altho' I always pray thus in my heart, yet I never express'd it in the hearing of the people, lest I should seem lightly to esteem thee, my beloved. But when we are toward the end of our prayer, according to the manner used in the Sacrament, we say thus for all, and for thee : *Keep him, that preaches the truth.* Or it may be thus : *Do thou, Lord, assist and keep him, that he may preach the truth* ; according as it happens best to fall in, and agree with the order of our discourse." †

C H A P. V.

Of the Sign of the Cross in Baptism.

IT will not be disagreeable to my design, nor I hope to my reader, if, as in some former Chapters, so here also I give an account both of the Conformists, and our own opinion concerning this rite, before I come to consider what our Author says in the defence of it.

1. The Conformists think, the sign of the Cross is also a sign and pledge of the merits of Christ. This appears from the following words of the Convocation : “ At what time, if any had oppos’d themselves against it, “ they would have been censured as enemies of the name “ of the Cross, and consequently of Christ’s merits, the Sign “ whereof they could no better endure.” * What kind of Sign they meant, we learn from the *Latin* edition of the Canons, which puts two words instead of one, and calls it *Tessera & signum meritorum Christi*; whereby they manifestly restrain the expression to such a kind of sign, as is also a pledge. And there is the more reason to judge of the sense of the Church by the *Latin* edition, because the present Archbishop of *Canterbury* has inform’d us, that it is more authentic than the *English*. He finds fault with the very title of the *English* Canons, and alters it ; and then adds : “ This is the true title given to these Canons, and “ was fit to be thus particularly taken notice of ; because “ in our *English Book of Canons*, which is of most common “ use, this inscription (as well as many of the Canons “ themselves) is very imperfectly render’d, and may be “ apt to lead men into some mistakes concerning these, as “ well as other matters.” † But we, on the contrary, think it unlawful for any man to devise signs and pledges of the merits of Christ, since our Saviour himself has already appointed such in his Sacraments.

2. Our Adversaries think, the water in Baptism relates only to the virtue and operation of the Holy Spirit, and not to the blood of Christ. Hence the most learned

Mr.

* A. 1609. Can. 30.

† *By. Wake’s Appeal*, p. 25.

Mr. Joseph Mede observes; there is no mention made of washing in the blood of Christ, thro' the whole Office for Baptism in the Liturgy. And remarkable are the words, in which they pray for forgiveness for the child to be baptiz'd : “ We call upon thee for this infant; that he coming to thy holy Baptism, may receive remission of his sins by spiritual regeneration.” We, on the contrary; say, there is a twofold spiritual washing, namely, from the filth, and from the guilt of sin: the former is done by spiritual regeneration, the latter by the blood of Christ; and both are signify'd and seal'd by the baptismal washing. Hence we judge, that the mystical signification of the merits of Christ, which the Conformists, as I said, attribute to the sign of the Cross, belongs really to the baptismal water.

3. Our Adversaries sometimes seem to be of opinion; that as the baptismal water seals the benefits which are bestow'd upon us by God; so the stipulation or covenant on our part, whereby we engage ourselves to God, is represented by the sign of the Cross. Hear again what the Synod says : “ And this Sign they [the primitive Christians] did not only use with a kind of glory, when they met with any Jews, but sign'd therewith their children when they were christen'd; to dedicate them by that badge to his service, whose benefits bestow'd upon them in Baptism, the name of the Cross did represent.” * Every one sees the benefits bestow'd by God in Baptism, are carefully here distinguish'd from the dedication of the infant, which is made by the badge of the Cross. To which purpose likewise are these following words of the Canon : “ The Church of England hath retain'd still the Sign of it in Baptism; following therein the primitive and apostolical Churches, and accounting it a lawful outward ceremony and honourable badge, whereby the infant is dedicated to the service of him that died upon the Cross.” We, on the other hand, believe Baptism is a pledge and token both of the benefits which God is graciously pleas'd to bestow upon us, and of our acceptance of them, and the promise whereby we oblige ourselves to him; and that therefore no other Sign hereof should be used.

4: Our Adversaries seem to allow the Popish distinction between the flock of Christ, and his militia. Both they and

the Papists hold, persons are admitted into the former by Baptism ; but as the Papists think we are listed into the latter by Confirmation, our Adversaries think this is done by the sign of the Cross. This appears by the words used at the making the Cross : ” “ We receive this child into “ the congregation of Christ’s flock, and do sign him with “ the sign of the Cross, in token that hereafter, he shall “ not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucify’d, and “ manfully to fight under his banner, against sin, the “ world, and the Devil, and to continue Christ’s faithful “ soldier and servant unto his lives end.” * Where those words alone, *We receive this child into the congregation of Christ’s flock*, relate to Baptism, as the Convocation explains them ; all the rest belong to the sign of the Cross, which therefore is accounted Christ’s banner. So that we are made Christ’s sheep by Baptism, but his soldiers by the sign of the Cross. And thus Doctor *Hammond* makes the Cross the banner or ensign of Christ’s militia, which every one should resort to, and fight under ; and the symbol by which men are inroll’d in the Christian militia, and says : “ They retain it in their solemn entrance “ into Christ’s camp, in token they mean voluntarily to “ fight under his banners ; and in confidence that he that “ thus sign’d to Constantine victory from heaven, will “ thus give grace, and seal to us victory over our ghostly “ enemies.” † Nor is this inconsistent with their speaking of God’s benefits before’d in *Baptism*. For no other benefits are meant thereby, than regeneration, remission of sin, and admission into Christ’s Church : but that other benefits, and particularly those which help us in yielding obedience to the laws of Christ, may be attributed to this Sign, is plain enough from the Liturgy it self. And I have prov’d at large elsewhere, that such a virtue is ascrib’d to the Cross, not only by Doctor *Hammond*, but by their famous Mr. *Hooker*. ‡ But we acknowledge no such distinction between the flock and militia of Christ, and therefore reject this badge, which they have devis’d of the latter.

5. The Episcopal party hold the sign of the Cross was us’d in Baptism from the very beginning of the Christian Church. Thus the Convocation tells us : “ The honour

* Can. 20.

† Oper. vol. ii. p. 243. ‡ Considerat. on the vith chap. of the Abridgment of the London Cates, concerning the Cross. p. 74. &c.

“ honour and dignity of the name of the Cross, begat a “ reverend estimation even in the Apostles times (for “ ought that is known to the contrary) of the sign of the “ Cross, which the Christians shortly after us’d in all their “ actions.”* But we have very different apprehensions of this matter. And in the first place, ’tis very probable this Sign was brought into use by Heretics, *viz.* the *Valentinians*, as I have shewn in the foreaid Treatise. † From them the *Montanists* receiv’d it, and the first plain express mention we find made of it is by *Tertullian*, about the year 200, after he fell into that Heresy. Secondly, the use of this Sign was very superstitious from the very beginning of it. And so *Bp. Crofts* owns : “ The superstition of the “ Cross and Chrsim, were in use in the second Century.” || Lastly, this Sign was not us’d in Baptism in *Tertullian*’s time, nor in the three first Centuries. *Mr. Daill* formerly asserted this, ‡ and I have lately defended his opinion. Upon the whole then, we look upon the baptismal use of this Sign to be the contrivance of the fifth Century, or the latter end of the fourth. And now having thus given an account of our opinion on both fides, I return again to our Author.

Now all this ado is, for want of observing, that the Cross was used in Baptism many ages before the Church was infected with Romish errors.* This is a great mistake. Tho’ it matters very little with us, whether the observation of our Author be true or not ; since the Scripture, and not their practice, is our only rule. However, as I said, this custom was not known before the fourth Century, when the Church fell into abundance of errors, which are retain’d by the Papists to this very day. For, had not most shameful superstitions crept in at that time about the relicks of the Martyrs, celibacy, this sign of the Cross, and many other things ? Nay, if we place the beginning of this usage as high as *Tertullian*, prayers and oblations for the dead will be found as old, since they also are mention’d by him.

For ’tis mention’d by the oldest writers, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Lactantius*, *Prudentius*, *Paulinus*, *Basil*, *Chrysostom*, *Austin*, as a rite of Baptism used in their times ; and they extol it as a very religious usage, highly becoming the profession of Christ. I

Kk 3

grant,

* Can. 30.
Relig. p. 63.

† pag. 57.
* pag. 268.

|| Nak. Trith, p. 10.

‡ De Cultib. Lat.

grant, *Austin* and *Chrysostom* speak of this rite as us'd in Baptism; nor shall I therefore detain the reader in examining their testimonies, or those of *Prudentius*, or *Paulinus*. But let us see upon what ground he brings in the rest as patronizing his cause.

I begin with *Tertullian*, whose testimony, I suppose, will not be much regarded by any one, who considers, the Treatise *De Corona*, which our Author cites, was writ by him after he became a Montanist. In his Book concerning Baptism, where he professedly reckons up the ceremonies us'd in Baptism, he says not a word of the sign of the Cross. Nay, in the other Book *De Corona*, that is, *concerning the soldiers crown or garland*, he speaks not of the baptismal use of this Sign. Nay further, many things used at that time are mention'd by him elsewhere, and in that very place which is cited by our Author, of which there is not the least footstep to be met with in the Church of *England*.

"Twill not therefore be amiss to set down the whole passage.

" Lastly, says he, that I may begin with Baptism : As we
 " are going into the water, we protest there, as we did
 " also before that in the Church, in the presence of the
 " Bishop, that we renounce the Devil, and his pomp, and
 " Angels. Then we are dip'd three times, answering
 " somewhat more than what our Lord has determin'd in
 " his Gospel. Being thence receiv'd of God as his chil-
 " dren, we taste a mixture of milk and honey ; and from
 " that time, for a week together, we forbear our ordinary
 " use of the bath." * Thus far you see he speaks of Bap-
 " tism, without one word of the Cross. Next he goes on
 to other customs. " The Sacrament of the Eucharist,
 " which was appointed by our Lord at a meal time, and
 " given in charge to all, [I suppose, the Apostles in gene-
 " ral, and not *Peter* only] we receive in our assemblies be-
 " fore day, and only from the hands of the Bishop. We
 " make oblations for the dead, and for their martyrdom on a
 " stated day yearly. We reckon it unlawful to fast, or to
 " worship kneeling on the Lord's Day, and all the while
 " between *Easter* and *Whitsunday*. We take great care that
 " none of our wine or bread should fall to the ground." And then follow the words cited by the Doctor. " In the
 " beginning of any business, going out, coming in, dres-
 " sing,

* *De Cor. c. iii.*

“ sing, washing, eating, lighting candles, going to bed, “ sitting down, or whatever we do, we sign our foreheads “ with the sign of the Cross.” A man may look long enough for these things in the Church of *England*. No body is according to their discipline dip’d three times, or tautes any mixture of milk and honey, or abstains from bathing for a week after Baptism upon a religious account. They have no oblations for the dead. They reckon that their glory, which the antients judg’d unlawful, *viz.* to worship kneeling on the Lord’s Day. Besides, what’s this to the Church of *England*’s way of signing persons? *Tertullian* commends the vulgar use of the Cross, saying nothing of its being apply’d in Baptism; but the Church of *England* retains only the latter, having long ago rejected the former. Let us now imagine *Tertullian*’s authority to be of some moment: certainly the Episcopal party must first answer the Papists argument from it, which is very clear for their common and ordinary crossing themselves; before they can with any modesty refer us to it, who only dispute against the baptismal use of it. And had their been any use of this Sign in Baptism in *Tertullian*’s days, who can think he would have pass’d it over in silence in the beginning of the passage set down, where he mentions their customs in Baptism? or that in the latter end, where he mentions so many occasions of crossing themselves, he should not give the least hint of the use of this Sign in Baptism? Our Author indeed seem’d to think, *ad lavacra* refer’d to Baptism, which therefore is printed in a different character from the rest. And if that were *Tertullian*’s meaning, it would prove the use of this Sign in his time was very different from that of the Church of *England*. For what does he then say? Why; that every one, when he was baptiz’d, us’d to sign his forehead with the sign of the Cross: which is never done by the Church men. For not the persons baptiz’d, but he that administers Baptism, makes the sign of the Cross. Further, if this were his meaning, ’tis very strange he did not put his expressions into a better order. Had he mention’d this in the first or the last place, more might be said for such an interpretation; but without doubt he would never mention this venerable Sacrament of our holy religion in the middle of the most common actions of our lives, without adding some note of distinction. But *lavacrum* there signifies either the *bath*; or else, as the translator has render’d it, *wash-*

ing. I prefer the former, as being agreeable to his frequent use of the word. And so much for *Tertullian*. Next comes *Cyprian*.

He tells us of King *Uzziah*, “ That God being dis-
“ pleas’d with him, he was mark’d in the same part of
“ the body, they are, who please the Lord.”* But it does
by no means hence appear, the sign of the Cross was
us’d in Baptism. For *Cyprian* has here no regard to Bap-
tism, but to the vision of *Ezekiel*, chap. ix, 4, 5. under-
standing, indeed, that mark, which God order’d to be set
upon the foreheads of those, *that sigh’d and cry’d*, &c. to
be the Cross. For thus he writes elsewhere: “ But
“ what this mark was, and upon what part of the body
“ it was set, God shews in another place, saying: Go
“ through the midst of Jerusalem, and set a mark upon the
“ foreheads of the men that sigh, and cry for the abomi-
“ nations that are done in the midst of them.”† So that I
think *Cyprian*’s meaning may be well enough express’d
thus: “ God being displeas’d with King *Uzziah*, he was
“ mark’d in that part of the body, in which God else-
“ where, by the Prophet *Ezekiel*, orders those to be mark’d
“ who please him.”

Lactantius, who is next cited by our Author, speaks of the vulgar use of this Sign, in the place refer’d to, and in several others; but never of the Baptismal use of it, that I can find. He calls it, indeed, *Signum illud maximum*.|| But he speaks of persons crossing themselves with it, and not of their being cross’d by another; as may appear by the *Jewish* figure or emblem, by which he immediately illustrates the whole matter: “ Of which [the Cross in the forehead] the *Jews* to this day present us with a figure, when they strike the door-posts of their houses, with the blood of a lamb. For when God was going to smite the *Egyptians*, that he might preserve the *Hebrews* from that plague, he commanded them to kill a white Lamb, without blemish, and to put its blood upon the door-posts of their houses for a token. Therefore, when the first-born of *Egypt* died in one night, the *Hebrews* alone were sav’d by this token of blood. Not because the blood

‘ of

* *De unit. Eccles.*
De ver. sap. c. 26.

z *Chron. xxvi. 19.*

† *Ad Demetrianum.*

|| *Lib. iv.*

“ of a beast had such a virtue in it self, as to be
“ able to save men ; but it was the figure of things to
“ come. For the white lamb without blemish was
“ Christ : that is, he was innocent, and just, and holy,
“ and being sacrific’d by the *Jews*, he saves all those,
“ who *sign their foreheads with the sign of blood* ; that is,
“ of the Cross that shed his blood. For the forehead is
“ the *upper door-post* of a man, and the wood or post
“ stain’d with blood, signifies the Cross.” Thus he,
who must answer for the *Jews* striking their door-posts
with blood, after their coming out of *Egypt*, and
the colour of the lamb, (of which I find nothing in
the Scripture) and for the mystical figure of this Sign,
and its salutary virtue.

Much the same may be said of *Basil*’s words, that is before of *Tertullian*’s. For first, ’tis not certain he speaks of the baptismal use of this Sign. Nay, that he is to be understood of their common daily crossing themselves, seems plain both by the preface with which he brings in the mention of it, and by the order of his discourse. “ That I may, *says he*, first mention the principal and most common custom, that they who hope in Christ, should be sign’d with the sign of the Cross, &c.” * Then he goes on, and reckons up several customs they had receiv’d, not from Scripture, but by Tradition ; as praying toward the east; the using other words in consecration of the elements of the Lord’s Supper, besides what are related by the Apostle. And then, at length he comes to Baptism, and relates the ceremonies annex’d to it. “ We bless, *says he*, the baptismal water, the anointing oil, and the Baptiz’d person himself. By what writings do we learn this? Is it not by an unwritten and mystical tradition? Nay, what written word teaches us to anoint with oil at all? The trine immersion, whence is it? And several other things, which are done at Baptism; as renouncing the Devil, and his Angels, from what writing have we them?” But now here, where he expressly speaks of the ceremonies us’d in Baptism, he says not a word of the sign of the Cross. But if he were to be understood as herein speaking of the Cross in Baptism, his authority will as much serve the Papists cause,

as

as the Church of *England's*. They argue, from this very place, for anointing in Baptism. How then can our Adversaries urge against us that same testimony of *Basil*, which they reject themselves, when 'tis brought against them by the Papists? They deal very unreasonably with the Fathers, who acknowledge or deny their authority, just as they find it will be to their purpose. Perhaps it may be objected: That Doctor *Hammond* reckon'd Chrism, and many other rites, among the indifferent things, which no one doubts might be commendably us'd, or let alone at pleasure.* But they can't even so escape *Basil's* censure. For if they will stand to his judgment, those rites can't be reckon'd among indifferent things. "Some, says he, "of the decrees and institutions observ'd in the Church, "we have deliver'd to us in writing, and some we have "receiv'd by Apostolical tradition, handed down to us "in a mystical manner. *They have both of them the same influence upon religion.* Nor will any one deny this, who is but moderately skill'd in ecclesiastical laws. For if we should attempt the laying aside unwritten customs, we should, before we were aware, injure the Gospel in some of the chief points of it: nay, we should reduce the preaching of it to a bare name." Upon the whole, 'tis not certain from *Basil's* words, they us'd the Cross in Baptism. I might farther add, that the Treatise it self, or especially the latter part of it, here cited by the Doctor, is thought by *Erasmus*, and other learned men, not to be *Basil's* own writing. † But I shall now leave our Author's Margin, and go on with his own words concerning the Cross.

Besides, it would be very unreasonable, that we should lay aside a pious rite, which the Church hath us'd almost MDCC years, only because some among us exclaim against it. ‖

Whether this be true, let any impartial judges determine, from what has been now said. It seems to be the device of a very corrupt age of the Church. And we are all on our side very unanimous in declaring it unlawful. If this, our opinion, is more owing to the weakness of our understandings, than the strength of our arguments; yet they break the law of charity, who chuse rather to drive their Brethren away from their communion, than

* Oper. v. 1. p. 262. Dicendum. † Vid. *Ceci Censuram*. p. 127. ¶ p. 269.

than to part with a thing which they themselves account small, and their Brethren judge unlawful. And indeed what do we desire, but that we may follow the direction of our consciences, without debarring those who are otherwise minded, from the free enjoyment of their own opinion? And who will not grant, these are very reasonable conditions? This way of arguing of our Adversaries is made use of by the Papists, when they defend themselves in any of their corruptions, and shew an utter aversion to many reformation. The celibacy of the Clergy, is in it self, without doubt, lawful and useful, highly extoll'd by the Fathers, and brought into the Church under a pretence of piety. Why then may not the Papists as justly turn our Adversaries objection against us, upon them: *That it would be very unreasonable to lay aside a thing so long practis'd in the Church, only because some exclaim against it?* 'Tis as easy for the Papists, as our Adversaries, to pronounce whatever is said against them, to be only some persons exclaiming against a thing.

But let us see how he goes on: *When at the same time many more dont only reverence it, but are really much in love with it.* So that if, for the sake of our Adversaries, we should part with it, we are not sure we shall hereby reconcile them to the Church; but we run a manifest hazard of frightening away several of our own people from such Baptism, (lame and deficient in their opinion) to that of the Church of Rome, as more agreeable to primitive practice. They cannot indeed be sure they shall hereby reconcile us to the Church. For, unless other concessions are made beside this, I will pass my word, the Dissenters never will be reconcil'd to her. But we are much oblig'd to our Author, for setting out the temper of some of his party so well to the life. Every one will reckon this no calumny, but a certain truth, since he himself has related it. And who will henceforth think, we have not good reason to dislike this ceremony, which has led their people, by their own confession, into such a superstitious conceit? For, as our Adversaries take pretty near the same course with the Scribes and Pharisees of old; * we argue both from the example of the Apostles, and from the declaration of our Saviour, that this ceremony should be abolish'd. For building upon such authorities, we think

* Matth. xv. 1, 2, &c. Mark vii. 1, 2, &c. Comp. Col. ii. 20.

think it unlawful to worship God with rites not appointed by him, but by the rulers of the Church, even tho' those rites should be innocent in themselves. *In vain*, says our Saviour from the Prophet, *do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.* But our Adversaries tell us in answer, that then only is the use of such rites sinful, when they are us'd not as indifferent, but as things necessary, and that of themselves please God: and that there is this difference between the Pharisees and them, that the Pharisees commanded their rites as necessary, and the Church of *England* hers as indifferent. * However, they must now of necessity grant, this ceremony occasions their own people's finning, who use it not as indifferent, but exceeding necessary; since they would look upon Baptism itself as *lame and deficient* without it, and would run from such Baptism to that of *Rome*. But if our Adversaries were more careful to purge the Church, than to gratify the evil dispositions of some persons, such kind of men, so desperately superstitious, and so unworthy of Protestant communion, should rather be diligently sought, that they might be cast out of the Church, than be so greatly courted to keep in. And I may well apply to this purpose, what *Bucer* said of the Popish Garments: " If able
 " Teachers are plac'd in every parish, good men will be
 " pleas'd with the taking away the Garments: and as to
 " wicked men, their favour (if we would be the servants
 " of Christ) is by no means to be sought; much less their
 " superstitious humour by any methods to be encourag'd,
 " and promoted. " †

But because the Papists have made a superstitious use of the sign of the Cross, our Reformers have clear'd it from superstition, and reduc'd it to its first state. I should be glad any one would shew us at what time, from the first inventing this Sign, it can be said to have been clear from superstition. And truly, if the most antient use of it might be thought to have been thus clear, that was not in Baptism, wherein alone the Church of *England* retains it; but in the common actions of life, as the Papists still apply it. This is acknowledg'd by Bishop *Burnet*: " We find, says he, the primitive Christians us'd the making a Cross in the

* See *Sanders's Serm. upon Mat. xv. 9.* Patrick's *Friendly Debate*, p. 252.
 † *Scripta Angl.* p. 458.

" the air, or upon their bodies, on many occasions. Afterwards, when a divine virtue was fancy'd to accompany that ritual action, it was us'd in Baptism as a sort of incantation ; for, with the use of it, the Devil was adjur'd to go out of the person to be baptiz'd. Such an usage made it a sacramental and superstitious action." *

He owns therefore the common use of this Sign to have been more antient than the baptismal ; and that the baptismal from the very first made the action not only superstitious, but sacramental.

For we never use it idly, and upon every slight fear. † But who does not know this use of it was the most antient ? Our Author cited a little before Tertullian, as an abetter of this Sign. I desire then to know, whether they did not use it idly, when, as he says, they cross'd themselves upon every motion, when they went out, or came in, when they put on their cloaths, or their shoes, went into the bath, came to the table, lighted candles, sat down, or went to bed ? Now if thus they used it idly, why do our Adversaries urge Tertullian's authority ? If they did not use it idly, why does not the Church continue the same use of the Sign, as the Papists do to this day ? The primitive Christians of the third Century had a most superstitious conceit of the strange virtue of this Sign. Do but hear what *Laetantius* says : " Nor can the Devils approach to them, on whom they see this heavenly mark ; nor can they hurt those whom this heavenly Sign, as an impregnable fortress, defends." || If this were true, who would not think the Papists the most happy people, who are every day thus defended ? No doubt they, who had such an opinion of the Cross, would, upon every slight fear, sign their foreheads with it. But if they, good men, were deceiv'd in their opinion, their authority should signify nothing with us. But now hear our Author's brave reason, why they retain it in Baptism.

And less than this we could not do, unless we would wholly efface this mark of the Lord Jesus, and so gratify Mahometans and Heathens in the highest degree.

If the abrogating the use of this Sign be a gratification to Mahometans and Heathens, the Church men have gratify'd them long ago, by taking away all use of it, except in solemn worship, at which Mahometans and Heathens are never

* Four Discourses to the Clergy, p. 291. † pag. 270. || Instit. lib. iv. c. 27.

ver present. They see the Papists, when they cross them-selves upon every occasion ; but the Church of *England*'s use of this Sign they can never behold, because 'tis only us'd in the Church. Our Adversaries have been thought to have gratified the Papists by retaining this use of the Cross ; but we never heard before, that our Brethren abroad had gratify'd *Makometans* and *Heathens* by rejecting it. And how comes this to be the *mark of the Lord Jesus* ? We truly acknowledge no mark to be his, which he has not made so by his own appointment. And the more we see men desire any mark, they have devis'd for him, should be esteem'd as sacred, the more vile and abominable we account it, and as such avoid it.

Our Author next starts another of our objections : But ('tis said) we make a new sacrament of this sign of the Cross. To this he answers : Let these objectors know, that this rite, as it is explain'd by us, and all the Reformed Churches, is as far as possible from the nature of a sacrament. This is wrong translated ; it should be : This rite is as far as possible from the nature of a sacrament, as that [viz. a sacrament] is explain'd by us, and all the Reform'd Churches. And the next words, and the Doctor's argument shews this was his meaning : For, according to our divinity, can any thing be a sacrament, but what was instituted by Christ himself ? Dr. N. had here his eye to the definition of a sacrament, in the Church Catechism : That 'tis " an outward " and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace, given " unto us, ordain'd by Christ himself, as a means whereby " we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof." This is the divinity of the Church of *England*, wherein we find no fault. For hence it follows, there are but two sacraments of the New Testament, since so many, and no more, were ordain'd by Christ ; as appears by the Holy Scriptures, and is acknowledg'd by all the Reform'd. Nor are we so stupid, as to object against our Adversaries, "a new sacrament instituted by Christ." But what we blame them for, is, That they have brought into the Church a rite, which has no warrant by any divine institution, and to which they ascribe in a manner the same nature and virtue with sacraments, tho' at the same time they deny it to be a sacrament. But since our Author seems therefore to deny this Sign to be a sacrament, because it was not instituted by Christ himself ; I wish he had told us plainly, whether he did not think it was appointed by the Apostles ? If it had been so, it would be a sacrament in our opinion, wherein Bp. *Burnet* agrees

agrees with us. "Whatever, says he, his Apostles settled, " was by authority and commission from him; therefore 'tis " not to be deny'd, but that if they had appointed any sa- " cramental action, that must be reckon'd to be of the same " authority, and is to be esteem'd Christ's institution, as " much as if he himself, when on earth, had appointed it."* And truly, if the Church has used this rite almost MDCC years, as our Author told us a little before; I can't imagine, who could be the author of it, but Christ himself, or his Apostles. But he goes on, and not only denies its being a sacrament, upon the account of the author of the institution; but denies it has what is principally necessary in the nature of a sacrament. I have shewn already, out of Bp. Burnet, that it was antiently a sacramental action: but let us hear our Author's reasons.

If it should be granted [which no man in his senses can deny] that here is an external sign of a sacrament, I would fain know what invisible grace is confer'd with it? The baptiz'd person is sign'd, "in token that hereafter he shall not be "asham'd to confess the faith of Christ crucified, and man- "fully to fight under his banner, against sin, the world, "and the Devil, &c." But who will deny Christian fortitude to be a grace? Who, beside a Pelazian, will doubt whether this grace be confer'd by God? The sign of the Cross therefore is made a pledge of this.

But he further asks: Did ever any of our side affirm, that this Sign is the cause of any divine infusion [influence] or any means of eternal salvation? They have indeed affirm'd it. Thus I have observ'd before, that Dr. Hammond says: "He "that thus sign'd to Constantine victory from heaven, will "thus give grace, and seal to us victory over our ghostly ene- "mies." And if that be true, I can see no reason why it should not be esteem'd a means of eternal salvation. Nay if, according to the Convocation, it be a sign and pledge of the merits of Christ; or finally, if it be a token of Christian fortitude, as it really is, as our Adversaries use it; it may with good reason be call'd, a means of eternal salvation. But now take another of our Author's arguments:

What pledge do our Dixines hold to be in this rite, whereby ei- ther the hope of a Christian is rais'd, or his faith confirm'd? Mr. Hooker, a most admir'd author with our Adversaries, has

* Upon the Art. p. 267.

has attributed an extraordinary virtue to this Sign. "Surely, says he, the mind which as yet hath not harden'd it self in sin, is seldom provok'd thereunto in any gross and grievous manner, but nature's secret suggestion objected aginst it ignominy, as a bar. Which conceit being enter'd into that palace of a man's fancy, the gates whereof [viz. his forehead] have imprinted in them that holy Sign, which bringeth forthwith to mind, whatsoever Christ hath wrought, and we vowed against sin; it cometh hereby to pass, that Christian men never want a most effectual, tho' a silent teacher, to avoid whatsoever may deservedly procure shame. So that in things which we should be ashamed of, we are by the Cross admonishi'd faithfully of our duty, at the very moment when admonition doth most need."* The same author has much more to the like purpose. But I return to the Doctor :

There is nothing in this institution of our Church, can more deserve the name of superstition, than the Independents holding up their hands in token of joining themselves to [rather, of receiving persons into] their congregations. For why should it be more idolatrous and impious, to admit a person into a Christian society, by making a cross with one finger, than by stretching out five? †

Every body that compares these things together, must needs see how very different they are. 'Tis the way of the Independents, to admit none into their communion, without the consent of the people. And therefore, when the judgment of the people is demanded concerning any one who offers himself to them, they declare it by holding up the hand, or any sign of that nature, rather than by the less decent muttering of *yea*, or *no*. But they place no religion in any such usage, nor pretend to do any thing, but what 'tis common for assemblies to do in giving their votes. And upon this account we never charg'd them with introducing a new sacrament. Nor are we in this matter more favourable to them than the Churchmen. We never charg'd them with bringing in a new sacrament, by appointing kneeling at the Lord's Supper, because we know it is an ordinary sign of reverence, and is order'd by them as such; altho' at the same time we dislike the thing itself, as will appear afterwards.

CHAP.

C H A P. VI.

Of Godfathers and Godmothers.

THAT the true state of our controversy upon this head may be understood, I shall premise these few things with relation to it.

I. 'Tis not any matter of controversy between us, whether it be lawful and useful, that when infants are baptiz'd, some honest pious persons should make a public profession of the Christian faith in the assembly, and promise to take care (if God spares them) that the child, as soon as he becomes capable, should be train'd up in the Christian faith and practice. This we readily grant, and require continually such a profession and promise of parents, when we baptize their children.

II. Nor do we dispute, whether any beside the parents may be allow'd to perform this office. We acknowledge there is a necessity they should in some cases: as if the parents are dead; or, by reason of their great distance, cannot be present at the baptizing their children; or if they are so ignorant in the Christian religion, or so heretical in their opinions, and vicious in their lives, that their promise cannot be look'd upon as fit to be taken by the Church. Hitherto we agree, now see wherein we differ.

1. We think it very wrong, that parents, without distinction, are debar'd performing this office. We apprehend the chief care of the education of children is committed to parents: and they are especially bound to form them to virtue and piety. Hence it seems highly requisite, that such parents, as are fit, should publicly profess their faith; and engage for the Christian education of their children. But this they are forbid to do by the Canons of the Church, which say: "No parent shall be urged to be present, "nor be admitted to answer as Godfather for his own "child."*

2. We question very much, whether the Minister has a sufficient power of refusing persons, who are unfit to perform the office of Sponsors. No one can be refus'd by

L I

him,

him, who has receiv'd the holy Communion.* Nay, boys and girls often stand Godfathers and Godmothers, tho' they have never receiv'd the Lord's Supper at all. But if the matter be only consider'd according to the Canon ; how many are there now most profligate in their lives, who yet, thro' the want of discipline, are admitted to the holy Communion ? All that can say the short Catechism in the Liturgy, contain'd in two or three pages, are to be confirm'd by the Bishop ; and then have a right, according to the establishment, to come to the Sacrament : nor can a Minister debar them above a fortnight, let them live how they will, unless he will put them into the Spiritual Court, and be himself at a great charge.

3. Another thing here in debate is, whether the questions propounded to the Godfathers and Godmothers, and the answers they give, are not very simple and absurd ? What they are, we shall see presently ; in the mean while let us return to our Author :

Every man, that is conversant in the writings of the antients, knows very well, that from the very first ages of Christianity, there were always sureties in Baptism, who religiously engag'd for the faith of the baptiz'd, that they should sincerely believe all that was reveal'd in the Gospel, and direct the subsequent actions of their lives by the law of Christ. †

If that matter is so plain to all that are conversant in the writings of the antients, it might easily have been prov'd by the clearest testimonies. But I have not yet been so happy, as to meet with them. And tho' by the law of charity, we are to believe and hope, that they, who at present profess the Christian faith, and lead their lives blameless, do sincerely believe all that is reveal'd in the Gospel, and will direct the subsequent actions of their lives by the law of Christ ; yet whether they really so believe, and will so direct their actions, can be certainly known to God alone, who sees the hearts of all men. Nor can any one, without great rashness, promise this for another, and especially for infants ; in whose name alone such promises are made in the Church of England. For as often as those of riper years are baptiz'd, the Godfathers are only witnesses of their making such a profession, and such promises ; but undertake nothing for them, as to the sincerity of their faith, or their future integrity of life.

* Ibid. † page 273.

life. So that if Dr. N. has truly describ'd the customs of the antients, 'tis manifest the Church of *England* has herein forsaken them. I say nothing here concerning the practice of the Jews, because we dispute not about *witnesses of the covenant* made ; and such witnesseſ are all those who are present, when any one is baptiz'd. Enough has been said of what next follows. Let us therefore go on to the rest.

Besides, this suretſhip, which was begun in the oldest and best times, hath been continued down to us without scruple and interruption, except the clamours of *Anabaptists* and *Puritans*, which have been rais'd against it of late years.* And for this purpose he produces *Justin Martyr*, or whoever was the author of the *Answers to the Orthodox*, who says : *Infants are thought worthy of the benefits of Baptism, by reason of their faith who bring them to it.* And thus the paſſage of *Justin* is well render'd, which the Doctor had mangled at a miserable rate, and made it ſad nonsense, in his translating it; tho' eaſy *Greek*, into *Latin*. There is nothing in the words thus rightly understood that displeaſes us.

We are next refer'd to *Tertullian*; whom the Doctor had misreprefented by changing *parvulos* into *parentes*. There is nothing in the place that concerns us, but the mention he makes of *ſpōſores*, which may as well be the parents as others, if his words are fairly repreſented.

There was another paſſage cited out of the ſame au-
thor, which I believe neither our Author, nor any that have commented upon *Tertullian*, understood ; but which in the *Latin* edition I have explain'd ſo; as to ſhew it ſignifies nothing againſt us.

In the next place *Cyril of Alexandria* is alledg'd as a wit-
neſs againſt us ; and his words are thus tranſlated : *The
ſurety ſays Amen for the infant.* The place is not in
12 *Evang. Joh.* but *John xi. 26*. But this is not a fair ci-
tation ; for he only ſays : *He that brings the infant, &c.* And
why may not that as well be the parent ? But beſides, what
is here like the Church of *England*'s answers ? Did he that
brought the infant undertake for him, that he believ'd all
the Articles of the Apostles Creed ; that he ſhould keep God's
holy will and commandments ; and walk in the ſame all the days of
his life ? This is what our Godfathers undertake ; but *Cyril*
only ſays, that he who brought the infant, at the end of the
prayers in Baptism answer'd for him *Amen*. And what is

this against us? We dislike not, that both he who brings the child, and the whole congregation too, should do the same.

The next author we are refer'd to is *Austin*, who really speaks our sense well enough. "Children, *says he*, are offer'd, that they may receive the spiritual grace, not so much by those in whose arms they are brought; though by them too, if they are good Christians; as by the whole Christian society." And he presently adds, what certainly proves parents were not in his time, as they are in ours, forbidden to offer their own children in baptism. "You may see, *says he*, many are not offer'd by their own parents, but by some strangers, as slaves are sometimes offer'd by their masters. And sometimes, *when the parents are dead*, children are baptiz'd, being brought by those, who could shew such mercy to them."* And herein we do not differ from him.

In the last place, the authority of that vile impostor, the *flam Dionysius*, whose books are stuff'd with abundance of superstition, is urg'd against us. But if his words quoted are well consider'd, it appears, that he speaks only of the children of infidels being deliver'd to Sponsors, and that the faithful were then trusted intirely with the care of their own children. His words are: "They say, and 'tis true, that infants, who are instructed in the holy law, will acquire a holy temper of mind, being free from all error, and wickedness of life. When our divine instructors consider'd this, 'twas thought fit that infants should be receiv'd after this holy manner; that the natural parents of the child, that was offer'd, should deliver him to an initiated or baptiz'd person, who should well instruct him in divine matters, under whose care he is to be afterwards, as under a Godfather, or Susceptor in Baptism."† Hence 'tis plain, he speaks of such natural parents as were not themselves Christians; or why should they otherwise, upon the account he mentions, deliver their children to others? Further, it appears he was for having the intire care of the children's education committed to these Godfathers: to which purpose are the *Scholia of Maximus*, and the *Paraphrase of Pachymeres*. If this was required in our nation, there would soon be an end put to the practice: for the

the people in *England* have quite another notion of the matter. But since Archbishop *Usher* has from hence argued the spuriousness of those writings which pass under his name; it will not, I suppose, be amiss to set down his words, before I take leave of *Dionysius*. “ Besides, says he, he speaks of “ Godfathers in Baptism, of whom no footsteps can be “ shown in any antient writers, *Greek* or *Latin*, for a long “ time after *Dionysius*; altho they plainly describe the cere-“ monies used in Baptism.” *

So much for our Author’s testimonies; I now proceed to his other arguments. *And no good reason can be given, why, even in our days, the faith and care of some grave persons should not be engaged, that the Church should receive no damage by any one’s turning Infidel after Baptism.* † In like manner, say I, since parents of old used to offer their own children to Baptism, and to come under engagements for their Christian education; *no good reason can be given, why they should now be hinder’d from doing it.* Our Author presently acknowledges, ’tis their great business to give their children a religious education. Why then may they not be permitted to promise it? If the debtor himself is able to pay, why should we refuse his bond; and then desire some other person, a bankrupt perhaps, to take the debt upon him?

Our Author, as I said, owns ’tis the great business of parents to give their children a religious education; but he pleads, that nevertheless this practice may be of good use, because parents are many times snatch’d away by death, before the children are grown up; or they are too negligent in this particular, &c. And what does he infer from this? Why, that the engagement of the parent is of no consequence. A fine way of reasoning indeed! But whence will it appear, the Godfathers only oblige themselves upon that condition? This is only the fancy of some private men, which is no where mention’d in the Liturgy or Canons of the Church. And if it were mention’d, ’twould signify but little, unless more care were used in admitting persons to stand as Godfathers. But I will not stay to insist upon these things; but proceed to the arguments of our side, which he comes next to consider.

* *Dissert. de Script. Dionys. Ar. sup. posit. ad fin. Hist. Dogmat.* p. 287. † p. 275.

But 'tis a ridiculous and absurd thing, they say, to put questions to infants, who can make no answer.* You see here the argument only concerns infants, who can make no answer. For when the same questions are propounded at Baptism to persons of riper years, who can answer for themselves, we find no fault with them; for they are agreeable and proper enough. Nay, if the Godfathers only promis'd a diligent care about the child's education, we should never blame them for propounding questions of that nature, for we use them ourselves. 'Tis to no purpose therefore, that our Author spends a whole page in talking of baptismal interrogatories in general, as tho' any doubt were made of the usefulness of them. I shall therefore pass over what he says on that head, and come to that part of his answer, which really relates to our objection.

As to the propounding the questions, we dont put them to the infants; but demand of the Sureties in the antient form: *Dost thou, in the name of this chil'd, renounce the Devil? Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty? &c. Wilt thou be baptiz'd in this faith?* †

Whether the questions are propounded to the infants, or not, may be easily discern'd by the Liturgy; according to which the Priest thus speaks unto the Godfathers and Godmothers: "Wherefore this infant must also faithfully for his part, "promise by you that are his Sureties (until he come of age "to take it upon himself) that he will renounce the Devil "and all his works, and constantly believe God's Holy "Word, and obediently keep his commandments. I de- "mand therefore: *Dost thou, in the name of this child, re- nounce the Devil and all his works, the vain pompe and glory of the world? &c.* A. I renounce them all. "M. *Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty? &c.* "A. All this I stedfastly believe. M. *Wilt thou be baptiz'd in this faith?* A. So is my desire. M. *Wilt thou then obediently keep God's holy will and commandments, and walk in the same all the days of thy life?* A. I will." Who now is so blind, as not to see, the Minister all along asks the infants themselves these questions? Of whom else can he ask, whether *he will be baptiz'd?* or who else can answer, *I will?* For the Godfathers and Godmothers have been baptiz'd themselves long before. 'Tis plain then the God-

Godfathers are not properly ask'd these questions, and that they answer them for no other reason, but because the infants are not able to speak for themselves. Which to many seems absurd and childish, and unworthy of the gravity of a Christian assembly, and the solemnity of the ordinance of Baptism. Hereto we may add the words of the Catechism : “ *Q.* Why then are infants baptiz'd, when, by “ reason of their tender age, they cannot perform them “ [repentance and faith] ? *A.* Because they promise them “ both by their Sureties, &c. ” And truly they seem by this method to betray the cause of infants to the Anabaptists. For, if an express and actual profession of repentance and faith is necessarily to be requir'd of every one before he is baptiz'd, Infant-baptism can never be defended ; since a vicarious profession is not founded upon any text in the whole Bible.

The Doctor now argues from the method used sometimes in civil affairs. But those state examples he brings, are so very different from the matter in hand, that tho' they may seem to illustrate it ; yet they can never establish the use of it, or prove it is lawful. But let us briefly consider each example :

By an old law of the Romans their Aedilis was obliged, within five days after admission to his office, to take an oath to observe the laws. Valerius Flaccus, after his election, was hinder'd from doing this. His brother, as his proxy, was sworn in his stead : and the Commons pass'd an act, that it should be all one as if he had sworn himself.

But what are we concern'd in those quirks and fetches, by which Commonwealths have endeavour'd to help the defects and imperfections of their laws ? We are not here inquiring, what the Senate or the Commons did at *Rome*, but what our Saviour himself has determin'd in his most perfect law ? And indeed, that vicarious oath, in the case of *C. Valerius Flaccus*, * was then a thing new and unheard of among the *Romans*, and needed a decree of the Senate, and an act of the Commons on purpose, to make it valid. Wherefore let our Adversaries shew where such a method, as they plead for, is prescrib'd by our Lord Christ, as the other was by the *Roman Senate*, and they presently put an end to this controversy.

Whenever infant Kings are inaugurated, some of the nobility, deputed to represent them, take the usual oaths for them.

The inauguration of Kings and Baptism so far agree, that both of them are covenants ; the one between the King and the people, the other between God and men. In the former, if the one party only requires such a vicarious oath of the other, they must rest satisfied in it. Nor will we deny the same to be true with reference to the latter, whenever our Adversaries will prove that God, with whom we enter into covenant by Baptism, has requir'd such vicarious stipulations, or at least signify'd they are not displeasing to him.

So do ambassadors for their principals, at the ratifying of any league or articles.

There is a considerable difference between this example, and the thing 'tis brought to confirm. For ambassadors execute the commands they have receiv'd from their principals, with their consent and authority ; but this neither has, nor can have any place in the Baptism of infants. Besides, in every oath, we either assert the truth of somewhat past or present ; or we promise somewhat for the time to come. In the one is requir'd the sure and certain knowledge of the thing, in the other that it be in our own power. If therefore ambassadors, taking their oath in the former manner, testify that their principals have solemnly consented to the ratification of the articles, no one can make any difficulty of it. But as to promissory oaths of such things, as 'tis not in the power of those who take them to perform ; let them consider how they are to be defended, who venture to bind themselves with them. I should be glad our Adversaries would first prove such kind of oaths are lawful in civil matters, before they attempt to vindicate the stipulations of their Godfathers by them. There's one example more behind, but as little to the purpose as this.

The same do guardians for their pupils. This is true ; nor is such a compact vain. For if a guardian makes an agreement with any one in the name of his pupil, he at the same time gives him a power to constrain the pupil to perform the conditions of the agreement ; as our Author observes in what he adds : *And the pupils, when grown up, are bound by the laws to stand to what was thus transacted for them.* But who can force one baptiz'd in his infancy, after he is grown up, to believe all the Articles of the Creed, to renounce the Devil and all his works, and to walk in God's commandments ?

But it seems this is mention'd and defended by *Austin*. For thus our Author observes in the Margin : *When Boniface ask'd St. Austin the reason why infants were thus interrogated ; Austin answer'd : Sicut credere respondetur, ita etiam fidelis vocatur ; non rem ipsa mente annuendo, sed ipsius rei sacramentum percipiendo : i. e. The receiving of the sacrament is enough to denominate them faithful, without an actual consent of the mind.**

But as *Boniface* thought he herein propounded a most difficult question, so I can hardly think he was satisfy'd by *Austin's* answer. *Austin's* meaning is, that when 'tis answer'd concerning the infant, *He believes in God*, a regard is had to the sacrament of faith ; and the infant, altho' incapable of faith, is said to *believe*, or to *have faith*, because he receives the sacrament of faith. But I am very apt to think, this explication cannot please our Adversaries. For the infant answers by his Sponsors, that *he believes*, before he receives the sacrament of faith, that is, Baptism. But, as I said before, we pay but little deference to the customs of the fourth or fifth Century, and especially such unintelligible ones as this. After I had written this, I observed, the most learned Mr. *Dailly* had the same apprehensions of the judgment *Austin* gives of this matter. Having set down his words, thus he discourses upon them : "Whether these things satisfy'd *Boniface*, I know not. To me, I confess, they seem strange. How can the infant, offer'd to Baptism, be truly said therefore to have faith, because he has the sacrament of faith, i. e. Baptism, at the time when he has not yet receiv'd Baptism ? nay, who is for no other reason ask'd the question, than that he may obtain Baptism, which as yet he wants ? As tho' none ought to be baptiz'd, who does not believe ? An infant is presented to the Minister to be baptiz'd ; the Minister, as tho' he thought it unlawful to baptize even an infant, except he believes, demands, and which aggravates the absurdity, he demands of the infant himself, whether he believes ? tacitly implying, he may not baptize him, unless he does so. Here the Godfather, that the infant may be capable of Baptism, answers, as his Surety, that he believes. When *Boniface* was in doubt, how the Godfather could truly and certainly affirm this ; *Austin* answers,

“ swers, he could, tho’ the infant had not yet faith ; because “ when he says he believes, he only means, he has the “ sacrament of faith. Is not this a brave solution of the “ difficulty ? But, I say, the infant has not what you call “ the sacrament of faith ; nor, if he had, would there be “ any occasion to offer him to you to be baptiz’d. And “ therefore, in that very sense *Austin* puts upon the answer, “ the Godfather lies, when he says, the infant believes, “ *i. e.* has the sacrament of faith.”* The reader may see more there to the same purpose : where he shews, this very absurd custom was the device of the fourth Century, transfer’d from the Baptism of the adult to that of infants, thro’ a perverse imitation of antiquity.

But our Author proceeds to another of our arguments : *But they boldly engage for the children, that they shall keep God’s will and commandments, and walk in the same all the days of their life.* Now mind his answer : *Well, no more is meant by this, than that the Sureties will use their best endeavours, that the children may be instructed in true Christian doctrine, calling upon them often to serve and fear God, reproving them for anything that they do amiss, and labouring to reclaim them.* †

Truly, if the words of the Liturgy would bear that sense, we should not quarrel about those stipulations ; for we always require some of this nature. And yet it would be very unadvised to express those answers, the sense of which ought to be as plain as possible, in words that were at least doubtful and intricate, and might perplex the consciences, not of the common people only, but of those likewise, who were persons of more understanding. But the words will not admit such a meaning, as is plain by what I have said. Nor do the words of the Office, cited by our Author, prove it : for the beginning of that exhortation confirms our sense : “ Forasmuch, says the Minister, as this child hath “ promis’d by you, his Sureties, to renounce the Devil, &c. “ ye must remember, that ‘tis your parts and duties to see “ that this infant be taught, &c.”

But our Author could not any longer refrain from triumphing over his Adversaries, as totally routed ; and tells us what a noble occasion this affords of extolling their Church. Much of the beauty and triumph of his expression is lost in the Translation, which is comparatively flat. *And herein*

GUR

our Church is highly to be commended for her wise provision, and singular care of little children : but envy it self can hardly find what to blame her for in all this. We leave the thing it self to the judgment of others. But this boasting, vapouring temper of our Adversaries, has brought a great disgrace and reproach upon the nation. Every one knows, the *English* are, almost every where abroad, reckon'd proud and haughty. Nor could I, as often as I have thought of it, ever discover a more probable reason of our passing under so bad a character, than the temper of our Adversaries, in so fondly doting upon, and extremely admiring all the many impertinences of their constitution. Nay, our countrymen, to the great prejudice of piety and Christian charity, are from their very cradles accustom'd to despise and vilify all those Churches, which approve not of these things. But leaving this wide field of glory, to those who are dispos'd for a vain triumph, I hasten to what's behind.

C H A P. VII.

Of Confirmation.

SINCE we apprehend some things are not amiss, which our Author has said upon this head, and yet utterly dissent from him in many others ; that we may not fight in the dark, I shall first lay down our opinion in a few propositions briefly, which will give light to what I shall have to say afterward.

1. We do not deny, that 'tis very useful, that such as were baptiz'd in their infancy, should, after they are grown up, publicly profess their faith, and renew the baptismal covenant by their own stipulation before the Church. 'Tis well known, we have always own'd this ; and therefore, whatever our Author has alledg'd from *Buxtorf*, concerning any practice of this nature among the *Jews*, I shall pass over, as foreign to our controversy.

2. If imposition of hands be consider'd only as a gesture in prayer, or as an antient manner of blessing, which imports the designation of the person who is bless'd ; we are not much concern'd about it. But the thing we find fault with is, that our Adversaries use it as a sign of God's favour. For thus the Bishop prays, according to the Office of Confirmation : " We make our humble supplications to thee

" for

" for these thy servants, upon whom (after the example of thy holy Apostles) we have now laid our hands, to certify them (by this sign) of thy favour and gracious goodness towards them." We think this ceremony, thus used, comes too near to the nature of a sacrament ; and the rather, because we find some affirm, 'tis retain'd in the Church, not indeed as a sacrament generally necessary to salvation, but as a sacramental.*

3. We think the conditions of Confirmation are too loose. For he that is confirm'd, may presently come to the Communion ; and no other qualifications are requir'd, than what a child of five years old may have ; namely, to be able " to say the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments ; and answer to such other questions, as in the short Catechism are contained."

4. We own, hands used to be laid upon such as were baptiz'd from *Tertullian's* time ; so that we need not trouble our selves much about the testimonies of later authors.

5. The antient imposition of hands was very different from that which is now in use in the Church of *England*. That always was join'd with Baptism, this mostly follows it at the distance of many years.

6. We dislike the antient use of this ceremony. For the Holy Spirit was thought to be given by this external visible sign, and a greater virtue was attributed to it, than to Baptism it self. Thus *Tertullian*, the most antient author that mentions this rite : " Not that we obtain the Holy Spirit in the baptismal water ; but being cleans'd in water by the Angel, we are prepar'd for the Holy Spirit.----Then comes the laying on of hands, to invite the Holy Spirit by that benediction.----Then that most Holy Spirit freely comes down upon our bodies thus cleans'd and blessed." † In like manner does *Cyprian* discourse : " If a man could be baptiz'd out of the Church, according to the faith of Heretics, and yet obtain remission of sins ; he could, according to the same faith, obtain also the Holy Spirit ; and there would then be no need that hands should be laid on him, that he might receive the Holy Spirit, when he came over to the Church." ‡

But our Author affirms, their practice is warranted by the example of the Apostles. We have, says he, the authority

* See *Heylyn*. *Cypr. Engl.* p. 10.
Jubaj. p. 201.

† *De Bapt.* c. 6, 8.

‡ *Epist. 73. ad*

rity of the Apostles on our side. For when it was reported to them, that the Samaritans had receiv'd Christian Baptism, two of their order were deputed to go, and pray over them, and lay their hands on them, that they might receive the Holy Ghost.* To this I answer: The Apostles had indeed receiv'd that power of giving the Holy Ghost, by laying on their hands, which our Adversaries have not yet prov'd to be bestow'd upon their Bishops. If the Bishops claim the power of the Apostles, why dont they give a proof of it, by healing the sick with the laying on of their hands? Certainly they must either give us some such evidence, to convince us of their power; or they must at least acknowledge, the Papists have with equal reason taken up Extreme Unction and Confirmation, in imitation of the Apostles. But tho' we look upon those gifts of the Holy Ghost, which they gave, to be extraordinary; yet we dont so much urge that, as we do this: That the Apostles themselves were endow'd with an extraordinary power in giving these gifts, by the rite of laying on hands. So that our Author does not really meddle with our principal objection, but propounds another: If it be said, that these were extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, common in those times; let them tell us, how they will make it probable, that the power of working miracles was confer'd on almost a whole nation? For St. Paul, by a smart question, denies it, as a very absurd, incongruous thing: Do all speak with tongues?† Can we think it becoming the whole body of the Apostles, that they should send two of their principal men, to bestow promiscuously upon a whole nation, good and bad, the power of working miracles; which yet is no part of Christian religion, nor any ways conduces to good living, the main design of our profession?|| But that these were extraordinary gifts, it is prov'd by two arguments. The one is taken from another Text, concerning the laying on of hands, which is very like to that above mentioned: *And when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came upon them, and they spake with tongues, and prophesied.*‡ Since then these were extraordinary effects of the Spirit, 'tis plain the gift it self was extraordinary. This place our Author presently cites, but prudently forbears to mention these two extraordinary effects, which quite overthrow the very thing he brings it for. Thus he goes on to argue, these were not extraordinary gifts: *It can hard'y be suppos'd, that most of them would*

* pag. 280.

† 1 Cor. xii. 30.

¶ pag. 281.

‡ Acts xix. 6.

would employ this gift so much for the establishing of religion, as to make ostentation of what they could do. Yet this is certain, that when St. Paul had laid his hands on twelve men newly baptiz'd, they were fill'd with the Holy Ghost. The other argument I urge is this: Unless these had been extraordinary gifts, Simon Magus would never have offer'd them money, to move them to give him this power, *that on whomsoever he laid his hands, he might receive the Holy Ghost.* * The ordinary gifts of the Spirit, which cannot be perceiv'd as soon as they are bestow'd, would not have raised the admiration of that wicked man; much less would he have thought it worth his while to part with his money, to purchase an ability to give them to others. But the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit could not but be conspicuous to every one present; so that 'tis no wonder, that such an illustrious display of the Apostle's power should raise the admiration of the vile wretch, and an earnest desire to have the like himself. Nay, that the Apostles did not lay on hands, as our Adversaries pretend, to give the Spirit to *enable by his grace chearfully and readily to perform all good duties;* † but to bestow his extraordinary operations; seems plain to me from hence: That St. Peter did not lay hands on Cornelius and his Company, who receiv'd the Holy Ghost before they were baptiz'd; || which yet he would without doubt have done, if it had been so very necessary and useful for this purpose. Further, 'tis not yet clear to me, that the Apostles laid hands on all the *Samaritans* without any difference. The Apostles bestow'd those gifts for the advantage of the Church, and did not intrust them all with every person, on whom they laid hands; ‡ but gave to some one kind of gift, and to some another, according as they design'd them to perform this or t'other office; and they herein discern'd and approv'd men by the Spirit. But be that as it will, our Bishops, as I said, have not yet prov'd, that they can impart the Holy Spirit by the laying on of their hands. And let me here take notice by the way, that our Bishops seem to me to imitate not only the Apostles in their Confirmation, but our Saviour himself * in their Ordination, with too great a boldness. For when they ordain either Priests or Bishops, they assume his words, and say: “ *Receive the Holy Ghost, for the office*

“ and

* Act. viii. 18, 19. † Vid. p. 287. || Vid. Act. x. 44, &c. ‡ Vid. 1 Cor. xii.

* John xx. 22.

" and work of a Priest [or Bishop] in the Church of God, " now committed to thee by the imposition of our " hands, &c." But the Doctor goes on :

And the same Apostle speaks of Baptism, and laying on of hands jointly, as initiating rites, by which all candidates of Christianity were admitted to the profession of it. * Since the Apostles used imposition of hands for various purposes, one cannot easily be certain of the meaning of that place. It may be understood as relating to ordination, the healing the sick, or the power granted them of working miracles. Nor is it any prejudice to this interpretation, that the Apostle calls it a *foundation*. The Apostles and Prophets are so call'd : *And are built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets.* † Nay, the foundation of the Church is laid in the institution of the sacred Ministry, and its perpetual edification rests upon it. ‖ And if the Apostle be thought to have respect to the extraordinary gifts of the spirit, they might well be call'd the *foundation*, as they are some of the chief and most certain evidences of the Christian religion. But 'tis not good to be positive about such a doubtful passage.

Our Author next affirms, that Confirmation has not the seal of Apostolic authority alone, but is warranted by the practice of all following ages. ‡ We grant it was used from Tertullian's time, as the Doctor presently takes notice. For after he has mention'd some antient writers as witnesses of what he says, he adds : *So that they, who are no hearty friends to it, do however grant it to be as old as Tertullian, and that it accompanied the Baptism of those times, tho' they will not allow it to be a thing entirely distinct from it.* * We make no doubt it began about the time of Tertullian, and was at first annex'd to Baptism. Whether our Adversaries, who think otherwise, are in the right or no, we shall see by and by. But since we own this rite to be as old as Tertullian, we need not consider the Doctor's other testimonies, which are all later than his time. I only take notice, for the sake of the reader, that he mistakes in placing the second Council of Arles in the year 390. For the 28th Canon of that Council cites the 2d Canon of the Council call'd *Valense*, which some think means *Vaison*, others *Bazas*. Now this Council was held in Pope Leo the First's time, about the year 440.

But

* Hebr. vi. 2. † Eph. ii. 20. ‡ Ibid. iv. 11, &c. † pag. 282. * pag. 283.

But I return to *Tertullian*, whose meaning is misunderstood by our Author. I shall translate the words literally, according to our Author's citation : " The flesh is wash'd, the flesh is anointed, the flesh is signed : the flesh is shaded by laying on the hand, that it may be inlighten'd both by the soul and by the Spirit. The flesh is fed with the body and blood of Christ." * I have follow'd the Doctor here exactly, tho' 'tis plain by *Tertullian's* own words part of the middle passage should have run thus : that the soul may be inlighten'd by the Spirit. Upon the place the Doctor makes this remark : *He speaks distinctly of three Christian rites, Baptism, Confirmation, and the Lord's Supper.* But he is mistaken in thinking Confirmation is to be consider'd, not as a rite that adher'd to Baptism, but which used to be perform'd separately from it : of which he afterwards speaks more at large. But I will prove the contrary from *Tertullian* himself. For he, in his Treatise of Baptism, gives us this account of the virtue and efficacy of Baptism in general : " The guilt being taken away, the punishment is remov'd also. Thus man is brought back to God, to his likeness, who was at first made after his image. The image belongs to his shape [effigies seems to be thus used here, and in his Treatise, *De Anima*, c. 9.] the likeness to his eternal duration. For he receives then that Spirit of God, which he had at first by God's breathing it into him ; but afterwards lost by his sin." † Hence 'tis certain, *Tertullian* thought the Holy Spirit was always given in Baptism ; and yet he most expressly denies he was bestow'd before the laying on of hands. Whence 'tis evident, the laying on of hands was always join'd with Baptism. Nay, tho' he had discours'd in the beginning of that Treatise concerning the great virtue of water ; yet here he cautions his readers, not to think that the Spirit was given in the water. " Not, says he, that we obtain the Holy Spirit in the water ; but being cleans'd in the water by the Angel, we are prepar'd for the Holy Spirit. There was somewhat like this before : For thus *John* was first the forerunner of our Lord, and prepar'd his way : and thus the Angel that presides at Baptism, makes way for the coming of the Holy Spirit, by that cleansing from our sins, which our faith obtains, being plighted to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. ---- Then being gone out of the water, we are

* *Vid. p. 272. edit. Lat.* † *c. 5.*

“ are anointed with the blessed unction, according to the
 “ custom under the law, when they used to be anointed to
 “ the Priesthood with an horn of oil.” * I desire this may
 be taken notice of for two reasons. First, because the Doctor
 thinks this rite of anointing belong’d properly to Confirmation : for thus he presently brings in *Theophilus* of *Antioch*, as *taking notice of the Chrism used in Confirmation*. But this is very false : for the unction and Confirmation, mention’d by *Tertullian*, differ’d both in their order and their end. Unction preceeded, by which all Christians were anointed to the Priesthood : imposition of hands follow’d after, for the giving the Holy Ghost, as we shall see presently. There is therefore no strength in the Doctor’s argument, when he would prove Confirmation from the anointing. Secondly, if this anointing belong’d to Confirmation, yet it would from this passage appear to have been perform’d immediately after Baptism. *Then*, says he, *being gone out of the water, we are anointed*. Nay, whoever reads the words of *Tertullian*, according as they are set down by our Author, and observes the pointing of the sentence, the distinction which the *Italic* character makes of the parts of it, and the remark which he has subjoin’d, can’t but see that the anointing of the flesh is plainly separated from imposition of hands ; and that the former is comprehended in Baptism, and the latter is, as a distinct ceremony, separated from it. I should therefore be glad to understand, how that place of *Tertullian* can possibly agree with the words of *Theophilus*, according to the account our Author gives of them. But I proceed to that passage of *Tertullian* which he cites. And that his meaning may be the better understood, I shall set down his words more at large : “ After that, hands are laid
 “ on, to invite the Holy Spirit by that benediction. Shall
 “ the art of man be able to bring a spirit into the water [by
 spirit he means air, for he speaks of those musical instru-
 ments, which were call’d *Hydraulica*, wherein the pipes were
 fill’d with water, and the air, forc’d into the bottom of them,
 by the agitation it caus’d, made the music] “ and by the
 “ motions of the hand animate the pipes they have join’d
 “ together, to give such a noble sound ; and shall it not be
 “ in God’s power to make the most noble spiritual music
 “ in his instrument, by the means of such holy hands ?

M m

“ Then

“ Then that Holy Spirit comes freely down from the Father upon our bodies thus wash'd and bless'd, and rests upon the waters of Baptism, as tho' he had found his antient seat. He descended in the shape of a dove upon our Lord, that the nature of the Holy Spirit might be signified by an innocent and harmless creature, and which has no gall in its body: and therefore, *be ye*, says he, *innocent as doves*. This also was mystically shadow'd forth before. For, as after the waters of the flood, by which the antient iniquity was purg'd away, that is, as I may say, after the Baptism of the world, the messenger which brought the news to the earth of God's anger being pacified, was a dove, let out of the ark, and returning with an olive branch (which among the *Gentiles* also be-tokens peace) so by the like ordering of the spiritual blessing, *this dove the Holy Spirit*, being sent from heaven, where the Church is, that was signified by the ark, *flies to* the earth, *i. e. our flesh*, getting out of the water after our old sins are wash'd away, and brings the peace of God with him.”* From this place, wherein Tertullian expressly treats of this matter, we are to explain his meaning in the other passage, where he only mentions it by the by. Nor does he there in the least hint, that imposition of hands was ever sever'd from Baptism. And now since I am fallen upon this subject, I will first make an end of it, before I consider what our Author says of the antiquity of this rite. Let us therefore hear what he holds concerning it.

The primitive Church made Confirmation and Baptism two distinct things; so St. Cyprian assures us, who calls them two Sacraments in express words. Cyprian's words alledg'd in the margin are: “ It signifies little for them to receive imposition of hands, unless they have the Baptism of the Church. For then only can they be wholly sanctified, and be the sons of God, if they are regenerated by both sacraments.” † No one doubts the baptismal washing, and the laying on of hands were two different rites. But the only question here is: Whether the latter did not antiently always accompany the former, except perhaps when sick persons were baptiz'd, or when Deacons administred the ordinance? Now when infants are baptiz'd in the Church of England, Confirmation is always defer'd, which we think is

is quite contrary to the custom of the antients. Nor does Cyprian's testimony confirm our Author's opinion. For an argument from the word *Sacrament* is of no weight. For thus Cyprian speaks of the *Sacrament of the Lord's Prayer*: and the Bishop of Oxford well observes upon the place, that *no word is of a more loose signification in ecclesiastical writers than this word Sacrament.** And therefore we need not trouble ourselves much about that.

But our Author goes on: *That which made some think, that Confirmation was much the same thing with Baptism, was this; that adult persons, who were commonly baptiz'd in those days, being at years of discretion, and able to give an account of their faith, were immediately confirm'd as soon as they were carried out of the water.* † You see now how exactly our Churchmen order all their matters according to the rule of antiquity. Such as were of age when they were baptiz'd, had hands, you must believe, laid upon them immediately; but when infants were baptiz'd, that rite was defer'd till they were grown up, and were able to give an account of their faith. So Dr. N. would persuade us. But by what authority or example will he make this appear probable? Truly the contrary is evident from Cyprian, who informs us, that all baptiz'd infants were then admitted to the Lord's Supper: which custom continu'd a long time in the Western Church, as it does in the Greek Church to this day. ‡ But there is a profound silence in all ecclesiastical writers concerning persons being confirm'd, after they had receiv'd the Lord's Supper. But I will transcribe a notable passage of Cyprian, whence 'tis certain all baptiz'd persons were antiently thought fit for Confirmation. He is disputing against Pope Stephen, who was for having those who came off from the Heretics, receiv'd into the Church by imposition of hands, without another Baptism; and thus he writes: "Or if they attribute the effect of the Baptism to the majesty of the name, that whoever are any where, or any how baptiz'd in the name of Jesus Christ, must be reckon'd renew'd and sanctify'd; why should not hands as well be impos'd among them in the same name, that men may receive the Holy Ghost? why should not the same ma-

M m 2

jesty

* *De Orat. Dom.* p. 142. † *pag. 284.* ‡ *De Laps. p. 132. Vid. August. de peccat. meritis & remiss. c. 24. & Innocent. Epist. ad Concil. Milevit. inter August. Epist. 73.*

“ jesty of the same name, which they plead is able to
 “ sanctify their Baptism, be more able to ratify their impos-
 “ sition of hands? For if a man being born out of the
 “ Church may become the temple of God; why may not
 “ the Holy Spirit be pour'd out upon a temple? For he
 “ that, having put off his sins in Baptism, is sanctified, and spiritu-
 “ ally form'd into a new man, is made fit to receive the Holy Ghost.
 “ Since the Apostle says: *As many of you as are baptiz'd into*
 “ *Christ, have put on Christ*: he that can put on Christ, being
 “ baptiz'd among the Heretics, can much more receive
 “ the Holy Ghost, whom Christ sent. But thus he that is
 “ sent, would be greater than he who sent him; so that a man bap-
 “ tiz'd out of the Church would begin to put on Christ, but not be
 “ able to receive the Holy Spirit; as tho' Christ could be put on
 “ without the Spirit, or the Spirit be separated from Christ. And
 “ since the second birth is spiritual, by which we are born
 “ in Christ by the laver of regeneration; 'tis simple for
 “ them to say, that a man may be spiritually born among
 “ the Heretics, whom they deny to have the Spirit. For
 “ water alone can't wash away sins, and sanctify a man, unless
 “ they have also the Spirit. Wherefore they must of necessity
 “ grant, either that the Spirit is there, where they say
 “ there is Baptism; or that Baptism is not there, where
 “ they say there is not the Spirit; because Baptism cannot be
 “ without the Spirit.” * Hence he calls imposition of hands
 the Lord's seal, and says, the baptiz'd were compleated there-
 with. † So that imposition of hands always accompany'd
 Baptism, whenever it was administred by those who had
 the power of blessing in this manner; at least it did so al-
 ways, except when sick persons were baptiz'd in their beds;
 in which case the laying on of hands was defer'd in the
 Church of Rome. I said in the Church of Rome, because that
 appears from Pope Cornelius's Letter, who writes thus: “ But
 “ neither did Novatian, when he recover'd from his di-
 “ stemper, partake of those other things, which a man
 “ ought according to the law of the Church, nor was he
 “ seal'd by the Bishop. And since he receiv'd not this,
 “ how could he receive the Holy Ghost? ” || But perhaps
 there may be reason to doubt, whether this was the cus-
 tom in other Churches. I am apt to suspect it was not
 in

* Epist. ad Pomp. 74. p. 213. † Epist. ad Jubajan. ¶ Apud Euseb. H. E.
 lib. vi. c. 43.

in the Church of *Carthage*, from what *Cyprian* says concerning persons so baptiz'd : Have they [these Clinics] " obtain'd the Lord's favour, but only in a lesser measure " of the divine gift, and of the Holy Spirit ; so that they " may be reckon'd Christians, but yet may not be equal'd " to the rest ? Nay, but the Holy Spirit is not given by " measure, but is wholly pour'd out upon him that believeth." * Wherefore since *Cyprian* does elsewhere plainly enough hint, that the Holy Spirit was given by imposition of hands, as I have shewn already ; we must conclude, either that at *Carthage* hands us'd to be laid immediately upon such persons when they were baptiz'd ; or else, that *Cyprian's* words must be explain'd by that rule which he delivers in the same Epistle : " That in the sacraments of our salvation, when necessity urges, and God grants his dispensation, divine abridgments convey the whole benefit to believers." † I would not here positively determine any thing, but leave it to the judgment of the learned. However that be, it can never be prov'd, that in the antient Church, such as were baptiz'd in their infancy, had hands laid on them after they were grown up. Nay, they that thought the Baptism of Heretics invalid, and pleaded, that such as had been baptiz'd among them, should be admitted into the Church by a new and catholic Baptism ; yet would not have such persons baptiz'd, if they had been a good while in the communion of the Catholic Church. This is expressly asserted by *Dionysius of Alexandria*, an earnest defender of that opinion. ‡ And most certainly then, they would not lay on hands upon those, who from their infancy had used to receive the Holy Communion.

But I shall now go back to what our Author says of the antiquity of this rite : But they are quite mistaken who think *Tertullian* was the first that mention'd it. For before him *Irenæus* speaks of it, as what the *Valentinians* had corrupted. † And in his Margin he refers to what is set down in the Latin edition : That among the mysteries of the *Valentinians*, which they receiv'd from the *Orthodox*, *Irenæus* mentions, Redemption to perfection ; I am confirm'd, I am redem'd. Presently he adds : After that they anoint, &c. I shall set down

* Epist. ad Magnum p. 187.
§. 9. † p. 262.

† p. 186.

|| Apud Euseb. H. E. lib. viii.

the place presently. But I can't but wonder at our Author, that he should represent *Irenæus* as affirming what he does not so much as mention. And if any woud see how fairly he deals with us, I would earnestly desire them to read that whole Chapter in *Irenæus*. * He there relates the abominable worship of the Heretics, wherein they differ'd very much from one another. But he no where says they borrow'd those things from the Orthodox. He speaks of their ceremonies, as brought in by *Satan* (and I hope he was not among the Orthodox) to the denying of the Baptism of regeneration towards God. Hence they prefer'd their *redemption to perfection*, mention'd by the Doctor, to Baptism ; and said, according to their nonsensical divinity, wherein they distinguish'd between Jesus and Christ : " That the Baptism of the appearing Jesus was for the remission of sins ; but the *redemption* of that Christ, who came down in him, was for *perfection*." But let us see what the mysteries were, which the *Valentinians* had borrow'd from the Orthodox. " Some of them, says he, prepare a bride chamber, and so initiate persons in their mysteries, using some profane words over those that are initiated, and this they call spiritual marriage.--- Others pronounce certain *Hebrew* words, which might amaze and affright those who are initiated, as : *Basima Chamosi*, *Baaionora*, &c. And these things are said by those who are the initiators. But he that is initiated answers : " I am confirm'd, I am redeem'd : and I redeem my soul from this *Aeon*, and every thing in it in the name of *Jao*, who redeem'd his soul for the *redemption* that is in the living Christ. Such as are present answer : Peace be to all upon whom this name rests." And is not this fine stuff, for the *Valentinians* to borrow from the Orthodox ? But *Irenæus* goes on, and adds what our Author has cited. " After this they anoint the person whom they initiate, with the juice of balm. And they say, this ointment is a sign of that sweet favour that is upon the universe. Some of them think it needless to bring a person to the water ; but mixing water and oil together, with such kind of words as I mention'd before, throw it upon the head of him that is initiated : and this they would have to be *redemption*." *Petavius* the Jesuit, in his Notes upon

on this last passage, cited by *Epiphanius*, says they herein aped the Catholic Church : and Dr. *Hammond* agrees with him. * But no body before Dr. *N.* ever said, *Irenæus* speaks of this *among the mysteries which the Valentinians borrow'd from the Orthodox*. And indeed a Protestant Divine should be ashamed so to explain *Irenæus*, however it may be born in a Papist. For it may indeed favour the Papists, who retain unction in Baptism ; but it signifies nothing to the Churchmen, who have laid it aside long ago. Further, by such a manner of interpreting the *Valentinian* mysteries, a man may evidence not only the baptismal anointing, but the Popish extream unction to be very antient. For *Irenæus* presently speaks of that also as used by them : " There are " others, says he, who redeem the dead [or dying] throwing " upon their heads oil and water, or the foresaid ointment " with water." So that we should rather say, that the Orthodox receive their unctions from the *Valentinians*, and such like Heretics. But if it were otherwise, I profess I dont see what it could signify. For I have already prov'd from *Tertullian*, that unction and imposition of hands were quite different rites.

And *Theophilus of Antioch*, senior to both, takes notice of the *Chrism used in Confirmation*. His words are : *We are call'd Christians, because we are anointed with the oil of God.* † *Mr. Daillé* has so fully explain'd the meaning of *Theophilus*, that I may answer in his words : " The anointing with oil " seemis to have been the first, and most antient of all the " ceremonies, that men added to Baptism. *Vicecomes* " makes some words of *Theophilus of Antioch*, who flourishi'd " about 30 years after *Justin M.* wrote his *Apology*, to relate " hereunto. ‡ *Bellarmino* had rather wrest the place to " *Chrism in Confirmation*. † But neither of them hit the " sense of that writer. He is reproving and refuting the " Pagans that derided the name *Christian* ; he shews that " hardly any of the works of art or nature are useful, un- " less they are anointed ; neither a house, nor a ship can " be of any service, unless it be anointed ; that new born " infants, and wrestlers when they were about to wrestle " were anointed with oil ; that no curious and neat work " will shine unless it be anointed. *Besides*, says he, *the air*,

M m 4

" and

* *De Confirm. cap. vi. sect. i.*
p. 387. ‡ *De Confirm. sect. 8.*

† *Lib. i. ad Autol.*¶ *Lib. ii. cap. 35.*

“ and the whole earth that is under heaven, is in a sort anointed
 “ with the light and the wind. And then applying these
 “ things to the business of Christianity, he thus bespeaks
 “ the Pagan, who makes a jest of our name and denomina-
 “ nation: But you will not be anointed with God’s oil. We are
 “ therefore call’d Christians, because we are anointed with God’s
 “ oil. Thus *Theophilus*: whom the *Latins* understand to
 “ speak of a material, corporeal and sensible oil, some of
 “ one sort, others of another; *Vicecomes* of that us’d at
 “ Baptism, *Bellarmino* of that of Confirmation. But I
 “ take him to mean a spiritual oil, and a mystical unction,
 “ of the same kind with that with which Christ was
 “ anointed, which flows down upon us from him who is
 “ our head and high Priest; from whence he has his name,
 “ and we ours thro’ him: that heavenly unction, without
 “ which we lie by quite sluggish, unactive and useless, nei-
 “ ther fit to fight, nor to live, being destitute of every
 “ thing that is neat and comely: lastly that unction which
 “ consists of *light and spirit*, which inlightens, and purges
 “ the soul, as the light and wind do the air, *i. e.* which,
 “ as *St. John* says, teaches us all things, and which, as the
 “ same Apostle writes, is the anointing we have of the
 “ holy one, *i. e.* as *Theophilus* comprehends it all in one
 “ word, *the oil of God*. These things relate not to the
 “ oil of the Catechumens, or the Chrism of Confirmation.
 “ They all belong to that Divine Spirit, by which we are
 “ anointed in the Lord Christ.”* So far *Mr. Daille*. I
 cannot but here take notice of an observation, made by an
 ingenious and learned writer of the Church of *England*,
 who, having treated of the novelty of anointing in ordina-
 tion, adds: “ So that when *Gregory Nazianzen* and others
 “ speak of an unction, they are to be understood as speak-
 “ ing mystically of the spiritual unction of the Holy
 “ Ghost.”† And I cannot imagine, why the same ob-
 servation is not to hold good concerning the words of *The-
 philus*. But in whatever sense his words are taken, ’tis
 plain from what is said before, they are nothing to our Au-
 thor’s purpose. And so much for the antiquity of Confir-
 mation: now our Author proceeds to shew, that the power
 of ministring it, is only granted to the Bishops.

We

We say likewise, that the power of giving this solemn blessing, is lodg'd in the Bishop alone. To this Order all antiquity have agreed to ascribe it :* And yet he himself in his Latin edition sets down the Canon of the Council of *Eliberis*, that gives the power even to a Deacon : “ If any Deacon go-“ verning the people without a Bishop, or a Presbyter, bap-“ tizes any, he must confirm them : ” † for so our Author understands the expression, *eos per benedictionem perficere*. Our Author would not juggle, as the Papists do, about this Canon. For they interpolate it, and read, *the Bishop must confirm them*. I cannot therefore here but commend his faithfulness and ingenuity. But 'tis plain the Canon, as he has set it down, is very contrary to his opinion, as well as to the Papists ; ‡ and therefore Dr. *Hammond* was for abetting the Popish interpolation. ‡ There is a Canon of another of the Councils to the same purpose ; for it not only allows, but commands Presbyters and Deacons to anoint persons : “ No Minister, “ who has power to baptize, shall ever go without *Chrism* ; “ because it seems good to us that every one should be once “ anointed in Baptism. ” * But let us hear what our Author says further of this matter : even St. *Jerom* himself, *who was no flatterer of Bishops* [viz. ascribes *Confirmation* to them.] *Jerom*'s words are : *The Bishop goes abroad to lay on hands to give the Holy Spirit.* † I have observ'd before out of *Clement of Alexandria*, that Presbyters us'd antiently to lay on hands. 'Tis possible a different custom might prevail in many Churches in *Jerom*'s time, and this power might then be reserv'd peculiarly to the Bishops. But that this was not a custom universally receiv'd in the Churches, I shall shew presently. Further, since Dr. *N.* argues from *Jerom*'s words, 'tis to be observ'd, he talks only of the custom, which obtain'd at that time ; but he was of a very different opinion as to the right of Bishops, as will appear by his own words. “ But if you ask here, why he that is “ baptiz'd in the Church, does not receive the Holy Ghost “ (whom we all assert to be given in Baptism) but only “ by the hands of a Bishop ? You must know that this “ practice comes down to us grounded upon this authori-“ ty, that it was some time after our Lord's ascension, that “ the

* *Pag. 224.* † *Can. 77.* ‡ *Vid. Dall. de Cult. Lat. relig. p. 265.*
 ‡ *De Confirm. cap. ii. se f. 5.* * *Concil. Arausiac. can. i. vid. c. ii. item Con-
 cil. Hispal. c. vii.* † *Dialog. adv. Lucifer.*

“ the Holy Spirit descended to the Apostles. And we *find* “ *the same thing done in many places*, rather for the honour of “ the Priesthood, than from any obligation of law. Other-“ wise if the Holy Spirit only comes at the prayer of a “ Bishop, they are to be lamented, who, being baptiz’d “ by Presbyters and Deacons in little villages and castles, “ have died before they were visited by Bishops.” * *Jerom* says well that this was *done in many places*; for in some they had a different custom. *Hilary* the Deacon tells us: “ Pres-“ byters confirm’d in *Egypt*, if the Bishop was not pre-“ sent.” † And the Council of *Orange* says: “ If Here-“ tics at the point of death desire to become Catholics, “ and a Bishop is not to be had, they may be confirm’d “ by Presbyters with Chrism and the Benediction.” ||

But now he *appeals for this to a higher testimony, that of the Holy Scripture*. Where, says he, *we find Philip the Evangelist, of no mean figure in the Church, converting the Samaritans, and giving them Baptism*: but there, as a modest man, he *stopt*: he *would keep within the bounds of his office, and not meddle with the Episcopal busynesses*. Thus the passage is to be render’d, the Translator left out somewhat of his Author in this place. In answer, I observe some Churchmen pretend the Bishops are successors to the Evangelists, and so are superior, as *Timothy* and *Titus* were, to ordinary Presbyters. And truly that Evangelists were plac’d in an higher degree, than Pastors, is plain enough from the Apostle, *Eph. iv. 11*. Nay, if *St. Paul* commands *Timothy* the Bishop only to do the work of an Evangelist; ‡ how comes it to pass the Bishops are now got above the Evangelists? And how shall we be sure of *Philip’s modesty*, that *he would not meddle with Episcopal busynesses*? I wish our Author had clearly explain’d to us, for what reason we ought to account *Philip* the Evangelist inferior to Bishops, and *Timotky* in like manner an Evangelist equal to them. But let us hear the rest: *He reports the success of his preaching to the Apostles; who sent two of their own body to confirm these Proselytes by imposition of hands*. But this is the the thing to be prov’d, that their solemn benediction was of the same nature with the Church of *England’s Confirmation*. But he now moves a question upon this:

Now if Philip was as much empower’d to confirm his converts, as to initiate them by Baptism; what occasion was there for two of the

* *Ibid.*† *In Eph. iv. 11.*|| *Can. II.*‡ *2 Tim. iv. 5.*

the Apostolic order to be sent from Jerusalem to a foreign people, to do that for them, which, according to the principles of our Adversaries, Philip, or any other inferior Minister, might have done as well ? * The answer is easy. The Doctor was mistaken in affirming Philip, or any other Pastor, inferior to the Apostles, might according to our opinion have perform'd this. For we think, the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost were bestow'd by the Apostles, who alone had that inherent power. I have already said, it seems more probable, that the Apostles did not lay hands on all the believing *Samaritans* ; but bestow'd those excellent gifts, which at that time accompanied this rite, upon some particular persons, design'd to some sacred function, for the benefit of the whole congregation. Hence when any person that was converted was baptiz'd alone, and there was no such congregation of Christians, he was not sent to the Apostles to be confirm'd. Thus the Eunuch was baptiz'd by the same *Philip*, but we read nothing of his being ever confirm'd by the Apostles. And yet if every Christian might have obtain'd those gifts of the Spirit, who can believe the Eunuch would not have return'd to the Apostles ? The antients thought he receiv'd at his Baptism the ordinary gifts of the Spirit necessary for Christians ; which is also expressly asserted in some copies of the New Testament. And so it was in *Jerom's*, who therefore says : “ Unless per-
“ haps the Eunuch, baptiz'd by *Philip* the Deacon, is to be
“ thought not to have had the Spirit ; ” concerning whom the Scripture speaks thus : “ *And they both went down into the water, and Philip baptiz'd him. And when they departed from the water, the Spirit came upon the Eunuch.* ” † And Dr. Mills tells us, this reading is found in several very antient copies.

Hitherto I have consider'd, and, I hope sufficiently refuted, what our Author has alledg'd, both for the antiquity and ground of this rite of Confirmation, as 'tis used in the Church of *England*. He now proposes somewhat we very much dislike in it : But we, as well as the *Papists*, exalt Confirmation to the dignity of a Sacrament. To this he answers : How do the objectors know this ? Can they search our hearts, and see our thoughts ? We neither can do it, nor do we pretend to it ; but we gather this from the very words of the Liturgy, as was said in the beginning of this Chapter.

Our

Our Author here reckons up the advantages of Confirmation; but I forbear to say any thing concerning them, because our opinion may be easily enough perceiv'd, by what has been already said. We dont much find fault with the rite it self; nay we think it might be made useful. However, I cannot but wonder, our Adversaries, who attribute so great usefulness to it, have hitherto taken no more care of their own people, and have not made it their business so to order matters, that all persons of their Communion may be in a capacity of receiving this so great benefit. How many baptized persons of their Church are there here in *England*, who never have any opportunity of being confirm'd by the Bishop? Nay how many are there in both the *Indies*, who must absolutely despair of it? If the advantages of Confirmation are so very great, and none but Bishops have the power, why dont they create more Bishops to administer it? Why do they commit to the single Bishop of *London* so vast a Diocese, which 'tis impossible for him to serve, in this most profitable rite? Certainly if our Adversaries believe themselves, when they are extolling Confirmation; they seem to have a much greater regard to the honour of their Bishops, than to the edification of the Church.

Our Author in the conclusion of this Chapter cites Mr. *Calvin*, who says: *Such an imposition of hands, only by way of benediction, I like well, and would gladly see it refor'd to its primitive [rather, its pure] use.** And he might have cited several Dissenters, who have in their writings said as much for it as Mr. *Calvin*. But any one who reads all that Mr. *Calvin* says about it, will find that he shrewdly exposes our Author's opinion, and the arguments with which he defends it in this Chapter.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Surplice, and other Ecclesiastical Habits.

I Will here premise, as I use to do, a few things, that the reader may be acquainted with our opinion, and easily see what is the thing here in controversy.

1. We

1. We dont say, the Habits we dispute about are in themselves unlawful. The form, the color, or the matter of men's Garments, is of it self, neither good, nor bad. And if these Linnen Garments were from their common use reckon'd decent, no body would deny them to be also decent in divine service. Wherefore,

2. Since these Linnen Garments are neither in their own nature, nor by any use receiv'd among us, more decent than others; and yet our Adversaries pretend they are injoin'd by virtue of the Apostles words, who commands *all things to be done decently and in order* ;* we think they have no reason to alledge the Apostles authority in behalf of their appointment. In St. Paul's account, those things only are indecent, which are contrary to the law of nature, or Scripture, or to the common use of the country, where we live; as is manifest to those who compare the xiv and xi Chapters of the *1 Corin. t*h. together. If therefore these be avoided, all things are done decently.

3. We see a kind of sanctity and holiness attributed to these Garments. Thus Dr. N. calls Minister's ordinary habit *profane*; and thinks it not fit they should come in it to offer up public Prayers, or to administer the Sacrament. But to us it seems superstitious, for men to place an holiness in a thing, in which God has placed none; and therefore we are of opinion, that the Garments which are common to Ministers with other men, and which are decent in their ordinary use, are also fit enough for Ministers in the execution of their sacred office; nor do we make any distinction here, as tho' one Garment was holier than another.

4. Since these Garments are reckon'd among the ceremonies of the Church of *England*, what she declares of them in general, she must be understood to think of these Garments in particular. Now thus she expresses her opinion in the Preface to the Liturgy: " Other [ceremonies] there be, which altho' they have been devised by man; yet 'tis thought good to reserve them still, as well for a decent order in the Church, (for the which they were first devised) as because they pertain to edification, whereunto all things done in the Church (as the Apostle teacheth) ought to be refer'd."

And

And afterwards speaking of the Christian religion, they say: 'Tis " content only with those ceremonies, which do " serve to a decent order and godly discipline, and such " as are apt to stir up the dull mind of man to the " remembrance of his duty to God, by some notable and " special signification, whereby he might be edify'd. " Now what could the Pharisee say more, of their ceremony of washing hands before meat? Why ought not we then to reject these ceremonies of the Church of *England*, by the same right, that the Disciples of Christ rejected those of the Pharisees? Will not our Saviour's words as well serve to defend us as them?

5. By the confession of our Adversaries, these Garments have been defil'd with the most abominable superstition by the Papists. What reason then can there be, why a Reform'd Church should affect a likeness to the Whore of *Rome*?

6. The use of these Garments in the Church is not very antient; nor did it begin before the Church was in a very corrupt state.

7. These Garments have been all along an offence to very worthy men, ever since the Reformation; not only to our predecessors, who were call'd Puritans, but to many of the most considerable Bishops of the Church of *England*, as I have shewn in the First Part of this Vindication. 'Tis certain, that upon the account of these Habits, and some other ceremonies, the Church has been depriv'd of the labours of very excellent Ministers, and that the consciences of others have been grievously wounded. Now put the case we are deceiv'd in our opinion of these things; yet it cannot be deny'd, we are deceiv'd in the company of very wise and good men. And since the things themselves are useless, if they are lawful, they who join in them, and without any necessity give an occasion of offence to their Brethren, and for such a trifling matter deprive them of their Ministry, as tho' they were unfit for the sacred office, nay and rend the mystical body of Christ for a thing of nought, must deservedly be reckon'd guilty of a very grievous sin.

Let us now come to our Author: who in the first place defends the richer attire of Bishops, and other Dignitaries. *

I have already treated of these dignities themselves, and therefore think it needless to add any thing concerning the Garment belonging to them. But whereas he says: *Such ornaments are useful, in that they gain respect and good esteem, among the common people, to him that wears them:* It seems to me little and mean, that the Ministers of the Church should by such arts court the favour of the ignorant common people. Christ never recommended to his Apostles the alluring people by them. And if Ministers diligently mind their busness, they will have no reason to fear their being despis'd by the common people. Lazy slothful men may think it worth while to use these arts to gain popular applause; but other Ministers may, indeed, well be ashame'd of them; especially they who continually boast of antiquity, since an old Council has decreed: "That a Bishop should have cheap or ordinary furniture, "and keep a poor table, and maintain the authority be- "longing to his dignity by his faith, and a good life." * And again: "That a Clergyman should shew "his profession both by his Habit, and his gate, and "therefore should not endeavour to be fine in his cloaths "or his shoes. " † Dr. N. does more than once appeal to this same Council, and therefore he ought not to reject their authority.

But he goes on: *The Surplice, which is indeed to be worn by officiating Ministers, cannot justly be the subject of so much clamour and contention. For would these querulous men have Ministers appear at the Prayers and Sacraments, in the same dress as they go about their common affairs in.* We do not think any modest decent garb is profane. If our Adversaries say (as our Author here does) the ordinary Habit of Ministers is *very profane*, we see no reason why it should not be lawful to use such a profane Habit. Truly the Apostles and Ministers of the primitive Church, perform'd the sacred offices in the same dress, in which they *went about the streets*. Under the Old Testament indeed, holy garments were prescrib'd by God's command; but under the New we acknowledge no distinction between sacred and profane garments. And if the Gown the Minister uses in the street, is not fit for divine service, why should not the same be true of his gloves and his shoes, which ordinarily gather more dirt? And if

if his ordinary garb is not holy enough for him to read the prayers of the Liturgy in, why should it be thought fit for the prayer in the Pulpit before sermon, and particularly the Lord's Prayer ? To attribute an holiness to Garments, that have really none, is not only idle, but very superstitious.

Our Adversaries themselves dont neglect this: but when they officiate in their congregations, they put on a long black Cloak for the greater distinction. Why then should they quarrel at us for using a white Garment ?

In using a black Cloak, we attribute no holiness to the form or color of the Garment; nor do we condemn other Garments as profane. It is reckon'd among us a grave and decent habit, and therefore us'd for mourning; when men studiously avoid all finery in their dress. Nay, the wearing black for mourning is not only the custom of many foreign nations to this day, but was antiently us'd by the Jews and Romans. And had *Tertullian* said as much in commendation of the Gown or Surplice, as he has done of the Cloak, our Adversaries would never have made an end of dunning us with it. But we use a Cloak sometimes for our convenience, as 'tis with less trouble put on or off; but prescribe not to any one the use of it. And whereas 'tis said, whether the Minister uses *black or white*, the matter is not great: I have shewn the Liturgy says the contrary. And since our Author himself is of opinion, that if we are restrain'd to any particular Garment, it should be of fine white linnen, rather than any thing else: * let us hear what examples he alledges to confirm it.

At our Saviour's transfiguration, he himself, together with Moses and Elias, appear'd in bright raiment as white as snow. The Angels in their appearances are generally said to have appear'd in white. Let our Adversaries then say 'till they become as the Angels, and appear in glory; and in the mean while be content with a less honorable garb, like that which our Saviour ordinarily wore, while he was here on earth. Further, supposing all that our Author says to be true; tho' of Moses and Elias 'tis only said they appear'd in glory; do then Christ, Moses, Elias, and the Angels seem to have appear'd in white for this end, that they might teach us in what color'd Garment a Minister should perform divine offices

offices in the assembly ? If so, why should not the same color be most fit for the whole congregation ? They appear'd with a great brightness, that they might give some illustrious tokens of their presence, and command the more reverence. But what is this to Gospel worship, which is a very plain thing, and a stranger to all such pomp and magnificence ? And if our Clergymen must appear cloathed after the manner of our Saviour, when he was transfigur'd and glorify'd ; why do they not use some art to make their countenances shine ? Why are they not *girt about the paps with a golden girdle* ? for so Christ appear'd to *John.** Certainly it has been a prejudice to the Church, that the Clergy have chosen to imitate our Saviour rather as shining in glory, than as he liv'd humble and mean in the world.

Our Author likewise alledges *the Elders in the Revelation.* But if there is any force in this argument, the Papists may likewise by it defend their use of incense. But I refer our Adversaries to their own writers, Mr. Mede, Mr. Whiston, &c. who shew that *Jerusalem* is the scene of that vision, and that all the emblems and figures, made use of in it, are taken from the *Jewish* worship. And if any thing could be concluded from this example, what a strange kind of Christian worship should we soon have, adorn'd with an ark, with harps and trumpers ? The Doctor therefore has very little help'd his cause by the Scripture. Now then he attacks us with another argument, and endeavours to overthrow our cause by our own concessions.

Let it be used by Jews, Pagans, Papists, men of all nations, and all religions; is not this common consent the voice of nature, telling us that those who minister in holy things, should be thus put in mind of that sanctity and pureness of life, which becomes their function; especially since the Spirit of God has approv'd them as proper emblems of this ? †

But what have we to do with the childish worship of the Jews, or the superstition of the Egyptians, and Papists ? Surely they who desire to be accounted Christians, and Protestants, should lay aside all such things. Christ left his religion free from all these trifles : by what right then are they commanded by men ? Such *doctrines and commandments*

mandments of men were dislik'd by the Apostle, * and by our Saviour himself. † Nor indeed was the washing of hands before meat, a ceremony less apt to put men in mind of sanctity and pureness of life, than the Surplice, &c.

But let us now see, with what truth our Author says, the primitive Church has in all Ages used this Garment. And the first witness, who is produc'd to this purpose, is *Pontius*, who was *Cyprian's* Deacon, and wrote his life. He says, in giving an account of his martyrdom : *The seat was by chance cover'd with a linnen cloath, that in the moment of his passion he might enjoy the honour of a Bishop.* Whence, says the Doctor, it appears, that *Bishops in those days wore a white Garment by way of distinction.* *Pontius* says nothing of a Bishop's Garment. And if our Author would prove any thing by his words, it should rather be, that Bishops, in those days, used seats cover'd with linnen. But even that does not appear by *Pontius*. That the whole matter then may be perceiv'd, we must take notice of the strain and design of that writer. Now he appears to have been very fond of observing every little trifling circumstance that happen'd, and of improving it with an affected eloquence to the praise and commendation of the Martyr; nor does he ever miss any opportunity of this kind. I will give the reader a few instances out of many. " *He went out, says he, of the house of the Prince, but being himself God's and Christ's Prince, and was enclosed on all sides with the troops of the mix'd multitude. Thus he had the retinue of a prodigious army, as tho' he had come with join'd forces to conquer death.* It was in his way to go through the *Stadium*. This happen'd well, and as tho' it had been order'd on purpose, that he who, having finish'd his combat, ran to receive a crown of righteousness, should pass through the place appointed for the like combats." Now 'tis not safe to fetch arguments from such oratorical flowers. Nor does he seem to me, in the place under consideration, to mean any more, than that the providence of God so order'd it, that *Cyprian* about the time of his passion should have the honour done him by the *Pagans*, which was highly valu'd by them, in those days; as the white color was both by Princes and Priests. But that Bishops in *Cyprian's* time, imitated the magnificence of Princes or idolatrous Priests, I shall not easily believe, 'till I see it confirm'd

by

by clearer testimonies. And indeed, that affected eloquence, which appears in that writer, has so offended some learned men, and particularly that famous Critic *Rigaltius*, that he question'd whether it were a genuine piece; as *Du Pin* observes.* And his words elsewhere, when he is speaking of the three first Ages of the Church, are very full to my purpose. "The Clergy then, says he, were not 'distinguish'd by their Habits, but by the holiness of their 'lives and conversations."† And if we have the three first Ages of the Church on our side, we dont trouble our selves about the rest, which we little value. But however, that there may be no cause to complain, I will examin the testimonies alledg'd.

Conc. Carthag. iv. c. 41. *Let a Deacon use the white Garment only at the time of the oblation or reading.* There are many things which make that Council suspected; as *Du Pin* acknowledges.|| And if the Preface is not genuine, 'tis uncertain what time it was held; otherwise, it must be plac'd in the year 398. Nay, unless that Habit was peculiar to the *African* Churches, I can't see how this very Canon can be so antient; and my reason will presently appear from the testimony of *Socrates*, and *Sordmen*.

In the next place *Chrysost.* 23 *Hom. in Matt.* is refer'd to. But there is not a word about these Garments in that Homily; or in the 23 of the *imperfect work upon Matthew*, that is placed among his works.

Next comes *Hieron. Com. in Ezek.* Religion requires one Habit in the Ministry; another in common use.‡ If our Author design'd to deal fairly with us, why did he not tell us upon what place in *Ezekiel*, *Jerom* speaks thus. But they who intend to deceive their Adversaries, use to shun the light. And that 'tis thus in the present case, will not be doubted by him that reads the whole passage in *Jerom*. 'Tis upon *Chap. xliv. ver. 17.* *And it shall come to pass, that when they enter in at the gates of the inner court, they shall be cloathed with linnen Garments.* But *Jerom*, as well as *Ezekiel*, is there speaking of the Garments of the *Jewish Priests*; as appears by the words that immediately follow those which our Author has cited: "Breeches are well used for the sake of "decency and comeliness, lest going up the stairs of the "altar, and moving about in their ministry, they should "discover their nakedness." Presently after he shews

what Garments were requisite in Christian worship. " That there are holy and spiritual Garments, the Apostle teacheth us, when he says: *Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ.* And in another place: *Put on bowels of mercy, goodness, humility, meekness, and patience, &c.*" But what difference is here made between the *Habit in the ministry*, and that in common use? According to *Jerom's* opinion, it signifies nothing in what habit a good man worships God, so it be but clean and decent, as he hints a little before. By which we learn, " we ought not to go into the Holy of Holies with the dirty cloaths, which we wear every day, in our ordinary busines; but that we should take the Lord's sacraments with a pure conscience, and clean Garments.

Another place of *Jerom* is alledg'd, which might seem more to the purpose.* That we may the better understand it, we must observe that the opinion of *Pelagius*, which *Jerom* undertakes to refute, was, that the glory of cloaths, and ornaments, was displeasing to God. Wherein he had no regard to any religious ceremonies, but only to the finery of the cloaths, which people ordinarily wore. Now *Jerom* thus answers him: " *What offence is it, I beseech you, against God, if I have a fine [or clean, mundiorem] coat? If a Bishop, Presbyter, Deacon, or any of the [other] ecclesiastical orders, wear a white Robe, at the performance of the sacred offices? Have a care, O ye Clergy, Monks, widows, and virgins; you are in danger of finning, unless the people see you in dirty and ragged cloaths. I say nothing of the Laity, who, according to him, openly declare war and enmity against God, if they use costly and gay cloaths.*" I have set down the passage a little more fully than our Author has done. The only thing here that would incline one to suspect this linnen Garment was us'd in *Jerom's* time, is the mention he makes of *candida vestis*, which is translated *a white robe*, but which signifies no more than *a fine garment*. That the word *candidus* has this signification, I have evidenced by sufficient testimonies; for which they, who understand *Latin*, may consult the *Latin* edition, page 359. And since all those epithets, *clean, fine, costly, and gay*, which are oppos'd to *Pelagius's* opinion, who condemn'd the glory of cloaths and ornaments in general, signify the same

* Lib. i. adv. *Pelag.*

same thing in *Jerom*; and since he does not speak of a black, but of a *dirty and ragged* garment, in opposition to this *testis candida*; I think *Jerom* is manifestly to be thus explain'd: "What offence, I beseech you, is it against "God, if a Bishop, Presbyter, &c. at the administration "of the Sacrament, should wear a fine Garment? Not that they actually did so; but he asks, what hurt there were in it, supposing they should?

The like answer may serve to his last authority, from *Greg. Naz. Insom. de Anastas. templo*; as I have shewn in the Latin edition.

Now, I will prove, that the orthodox Clergy, in those days, did not use white Garments, by a notable story. About that time *Sisinnius*, Bishop of the *Novatians*, at *Constantinople*, affected a magnificence in his garb and manner of living, which is taken notice of by Historians, as an unusual thing in a Bishop. For when (as *Socrates* relates it)* he made a visit, cloathed in his white Garments, according to his custom, to *Arsacius* Bishop of the Catholic Church there, one of *Arsacius*'s friends ask'd him this question: "Why he wore a Garment unfit for a Bishop, " and where he found it written that a Bishop should "wear white? *Sisinnius* answer'd him: I would have you "first tell me, where 'tis written that a Bishop should "wear black? But when he that propos'd the first question was at a los to answer this croſs question, *Sisinnius* added: You can never shew me that a Bishop should be "cloathed in black; but *Solomon* gives me a direction, "when he says: *Let thy Garments be always white.* And "our Saviour, we find in the Gospel, used a white "Garment, and shew'd to his Apostles *Moses* and *Elias* "cloath'd in white." This answer of *Sisinnius* we dont deny to have been very shrewd and ingenious: but however, the story fully proves what we bring it for. Had it been usual for Bishops to appear in such a dress, as our Author pretends, when he talks of *Cyprian*, what occasion could there have been to find fault with *Sisinnius* for it? Nay, had it been then used in performing sacred offices, it is not to be thought, *Sisinnius* in his answer would have omitted to mention it. The same story is related by *Sozomen*, *Lib. viii. c. 1.*

Our Author is mistaken, in thinking the vain opinion of men, who use white sometimes to signify purity of life; or the custom of some nations, who wear it *in mourning*, be-

cause expressive of the paleness of death; will serve to defend the use of the Surplice, because that also may properly denote sanctity of life.* For, who does not see the disparity of these things? We dispute about a sacred, and not a civil use of garments. Nor are brides among us ever drest in that manner, upon any such account as he mentions, that ever I heard of; nor could they go to be married in such a garb, without being derided in the streets. But if we may but worship God with those rites only which he has prescrib'd, we are not much concern'd about others, that are used out of worship.

But who can forbear wondering, our Author should be so angry at our saying, they make the Surplice signify purity of life? The reason he brings, is, because (if we may believe him) there is not in any public act of the Church, one word of any purity of life signify'd by it. † And that you may see he is not a little mov'd, he adds: *To ob:est this as a crime to the Church, which she never once mentions, looks not so like the accusation of a fair Adversary, as the spiteful outrage of a harden'd forehead, and intemperate tongue.* But by his leave, if this ceremony be "apt to stir up the dull mind of man, to "the remembrance of his duty to God by some notable "and special signification, whereby he might be edify'd;" as the Church declares of her ceremonies in general; what can the notable and special signification of this ceremony be, if it does not signify purity of life? And further, how is it the outrage of a harden'd forehead and intemperate tongue, to charge a man with believing, that which he himself says may be defended by the authority of the Holy Spirit? Wherefore, since Dr. N. and other Clergymen, not only acknowledge this signification of the Surplice, but endeavour to prove it by the Holy Scriptures; they have no reason to take this accusation so heinously, if the Church did not (as she really does) mention it. It has always seem'd strange to me, our Adversaries should esteem the Papists idolaters, and yet be so fond of their superstitious garb. Surely Tertullian was of quite another mind, when he said: "If it be unlawful to sit in an Idol's temple, what is it to be seen in his habit? What communion is there between Christ and Belial? And therefore flee from idolatry." || And in another place: "No one can appear clean in un-

" clean

“ clean garments. If you put on a filthy garment, that
“ may not perhaps be defil’d by you ; but you can’t be
“ clean by reason of it.” *

C H A P. IX.

Of the Ring in Marriage.

I Shall dispatch this matter in a few words. We think the essence of marriage lies in the mutual compact between a man and woman, whereby they bind themselves to an indissoluble society, as long as they both live. The rites and ceremonies of marriage, we judge, are purely civil ; and so ’tis the magistrate’s part to appoint them. For it is very much to the advantage of the commonwealth, that the contract should be public, that so the breaking of it may be the better prevented. And therefore let the magistrate prescribe whatever civil and decent rites he will, to testify and declare the marriage, subjects are bound to comply with them. And as the giving a Ring in marriage is a civil rite, and not unlawful in itself, all persons are oblig’d to use it, so long as ’tis prescrib’d. We need not therefore trouble ourselves much about our Author’s arguments. The only thing here in question is : Whether it would not be much more adviseable in a Protestant country to abrogate this rite, or at least to alter some things in it, that so no one should need to scruple it ? The Papists reckon matrimony a Sacrament. And in *England* they only are counted the fit ministers of it, who use to administer the Sacraments ; and a Popish rite is retain’d in the most solemn part of marriage, being us’d with the same words which are recited in one of the Sacraments. For these are the words in the Liturgy : “ Then shall they again loose
“ their hands, and the man shall give unto the woman a
“ Ring, laying the same upon the book, with the accustom’d
“ duty to the Priest and Clerk. And the Priest taking the
“ Ring, shall deliver it unto the man, to put it on the
“ fourth finger of the woman’s left hand. And the man
“ holding the Ring there, and taught by the Priest, shall
“ say : With this Ring I thee wed, with my body I thee

N n 4

“ wor-

“ worship, and with all my worldly goods I thee endow, “ *in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*” Now I appeal to all impartial judges, who are most to blame; our side, who have desir’d the government to alter this; or our Adversaries, who have oppos’d us herein?

But our Author alledges *Tertullian*, as a defender of this rite. * And truly a man can hardly be in his senses, who disapproves of *Tertullian’s* judgment; that the ceremonies of the Heathen, which are defil’d with no superstition, may lawfully be us’d by Christians in civil matters. But every one knows, he much dislik’d all their superstitious rites, as appears by his Treatise *De Corona*. But that we may be the more certain of his judgment, I will set down the place our Author refers to, a little more fully than he has done: “ Let them set up lights that have no light “ themselves. Let them place at their doors lawrels, which “ are afterwards to be burnt, for whom fire is prepar’d in “ the other world; the signs of darkness, and the presages “ of punishment may well belong to them. Thou art the “ light of the world, and a tree always green. If thou “ hast renounc’d their temples, dont make a temple of “ thy own door. Nay which is more, if thou has renounc’d those whore-houses [idolatrous temples] dont “ make thy own house look like a new one.” † What could be said better, or more agreeable to our opinion? But he goes on: “ As to the ceremonies of private and “ ordinary solemnities, as the plain Gown which young “ men wore, Espousals, Marriages and giving Names, I “ dont suppose there is any danger from the idolatry which “ they practise upon those occasions. For the reasons are “ to be consider’d, for which any thing is done; and those “ I think are innocent of themselves: because neither “ mens peculiar garb, nor the Ring, nor matrimony, is deriv’d “ from the worship of any Idol.” These last words in *Italic* are what our Author cites.

Another advocate for the Ring is *Austin*; who we are told calls the Ring, the *sponsi pignus*, the *bridegroom’s pledge*; and *arrha sponsalis*, the *betrothing pledge*. *Aug. Serm. [de tempore] CLXXIX.* This Sermon is attributed to *Fulgentius*, and is the *XLVIII* among his works; but, according to the

Critics,

Critics, is neither his nor *Austin's*. Whoever was the author, he says nothing of the Ring in marriage, but alludes to a chain. He does not call this *sponsi pignus*, for *sponsi* belongs to *filii*. “ *Graduntur cum domino filii sponsi, pignus ac-cepturi Spiritus Sancti*, i. e. The Apostles, the children of the bridegroom, go along with their Lord, being about to receive the pledge of the Holy Spirit. He [that is, Christ, *Luke xxiv. 50.*] lift up his hands, and bless'd them, he gave them the precious pledge of the marriage gift, a chain not adorn'd with gold and jewels, but made up of the links of charity; being bound with which, they might follow him to the Lamb's wife, to *Jerusalem*, their everlasting country.”

As to those words, *with my body I thee worship*, they are differently understood. Mr. Selden interprets them: *I give thee my body.** But perhaps our Author's sense of them may not be amis: for the English verb, *to worship*, is us'd with reference not only to God, but to men. Thus *1 Chron. xxix. 20.* *All the congregation bowed down their heads, and worshipped the Lord and the King.* And so the substantive, *worship*, is once used by our interpreters: *Luke xiv. 10.* *Then shalt thou have worship.* But this sense both of the verb and the noun, is very much out of use, and hardly taken notice of by the common people; tho' we still retain it in some nouns, as, *your worship*, and *worshipful*. But methinks however the Churchmen reckon antiquity their glory in other things; yet in a Liturgy written not for the Clergy alone, but for the people, words that are commonly us'd and easy to be understood, should be prefer'd to those that are antient and obsolete.

C H A P. X.

Of Kneeling at the Sacrament.

This controversy arises from the Rubric in the Liturgy, thus express: “ Then shall the Minister first receive the Communion in both kinds himself, and then proceed to deliver the same to the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, “ [if

* *Ex Heb. lib vi. 21.*

" [if any be present] and after that to the people also in order, into their hands, all meekly Kneeling." There are therefore three things here in debate.

1. Whether this posture be fit and proper in receiving the Sacrament?

2. Whether our Adversaries have a power to impose it upon all? And whether it be lawful for a Minister to refuse the Holy Communion to all those, who scruple the posture, as unlawful on that occasion?

3. What was the custom of the antient Church?

Dr. N. in the first place tells us: *The Gospel has no where prescrib'd our gesture at the Lord's Supper.** And we acknowledge, it has not any where, in so many express words, command'd it. But why should not an argument drawn from Christ's own, and his Apostles example, be thought by our Adversaries sufficient? If the posture they us'd be not necessary, yet what should hinder its being thought lawful? By what right then is it forbidden, as tho' it were unlawful? If our Adversaries dont so much like it themselves; yet certainly there is no equity in their denying those their liberty, who are of another mind. Shall it be thought enough to confirm their usages, if they can find, even in some later ages, any customs a little like them; and shall it not be lawful for us to follow the example of Christ and his Apostles? After this rate, we must not so much propose to ourselves, for our imitation, our Saviour and his Apostles, as the Christians who liv'd in after times; and we must lay a greater stress upon the authority of the latter, than the custom of the former.

But, if we may take our Author's word, this whole matter is *left free to the governors of the Church to order it as they please.* But how do they know, Christ has left it to the governors of the Church to make a law about this, which he would not by any law determine himself; and to make such a law as should be directly contrary to his own practice? When he sent out his Apostles, he order'd them to *teach men to observe all things, whatsoever he had commanded them.* † Why then should men impertinently obtrude, not Christ's, but their own laws upon us? Dare they affirm, their own prudence, or care of the Church is greater, than Christ's? Our Author therefore had no ground to say,

Christ

* Pag. 298.

† Matth. xxviii. 20.

Christ has left this wholly to the governors of the Church ; namely, to make laws in doubtful cases, after their own pleasure. Let us suppose some persons are (as they really are) in doubt, whether it be lawful to receive the Sacrament Kneeling : What will the consequence be, if this posture is requir'd of all communicants ? Truly, they who are thus doubtful, must either wrong their own consciences by communicating, or they must withdraw from the communion of those that make such a law. But now since there can be no pretence of any necessity of making such a law ; and since there is no controversy about the other posture, wherein these people desire to be left at their liberty ; 'tis evident such a law is not for the edification, but the destruction of the Church. So that the governors of the Church cannot rightfully make any such law ; because 'tis contrary to the end and design of that power which is lodg'd in them.

But our Author asks : *Why dont our Adversaries tread more exactly in the steps of Christ ?* 'Tis well known, that when he instituted this Sacrament, he lay along, according to the custom of his country, and all his Disciples lay on beds by him. *Why dont they restore this antient and long disused custom, that they may the more religiously conform to the pattern of Christ ?** To this I answer :

1. There is no great difference between our sitting, and their manner of lying. For theirs was a kind of sitting, with a little more leaning of the body than ours. And the difference of these two is so very small, that our Interpreters take no notice of it ; but always, as far as I remember, translate the word, whereby their posture is express'd, by *sitting*. And when the Churchmen pourtray Christ giving the Sacrament to his Disciples, they represent him not as lying, but sitting after our fashion. Thus does Bp. Patrick in a copper Cut, prefix'd to his *Christian Sacrifice*. But whatever difference there is between our posture, and that which Christ used, 'tis to be ascrib'd not to any religious consideration, but only to our different manner of eating. Wherefore, since our Adversaries endeavour to defend their Kneeling by the antient Christians standing, a posture expressive of adoration ; why may not we as well defend our sitting, which is a table posture, by Christ's lying along ? Certainly there is not a greater

greater difference between our posture, and his ; than there is between our Adversaries Kneeling, and the antient Christians standing.

2. From the example of Christ and his Apostles, 'tis certain, they did not pretend to a posture of adoration in receiving the Sacrament : And therefore no good reason can be given, why such a one should now be requir'd.

3. The objections of our Adversaries, that sitting is *a too bold and saucy posture, far from a becoming modesty and humility, or a monstrous and abominable impiety* ; * are prov'd, by the example of Christ and his Apostles, to be impertinent cavillings. For all these things may with as much, nay with more reason, be said of lying along, than of sitting ; as any one who will consider the matter, will easy perceive.

4. The reason why our Saviour chose that posture (if we do not mistake it) makes very much to establish our opinion. For he seems to have design'd, that we should at this banquet place ourselves rather after the manner of persons feasting, than of those that are adoring. This was practis'd of old, in the like solemnities, with God's approbation ; and our Saviour seems upon that account to have set us his example in this ordinance. I think the Jews always sat (I mean in their manner) in all their eucharistical feasts, if we except that one only which they kept in Egypt. 'Tis probable they celebrated that feast, which they appointed in honour of *Jehovah*, *Exod. xxxii. 5.* in the same manner they used to do those which he himself had commanded. Now they are thus describ'd keeping it, v. 6. *And they rose up early on the morrow, and offer'd burnt-offerings ; and brought peace-offerings ; and the people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play.* Nay, we find God himself approves this posture in eucharistical feasts ; *Ezek. xliv. 3. 1 Sam. xvi. 5. 11.* Hence therefore, we say, a table posture is, in the judgment of God himself, proper enough for a feast of thanksgiving. Nor is that custom to be lightly alter'd, which Christ has translated from the *Jewish* worship into his own, and has confirm'd by his own example.

Further, our Author demands : *Why we dont reduce the whole number of communicants to twelve ?* The acuteness of these men is admirable. They would persuade us, 'tis as indifferent a matter to reduce the communicants to a certain

* *Iid. p. 300 & 304.*

tain number; as 'tis, whether we receive the Lord's Supper in an adoring, or a table posture. And yet the contrary is manifest from the practice of the Church of *England*; for otherwise, why have they not as well made a law for the one, as for the other? Besides, we know from the writings of the Apostles, that no precise number is fix'd. For who is not sensible, the whole Church should partake of the Lord's Supper? But where, I beseech you, has Christ hinted to us, he would not have any Church of his exceed the narrow limits of the number twelve? Does the whole Church of *Corinth*, which used to come together into one place to eat the Lord's Supper, seem to our Adversaries to have been of no larger extent, than this? I appeal now to all impartial judges, whether these so trifling, foolish arguments, are not a sign our Adversaries want better? And much of the same sort is his next question: *Why we dont celebrate it in the upper room of the house?* To answer which, would be only to abuse the reader's patience. Let us therefore proceed to the rest.

But there is no necessity, why we should be confin'd to receive the Sacrament in the same posture we use at common feasts.* Nor is there any necessity, why you should prescribe that posture alone, which we never read was used by Christ and his Apostles. But he adds his reason: *All things are not decent in the one case, which may be very proper in the other.* Who knows not that? Who ever said, or so much as dream'd the contrary? We dont think all those things are decent in the Sacrament, which are very proper in feasts; but only those which our Saviour had been pleas'd to take out of them. Dr. N. therefore does but lose his labour, while he endeavours to shew us, wherein the Eucharist differs from a feast. Nor is what he infers from thence much to his purpose: *Now since these customs at other feasts are not admitted here, why may not sitting, for the same reason be changed, as too bold and saucy a posture, far from a becoming humility and modesty, when we are so immediately in the presence of God?* Say you so? Do you think the posture the Apostles used, with our Saviour's approbation, was too bold and saucy, or not sufficiently humble and modest? Dont you see whom you injure by those reproaches? truly, not so much the Dissenters', as the Apostles, and our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ himself.

Just

Just like this is what he says, when he calls sitting *a monstrous and abominable impiety*: * And when he asks, as he thinks, wittily; but, as I think, fawcily, not to say wickedly: Whether we should sit still like unthinking wretches, as if we were thinking of something else, or as if we had too mean an opinion of the ordinance to rise up to it? † But since these things strike at the Master himself, it becomes us, his Disciples, to bear them patiently. Further, there is not the same reason for the other circumstances of a feast, mention'd by our Author. For those customs which he says are *cast out* of the Sacrament, were really never *admitted* into it, as the Translator has express'd it; nor does the least sign of them appear in the first institution; and therefore they are deservedly kept out of it: but the posture in receiving it is as old as the institution itself. Nor must that be as lightly rejected, wherein Christ has been pleas'd to set us an example, as that wherein we have him not for a pattern. Nor does the *immediate presence of God* deter us from imitating our Saviour in this matter; since his presence was as immediate, when our Lord sat at the table. The Jews also celebrated their *eucharistical feasts* sitting, in the *immediate presence of God*. For they eat *before the Lord*, Deut. xii. 7. 18. xv. 20, &c. God at the same time giving them to partake of a part of those things which were his, as being first offer'd to him. These *Jewish solemnities* were (as our Author calls the *Lord's Supper*) the *sacred pledges of divine mercy*; ‡ nay, and of the communion and friendship there was between God and his people.

Hitherto we have found our Author very angry with us; for our celebrating the *Lord's Supper* after the manner of a feast. But now he changes his mind on a sudden, and commends his own side, because they, as much as we, imitate the custom of those who are feasting; and, not very consistently, makes that to be a matter of praise and honour in them, which just now was a great fault in us. Thus he discourses: *But our Adversaries themselves, by their posture of sitting, no more represent a feast than we do by Kneeling.* But with his good leave, since sitting has been the received posture in all feasts sacred and prophane, and we read not of Kneeling's being used in either; in this respect we certainly come nearest to the manner of a feast. Nor can he strengthen

strengthen his argument by what he adds : For they dont place themselves round about a table, with their servants at their backs ; * What's this to the purpose, since neither do servants stand at the backs of those that kneel ? but sit dispers'd about their Meeting-house, as at other times ; and the elements are brought to them by some principal man of the congregation, while they sit and look about them more like spectators than guests. But we come and kneel down about the holy table, and the elements are administred to us by the hands of the Priests and Deacons ; and so we have the resemblance of a feast, tho' a very sacred and venerable one, full of the highest devotion and piety. When Christ first gave the Sacrament to his Apostles, they could all conveniently enough sit together at one table. But what course they took afterwards, when the number of communicants was increas'd ; whether they used to come to the table one after another ; or whether the elements were carried to them, being at a distance from the table ; this, I say, is altogether uncertain : and therefore I would never contend with any man about it. This, however, I think is certain, that it was not antiently esteem'd absolutely necessary that persons should come to the table. *Justin Martyr* tells us, the Deacons used to give the elements to every one present, and carry them to those that were absent. † Since then he says nothing of the people's coming to the table, and tells us those who were absent, and could not come to the table, used yet to receive ; 'tis not probable the custom then obtain'd, which our Author so much commends : And if they had us'd all to come to the table, he that administred might have deliver'd the elements to some at least, if not to all the communicants, without the Deacons assistance ; as we see it practis'd in the Church of *England*. I take it also to be uncertain, whether Christ deliver'd the elements himself into the hands of each of the Apostles ; or whether he gave them to him that sat next to him, to be handed round from one to another. In this we take different ways, without quarrelling with one another. But the custom our Author disapproves, was not long since receiv'd in his own Church, or at least not forbidden ; as appears by the words of the Synod of 1640. “ We judge it fit and convenient ---- that all “ communicants, with all humble reverence, shall draw
“ near

“ near and approach to the holy table, there to receive the
 “ divine mysteries, which have heretofore in some places been
 “ unfitly carried up and down by the Minister ; unless it shall be
 “ otherwise appointed in respect of the incapacity of the
 “ place, or other inconvenience, by the Bishop himself in
 “ his jurisdiction, or other Ordinaries respectively in
 “ theirs.” * And to speak the truth, in many of our assem-
 blies the communicants could not come all to the table, one
 after another, without a great inconvenience. But even in
 the Church of *England*, no one comes to the table, but the
 Minister. Our Churchmen, dreaming of I know not what
 holiness in the table itself, inclose it with rails at about six
 foot distance ; and so the vile Laity come but to the rails, be-
 ing thought unworthy to come to the table, tho' they are
 counted worthy to receive the elements. This base kind
 of superstition our Lord reprov'd of old in the *Pharisees*,
Matth. xxiii. 16, 17, 18, 19. But how, I beseech you, do
 these things, as our Author pretends, suit a feast ? who ever
 knew the guests at a feast kept off from the table, by rails set
 round about it ? Surely this no more expresses the resem-
 blance of a feast, than the posture they use. As to the nature
 of this Sacrament, we have the same notion with our Adver-
 saries ; and our Author is unjust in going to fasten another
 upon us. I therefore think it needless to say any thing of the
 two next Sections, till he comes to these words :

Indeed the *Socinians*, who own nothing in this Sacrament but a commemoration, do, agreeably enough to their principles, sit at the receiving of it : but for our Adversaries to imitate these men, whose opinions in other things they detest, shews a genius not dispos'd to weigh things impartially, but precipitate and prejudic'd in favour of a party, and not apt to consult the common interest of Christianity. † We fear not to call this an odious calumny, since we herein imitate the custom of Christ and his Apostles, and not the *Socinians*. But 'tis a shame for a man to be chargeable with the fault he reproves in others. See how very easily his argument may be retorted upon himself and his party. The Papists indeed, who think the bread and wine in the Sacrament are chang'd into the very body and blood of Christ, do, agreeably enough to their own principles, kneel at the receiving of it : but for our Adversaries to imitate these

these men, whose opinions in other things they detest, shews a genius not dispos'd to weigh things impartially, &c.

But our Author uses another argument, namely, that this is the fittest gesture for penitents: and now he describes the Lord's Supper, as tho' it serv'd for nothing else but to promote repentance. But we say, that posture does not well suit an eucharistical, or thanksgiving feast; and we pay more deference to the approbation of God under the Old Testament, and the example of Christ under the New, than we do to the judgment of the wisest of men.

But our Author would confirm, or at least illustrate the point by a comparison: *Suppose a traitor has obtain'd a pardon from his prince; and that when he receives it, he should be so far from falling down on his knees to give thanks, that he would not so much as rise up, pretending a great many idle scruples, left by this expression of respect, he should seem to idolize his prince: who would not judge such a wretch worthy of a thousand deaths? But would any impartial person censure this disrespect to a mortal prince, as a piece of pride not to be endur'd, and not much more resent the affronts offer'd to the majesty and authority of almighty God?* *

But this comparison is not made fairly. He should rather have suppos'd, that the prince had been accustom'd to deliver his pardons to rebels sitting, and had long before declar'd his approbation of that posture in receiving them; and that it was as yet doubtful, whether he lik'd of any other. When the case is thus put, as it ought to be, not only would no body judge him worthy of a single death, but all men would acknowlege he behav'd himself very well. And as soon as it shall be prov'd, that herein affronts are offer'd to the majesty and authority of almighty God, we will leave this practice. For notwithstanding what he may say to the contrary, we do nothing in this matter out of pride and disrespect; and if it be but made appear to be more pleasing to God, we will thankfully receive these pledges of our redemption, not only Kneeling, but prostrate and rolling in the dust. But he goes on:

Besides, that festival gesture, which our Adversaries so much contend for, was never so much as heard of in the first ages. For the primitive Christians, in veneration of Christ, always receiv'd Kneeling or Standing: As for sitting, it was never thought of. † But what need have we of examples; when those of Christ

O o

and

and his Apostles are so clearly and plainly set before us in the Scripture? If the practice of the primitive Christians should be of any authority with us, certainly that of the Apostles may well claim the chief authority, if it were only because they were the first Christians. Wherefore while they boast of some later examples, we glory in the practice of the most antient of all Christians. Nor will it be amiss here to take notice, how very dangerous 'tis to allow any authority in these matters, to uninspir'd men, however famous and wise they may have been; since we see, our Adversaries are so prone from thence to reject the authority of Christ and his Apostles.

If any Heretic had been so audacious as to attempt the introducing of it into this part of divine worship, the most devout persons had certainly started back from it, as from a monstrous and abominable impiety. I neither know what Heretic he means (for I suppose the Apostles were not Heretics in his account) nor whence he has taken this. And since he alledges no witness of what he says, let him answer for the truth of it.

But there are very probable reasons and grounds to imagine, that our posture of Kneeling was the practice of all antiquity. Many great men have thought Kneeling at the Sacrament was never used in the Church before the time of *Honorius III.* or *Gregory IX.* Popes of the 13 Century. I will not now inquire whether it might not be a little older; but our Author's assertion is not grounded upon the authority of any one antient writer, nor can it ever be prov'd. If our Adversaries can pretend antiquity here, there is nothing which they may not with as good reason defend by it. But 'tis no new thing for them to attempt to wind that with craft to serve their own purposes, which they see to be most directly contrary to them. 'Tis well known from *Justin Martyr's Apology*, which I have had so frequent occasion to mention, that Christians used to meet and receive the Lord's Supper every Lord's day; but it is certain in the third and following Centuries, they never worship'd Kneeling upon those days. Hence 'tis undoubted, that another posture was then us'd at the Sacrament. Nay, the antients reckon'd that unlawful, which the Churchmen practise, as often as they administer the Sacrament on a Lord's day. And yet here too he appeals to antiquity. For thus he argues:

For what can be the reason of that antient injunction, when they had daily Sacraments, that they should stand in the congregations all Sundays and weekdays between Easter and Whitsuntide, if Kneeling had not been the practice at other times ? By the same argument it might be prov'd that the primitive Christians kneel'd at the reading of the Scriptures, and the Sermon, as well as the receiving the Sacrament. As to the thing it self, they always pray'd at other times Kneeling ; but on Lord's Days, and all the while between *Easter* and *Whitsuntide*, they counted it unlawful to do so. A notable place in the *Apostolical Constitutions* will make this plain : " What apology will he make to God, who does not assemble on the Lord's Day, to hear the saving word concerning the resurrection ? on which also we pray thrice, standing, in memory of him who arose in three days ; on which is the reading the Prophets, the preaching the Gospel, the offering of the sacrifice, and the gift of the holy food." * So that when they pray'd to God on the Lord's Days, they, contrary to their custom on other days, stood ; but nothing of this nature is said of the Lord's Supper. Thus also the Canon of the Council of *Nice*, alledg'd by our Author, is to be understood : " Because there are some who kneel on the Lord's Day, and the time between *Easter* and *Whitsuntide* ; to the end, that all things may be alike observ'd in all places, it seem'd good to the holy Council that men should pray standing." †

But the Doctor farther asks : *Why does Gregory Nazianzen tell us, his sister Gorgonia fell on her Knees before the Altar, if Kneeling at the Sacrament had not been the custom of those days ?*

The reason is plain enough : For *Gorgonia* therefore fell on her knees, because she offer'd her prayers to God ; and that posture has always been thought the most fit for prayer. And *Nazianzen's* words shew this was the cause of her Kneeling : " And with a loud voice she call'd upon him, who is worship'd upon the Altar." ‡ From these words the Papists endeavour to establish the adoration of the elements. And to say the truth, if the holiness of the Altar is so great upon the account of the elements bless'd there, that we ought to worship towards it ; I dont see,

why we should not also worship towards the elements themselves, which must have a greater holiness. But there is not a word concerning the Sacrament, and so neither argument is of any force. But if any one ask, why she kneel'd in the Church and at the Altar rather than any other place? I answer: She might perhaps think, her mind would be more excited to prayer in so holy a place, or that her supplications would there be more prevailing with God. Whether that fancy of hers has any good foundation, or does not rather favour of superstition, I leave to the judgment of others.

*Neither is Kneeling at the Sacrament deriv'd (as they pretend) to us from the Papists. ** If it be not deriv'd to them from the Papists, whence then have they receiv'd it? But mind now our Author's pleasant reason for this: *Sitting is in greatest reputation with them, as well as with our Dissenters.* What then? because both are us'd by the Papists, is it necessary that neither, or both of them, must have risen from their custom? If he says, that for this reason neither of them rise thence, how will he make good his consequence? If he says both of them are deriv'd from the Papists, we will believe him, when he can prove that sitting had its rise among the Papists, as well as Kneeling. But what is this to our Author's purpose, who undertook to prove Kneeling was not a Popish rite? Perhaps what comes next may seem more pertinent: *When the Pope himself communicates, to signify his equality with God, he sits on a throne in great state, as a worthy guest at God's table.* Can the reader forbear laughing? Kneeling at the Sacrament is no Popish rite; because one person, the Pope, sits, when he communicates. 'Tis not indeed a rite us'd by the Pope himself; yet 'tis Popish, i. e. Papistical, prescrib'd by the Pope, and us'd by that whole communion, the Pope alone excepted. But what Popish writer ever gave this account of the matter, that *to signify his equality with God, he sits on a throne?* His own sins are heavy enough upon him, and there is no need to add more to his load by such false calumnies. And if this business be throughly examin'd, it makes for our cause. For tho' the Papists are oblig'd to defend Kneeling at the Sacrament, and the adoration of it, for the sake of their transubstantiation; yet they are not able to deny the Apostles receiv'd

receiv'd it in a different posture. And for this reason the Pope communicates fitting, *to signify not his equality with God*, but his imitation of the Apostles.* Further, if the reason alledg'd by our Author were true, what could it signify to us? When Christ and his Apostles have taught us any thing by their example, we dont presently think it becomes unlawful, if the Pope of *Rome* practises perhaps the same, for quite another reason, and that a very bad one. We have herein no regard to the Pope. If he has polluted Christ's institutions, let him look to it; we endeavour, as much as we can, to restore them to their antient purity, by removing all the corruptions, which have been mix'd with them. Nor are we so foolish as to think every thing which he has retain'd in his Church, the Synagogue of Satan, must needs presently be unlawful, and fit to be rejected; for then we must not retain the Sacrament it self, nor even the worshiping a Deity.

C H A P. XI.

Of the observation of Holidays.

CONCERNING this matter, I have written somewhat largely, in my Letters in answer to Dr. Wells. I shall here therefore borrow some things from them, for the explaining our opinion.

1. We think God has appointed one certain day in the week, for the thankful remembrance of those mercies, which he has in common bestow'd upon us. Upon that therefore, as often as it returns, all Christians are bound to employ themselves in meditating upon God's works of creation and redemption, in praising God, and in other religious exercises. Hence we judge it needless for men, by their authority, to appoint other days of the same nature; and desire them, who usurp such a power, to produce the commission they have for it.

2. It seems probable to us, that God would not have us observe these yearly Holidays; because we meet with nothing in his word, whereby we can fix the times of the year, when those things happen'd, which our

* *Vid. Alex. Hales de Missa Par. ii. quæst. 12. p. 4.*

Adversaries pretend are the occasion of them. There are but four of them which we can assign to their proper season ; and they are *Easter*, *Whitsuntide*, *Good friday*, and *Ascension day*. But the Scriptures tell us the exact times of all these : not that we should yearly observe them, but for other reasons, easy enough to be perceiv'd, but too long to be related. Concerning two of these, we have no great dispute ; for they always fall on Lord's Days, which are holy by God's appointment. And it seems ridiculous and superstitious, that men should endeavour by their orders to make these more holy than the rest, since all Lord's Days are by divine institution equal in that respect. As to the other Holidays, they cannot by any arguments be prov'd to be plac'd on those days, whereon the pretended occasions of them really happen'd. Nay, the great *Scaliger*, and many other learned men, have demonstrated the weakness and falsity of those reasons by which five of them are fix'd, viz. The *Annunciation* of the B. V. Mary ; the *Nativity* of St. John Baptist ; the *Nativity*, and the *Circumcision* of Christ ; and the *Purification* of the B. V. Mary. For they who settled the Calendar as it now is, went upon a double grievous mistake, as all now own it to have been ; that *Zacharias*, the Baptist's Father, was Highpriest, and that the time when he was executing his office * was the great day of atonement, spoken of *Lev. xxiii. 23, &c.* And now, since these things are so, who, that has any regard to truth, can say in his prayers on *Christmas day* : " Almighty God, who hast given us thy only begotten Son to take our nature upon him, and as at this time to be born of a pure Virgin, &c." And on the *Purification day* : " Almighty and everlasting God, we humbly beseech thy Majesty, that as thy only begotten Son was this day presented in the temple, in substance of our flesh ; so we, &c." Who, I say, when he is speaking to the great God, in the most sacred duty of prayer, before the congregation, would dare to utter such false things ? Nay, who would not refuse to subscribe to this, as all who are ordain'd by the Bishops are requir'd to do ?

3. We dislike the reason, upon which these Holidays were at first brought in, and the effects which they have since produc'd. We never find in the Old or New

Testament,

Testament, any days appointed to be kept in commemoration of the Saints. And therefore our Adversaries have here neither Scripture precept, nor example, for what they do.

I have before taken notice, there was antiently a very mischievous design to adapt the Christian religion to the rites and customs of the Heathens. This was the beginning of many festivals, while the Christians endeavour'd by this means to draw off the Pagans from their superstition. Hence they fix'd their principal Holidays in those times of the year, which were before observ'd among the Gentiles, with the greatest solemnity. This has been lately observ'd by Mr. *Whiston*, * and long before by Mr. *J. Casaubon*. † But no one has more fully prov'd it from the writings of the antients, than Mr. *Joseph Mede*, in his excellent Treatise of *The Apostacy of the latter times*. || Where he shews at large, in what manner *the doctrine of Devils*, *1 Tim. iii. 1.* that is, as he explains it, the worshiping of *Demons*, or *Saints*, was brought into the Church; and cites, among many other testimonies, these remarkable words of *Theodorit*: “Our “Lord God hath brought his dead [viz. the *Martyrs*] into “the room and place [*the temples*] of your *Gods*, whom he “hath sent packing, and hath given their honour to his *Martyrs*. For instead of the feasts of *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, “are now celebrated the festivals of *Peter* and *Paul*, and “*Thomas* and *Sergius*, &c. and other holy *Martyrs*. ” ‡ We have therefore good reason not to keep these feasts, which had a bad beginning, and were afterwards so pernicious to religion. Nor is there the least sign of any festival observ'd in the three first Centuries, in memory of the Apostles, of Christ's birth, or shewing to the *Gentiles*. Nay, *Justin Martyr* mentions no other Holiday, but the Lord's Day. * And when *Trypho* the Jew objected, that the Christians did not keep sabbaths, or feasts, he does not answer him, according to the sentiments of our Churchmen; that they rejected indeed the *Jewish* sabbaths and festivals, while they kept others in memory of the Apostles; but he argues only, that they had good reason to observe the first day of the week. †

* Harmon. of the Gospel, p. 152. † Exercit. 1. in Baron. soft. 25.
|| Inter. Opera p. 642. ‡ De cur. Cr. Atest. lib. viii. * Apol. ii.
† Dial. p. 36, 47, 59

4. We own, there may happen new occasions of solemn and public fasting, or rejoicing; for which, because they concern the civil state, 'tis the busines of the magistrate to appoint proper days and times. And he only can command all his subjects to observe such fasts, or thanksgivings, when there is occasion for them. But if he neglects his duty, and does not appoint such days, when 'tis manifest to all that he ought; or if abusing his power, he orders days to be kept to a bad purpose; we think every Church has a right to set apart days themselves, or to forbear to observe them that are not well injoin'd. We are to judge, when these more solemn occasions are proper to be kept; not by those things which concern all Christians in common, and at all times, for which a sufficient provision is made by God himself in the instituton of the Lord's Day; but by a careful observation of the providence of God towards the Church, or state. I will make the thing plain by mentioning some instances. The Churchmen are commanded to keep the yearly fast of *Lent*. If you ask the reason, they tell you 'tis, that all may repent of their sins, as they have all sin'd. But now, tho we deny not, that we have all sinn'd; and that sin is a just cause of fasting; yet since our Saviour knew this as perfectly as they can do, why should not this continue, as it was by him left to mens liberty? Our Adversaries alledge nothing new, that has happen'd since he declar'd his mind about fasting, that should give any occasion to this alteration. But if the sins of a people are at any time become very heinous, if God by his providence testifies his displeasure, or if any thing extraordinary is to be sought with more fervent prayers, these are new and special occasions, wherein God calls us to public fasting; and 'tis manifest to all, that a day should be appointed for it: whereas nothing of this nature can be said of the Lent fast. Thus on the other hand, since God has commanded every first day of the week to be kept holy, that we may apply our selves to the praising him as our creator, and especially as our redeemer; the blessing God for the incarnation, death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ, and what ever else he has done to bring about our redemption, is the chief busines of the Lord's Day. By what authority then do officious men set apart other days yearly for the same end? Whenever God vouchsafes to bestow any new and eminent blessing upon us, we own this calls for more solemn thanksgivings; but those that

that equally belong to all Christians, in every age, need no stated solemn festival, beside that weekly one which God has appointed. I would therefore fain have our Adversaries shew us, what new occasions of instituting the festivals of our Saviour, his Apostles, and the Virgin *Mary*, have happen'd since the appointment of the religious observation of the Lord's Day.

Hence 'tis evident, what our Author says of the fasts prescrib'd by *Jehosaphat*, *Josiah*, *Ezra*, and *Esther*, are nothing to the purpose.* For we hold that fasts should at all times be appointed by the Magistrate, as there is occasion. Let us therefore proceed to his other examples :

The feast of *Purim* was establish'd for a perpetual anniversary of thanksgiving to God, for delivering the Jews from the bloody massacre, which Haman had projected against them. That this instance signifies nothing in our controversy, is prov'd by two considerations : First, God seems to have appointed, or at least by some certain tokens to have approv'd of this feast. For if the Book of *Esther* be canonical, as the Churchmen agree with us it is, † inspiration was not ceas'd among the Jews, when that feast was instituted. Secondly, If that feast took its rise not from any special divine precept, but from the appointment of the Jews; yet it no way agrees with our case, because there was a new and special occasion for it. But if our Adversaries would not lose their labour, let them shew us, that the Jews ever instituted anniversary solemnities, in remembrance of those blessings, for the thankful acknowledgment of which a particular day had been before set apart by God's commandment; nay, or of those blessings, which tho' they were before the setting apart that particular day, yet were not order'd to be commemorated therein, or in any other festival. Let them for instance tell us, if they can, when the Jews appointed an anniversary day in memory of the creation, for which God had sanctify'd the seventh day of the week; or when they instituted a yearly festival to bless God for preserving *Noah* and his sons in the flood, or for calling *Abraham*, &c. The feast of *Purim* was very like our Fifth of November, on which we, as well as the Churchmen, bless God for our deliverance from the Gunpowder Plot, and for

for the happy arrival of our Great Deliverer, King *William* of blessed memory.

The feast of *Dedication*, begun by *Judas Maccabæus*, was religiously observ'd for many ages, and honor'd with our Lord's own presence. My second observation, with reference to the feast of *Purim*, might not amiss perhaps be apply'd to this of *Dedication*. But to say nothing of that, how does it appear, that our Lord had any regard to this festival? Our Author had his eye upon those words of the Evangelist: *And it was at Jerusalem the feast of Dedication, and it was winter. And Jesus walked in the Temple in Solomon's Porch.** But how could our Author tell he had any more regard to the feast of *Dedication*, than he had to the winter? I walk'd it may be in *Paul's Church* at *London* on a *Christmas day*, must I therefore be needs said to have done it upon the account of the festival? I am sorry, I profess, learned men should defend a cause, that has no better arguments to support it. Let us hear what the learned Dr. *Lightfoot* says of this matter. He cites then this passage out of the *Hierosol. Megillah*, fol. 70. 4. "There were eighty " five Elders, above thirty of which were Prophets too, " that made their exceptions against the feast of *Purim*, " ordain'd by *Esther*, and *Mordecai*, as some kind of innovation against the law." † Upon which, the Doctor subjoins his own observation: "And yet that feast was but " of two days continuance. 'Tis a wonder then, how " this feast of *Dedication*, the solemnity of which was to " be kept up for eight days together, that had no other " foundation of authority, but that of the Scribes, should " be so easily swallow'd by them." And a little after, upon those words of the Evangelist: *It was winter, and Jesus walked in Solomon's Porch*, he gives us this note: "He " walk'd there, because it was winter, that he might get " and keep himself warm: perhaps he chose *Solomon's Porch* " to walk in, either that he might have something to do " with the Fathers of the *Sanhedrin* who sat there; or else, " that he might correct and chastise the buyers and sellers, who had their shops in that place."

It would be tedious to mention all the festivals, which the primitive Christians set apart in honor of *Christ*, his *Apostles*, and *Martyrs*.

Beside

Beside the Lord's Day, there was no festival set apart in honor of Christ, or his Apostles, in the three first ages of the Church ; as I have observ'd already. The words of Clement of Alexandria are very remarkable concerning this matter : " We are commanded to worship and honor this same person, who we are persuaded is the Word, the Saviour, and Ruler, and thro' him the Father, not upon select days, as some others do ; but we do it always, and by all manner of ways, through the whole course of our lives." * But tho' the antients kept no days in honor of the Apostles, yet we deny not that the feasts of other Martyrs are very antient. But these can do our Adversaries little service. For the primitive Christians thought the martyrdoms, which happen'd among them after the Lord's Day was instituted, gave them new occasions of keeping festivals ; but our Adversaries observe no such for their own Martyrs, as Ridley, Hooper, Farrer, Latimer, Cranmer, &c. nor do they pretend any such reason for their Holidays. Nay, those antient festivals of the Martyrs, if they were at first void of superstition, yet soon degenerated into it ; as is certain from Tertullian, who mentions the *oblations they used in his time to make for the dead, and for their martyrdom on a stated day yearly.* We have therefore the more reason to take warning by their example, and to watch against the first beginnings of superstition. Nor will any one think I say this without cause, who considers with himself what Bishop Mountagu, and some other famous authors of his time, have written concerning the invocation of the Saints.

But our Author brings an argument against us from our own practice. *Will any man say that we have not as much power to set apart times, as persons and places, for religious uses ?* So the Latin should be render'd. As to persons, they are set apart by a divine command ; and we think any time may be so too, if God pleases ; as is evident by our opinion of the Lord's Day. Let therefore our Adversaries shew, their festivals are thus prescrib'd, and they will put an end to the controversy about them. As to places, we think there is now no holiness in them, as I have elsewhere said. The rest of this paragraph is easily answer'd, from what I have now said ; and therefore since there is no need to insist upon it, I hasten to other matters.

As

As to the number of our festivals, which our Adversaries make such ado about, as if by this means working people were starv'd ; if they be reckon'd up, they will not be found more than twenty eight : and they are so divided among the several months, that they come no oftner, than what may well consist with the business of labouring men, even tho' they should strictly observe them. *

This is no fair representation of the case. For first, our Author is out in his reckoning, since they are twenty nine in number. And if we should only consider the matter thus, the Holidays of human institution will be above half as many, as those of divine appointment : But to these we must add two other festivals, viz. the xxixth of May, and the vth of November. And since there is as much reason to forbear working on Fast days, as on those of Thanksgiving, their number ought likewise here to be consider'd. Now the days of fasting or abstinence in the Church of England are all the Fridays in the year, except Christmas day ; all the days in Lent, which, beside the Fridays, are thirty three ; six more in the Ember weeks, three Rogation days, and the xxxth of January. The sum is xxxi Feast days, and xcv Fasting days ; to which if we add the LII festivals of divine appointment, all the Holidays, Feasts and Fasts taken together, make CLXXXVIII. Let now any reasonable persons judge, whether we have not good reason to pity the case of poor working people ? and whether the Fourth Commandment is not deservedly urg'd by us in the present case ; when not the seventh part, but almost half our time is to be devoted to the duties of religion ? We may well here take up the words, which King David with great wisdom utter'd upon another occasion : *Let us now fall into the hand of the Lord, for his mercies are great ; and let me not fall into the hand of man.* † If the Apostle Peter call'd the Jewish ceremonies a *yoke*, which neither they, nor their fathers could bear ; || what would he have said of this, which is much heavier ? Our Author seems to hint, that their festivals are not strictly observ'd ; which is indeed very true now, God having in his tender mercies relax'd that part of their discipline ; yet formerly when they had more power, a man would have been put into the Spiritual Courts, if he went to his work upon a Holiday, after he had been at the Sermon. ‡ But our Author goes on :

Tin

* Pag. 308. † 1 Sam. xxiv. 14. ¶ A. & A. xx. 10. ‡ See part of a Register, p. 36. comp. Q. Eliz. Injunct. 20. A. 1559.

Ten of them fall upon the great solemnities of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide ; at which times no body would work, tho' they were not bound to any religious observance of those seasons. And why so ? Truly I can't perceive, what should make any scruple it. Some of the rest fall on Sundays, on which our Adversaries do not hold it lawful for any man to work ; and for the remainder, they come so seldom, that there is scarce ever above one in a month. Sometimes more, and sometimes fewer, fall on a Lord's Day. If we make a computation thro' the whole cycle of the sun, we shall find there are but **cvi**ii of the festivals, that fall upon the Lord's Day in all that time ; that is not quite four in a year, take one with another ; and as many will fall on the Friday. If we subtract these, there will remain **cxxx** days in a year set apart for religious exercises, besides the Vigils, which I have not regarded in the computation. Let our Brethren then judge, how good the temper of the Church is.

Our Author next proceeds to treat of the particular festivals of the Church of England, and their antiquity.

The feast of the Annunciation was establish'd in the Church in the days of Athanasius, A. D. 240. who calls it one of the Dominical feasts. * Athanasius was not born in the year 240 ; so that I suppose 'tis false printed for 340. I shall say nothing of the testimony, because he has not refer'd us to the place, where 'tis to be found. But I am much out in my gues, or he cites some supposititious writing for true Athanasius.

The feast of the Nativity seems to have been observ'd from the very first beginning of Christianity. The most antient Fathers mention it as such.

'Tis most certain no such feast was observ'd by the Catholics in the three first ages of Christianity : nor can one witness be produc'd of any such feast before the fourth Century, and that well advanc'd too. The first we read of, who observ'd any festivals in honor of Christ, are, if I am not very much mistaken, the heretical followers of Basilides. I will here transcribe a notable passage of Clement of Alexandria ; by which it will appear, that those Heretics celebrated the feast of Christ's Baptism, if not also of his Nativity, at the right time of the year, as they persuaded themselves ; and that the Catholics were uncertain of the

true

true time of his birth, and kept no Holiday in memory of it. "There are some, *says he*, who with greater curiosity fix not only the year, but the day our Saviour was born; which they say was the 28 year of *Augustus*, on the 25 day of the month *Pachon*. The followers of *Basilides* celebrate also the day of his Baptism, spending the whole night before in reading. They say it was in the 15 year of *Tiberius*, on the 15 day of the month *Tubi*. Some say it was the 11 of that month. --- Nay, some of them say, he was born the 24, or 25 of the month *Pharmuthi*."* But neither the 25 of *Pachon*, nor the 24, or 25 of *Pharmuthi* will fall on the 25 of *December*; as Mr. *Lydyat*, our own famous Chronologer, has shown. † The Fathers of the fourth Century imitated *Basilides*'s followers; for then first was the festival of Christ's Baptism instituted; that of his Nativity being remov'd from the 6 of *January* to the 25 of *December*; as *Casaubon* has observ'd. "From that time, *says he*, the 6 of *January* retain'd the name of the *Epiphany*; but they began to give a different reason of the appellation, from what they did before. For that day, that was before kept as the feast of his Nativity, was then observ'd as the day of his Baptism, and of the coming of the Wise Men of the *East*." || The Doctor tells us in the *Latin* edition, that *no one* mentions its beginning. What then? must it therefore have been from the very first beginning of Christianity? How many things are there, whose beginnings are expressly mention'd by no body; which yet are much later than that comes to? I can't but think, 'tis plain from what I have said, that it was the contrivance of the fourth Century. And truly *Chrysostom* expressly mentions the beginning of it, that is, when it began to be kept in his Church, on the 25 of *December*. But the Doctor goes on:

"Twas celebrated in the persecution of *Maximus* [there was no such Emperor at that time. Dr. N. by *Maxim.* meant *Maximinianus*, tho' he should have rather said *Dioclesian*]; who burnt the Christians in the temple of Nicomedia, as they were keeping this feast. *Niceph. Hist. lib. vii. c. 6.*

But

* *Strom. lib. i. p. 340.*

† *Emend. Temp. p. 156. & Can. Chron. p. 83.*

|| *Exercit. i. sect. 11.*

But what a fine witness does he give us of this? A sorry trifling writer of the 14 Century, of no credit. "This "Nicephorus, says *Casaubon*, is a most fabulous writer, and "of no judgment; as is well known to the learned, and "I have before observ'd. Wherefore, whatever he says, "I value it not a rush, except there be some other autho- "rity for it. How often does *Baronius* himself despise, "reject, and confute him?"* Now *Nicephorus*, as far as appears, is the only author of this fine story. Dr. *Cave* thinks he might perhaps have it from *Simeon Metaphrastes*. If that be true, he will not deserve much more credit upon his account; since *Simeon*, tho' an antienter writer, is not less silly and fabulous than himself; of which Mr. *Mede* has given us proof enough.† Nay, there are sufficient evidences, that this story of *Nicephorus* is false. For who can believe, that twenty thousand Christians could at that time meet together in one temple? It does not yet appear, the temples of Christians, during the ten first persecutions, were large enough to contain so great a number. And when our Adversaries find it will be to their purpose, they easily embrace a contrary opinion; as when from the great number of Christians in a city they argue, the whole Church could not be included in the narrow compass of a single congregation. Besides, as this slaughter vastly exceeds all that are mention'd by *Eusebius* and *Lactantius*, 'tis incredible that neither of them should say a word of it, where they particularly treat of the persecution at *Nicomedia*, which was also the place of *Lactantius*'s abode. Nay, *Eusebius*, after he had given an account of this persecution at *Nicomedia*, presently adds: "That the numbers could hardly be reckon'd up of those Martyrs, who afterwards suffer'd in each Province; and especially in *Africa*, *Mauritania*, *Thebais*, and *Egypt*.|| But if twenty thousand were slain together at one time in *Nicomedia*, how could the number of Martyrs be the greatest in those provinces? For *Eusebius* speaks of it as a monstrous thing at *Thebais*, one of those provinces: "That sometimes ten, sometimes above twenty, sometimes near threescore, and sometimes an hundred persons, men with their wives and children, were slain in one day."‡ Let the reader compare the learned

Mr.

* *Exercit. 1. sect. 17.*
lib. viii. c. 6.

† The *Apoloagy* of the latter names.

‡ *chap. 9.*

‡ *H. E.*

Mr. Dodwell discoursing in like manner of the fewness of the Martyrs ; * who takes no notice of this fable, as unworthy to be mentiond, tho' as contrary to his argument as to mine. In the eastern Churches, this festival of the 25 of December came first into use, in Chrysostom's time, as he expressly testifies : " 'Tis not, says he, quite ten years ago, since we were inform'd of this day." † They receiv'd it from those of the west, as he afterwards tells us. Scaliger writes thus concerning it : " Chrysostom himself tells us in that Oration, the custom of keeping that day was brought to Constantinople by the Romans, but ten years before ; and that it had indeed been us'd to be kept for some years by the Romans, of whom those of Constantinople learnt it. All these things shew the novelty of the religious observation of that day. Among the Romans who began it, I find none more antient than Ambrose, that asign the nativity of our Lord to the 25 of December ; if you except that pretended Clement, who in the xiii chap. of Book v, speaks of this, as instituted by the Apostles, which was not in use till a little before Chrysostom's time." || But I fear a supposititious Ambrose impos'd upon the great Scaliger. He seems to refer to the Sermons *De Natali Domini*, which are unjustly father'd upon him. Ambrose himself, when he is treating of the nativity of our Lord, says not a word of it ; ‡ but whether he does in any other of his genuine works, I cannot certainly say.

The feast of Circumcision is not very antient. The first that mentions it is Maximus Taurinensis, who flouris'd A. D. 450, if the inscription of his Homily, *In circumcisione Domini*, may be allow'd to be genuine ; for there is nothing upon the subject in this Homily. The true title is : *De Kalendis Januarii Increpacio : A Reproof for them that keep the first of January.* For so far is Maximus from esteeming it a Christian festival, that he blames men for observing the day, which many others do beside him. Hence 'tis plain those words, *In circumcisione Domini* are not Maximus's. * But at length our Author has found out a true date to this Holiday, namely, the twelfth most superstitious and barbarous Century.

For

* Inter Differt. Cypr. sect. 90. † Hom. in Nat. Dom. Temp. lib. vi. p. 543. ‡ Comm. in Luk. chap. ii. init. 17. inter Ambrosi opera. & Chrysost. Hom. cont. eos qui nov. observ. etiam Can. 16. Conc. Turoa. ii. A. 557. & Concil. Antioch. A. 578.

|| De Emend.

* Vide Serm.

For so he adds: St. Bernard has Sermons upon it, about A.D. 1140. In the next Century we find it in the Councils catalogues of festivals. With good reason now, we congratulate our Churchmen upon the discovery of their ancestors, whose customs they follow.* Casaubon agrees with our Author, and tells us: "They, who five hundred years ago, gave an account of the festivals of the whole year, have not mention'd this of Circumcision."† And there are few of the Popish Holidays that may not be defended by as great antiquity as this. Indeed; if our Adversaries would imitate the antient Church, they should keep this as a fast.||

But he pretends to have better antiquity for the next feast, of *Purification*, otherwise call'd; the *Presentation of Christ in the temple*; which, he says, was instituted by the Emperor Justinian, about the year 542, if we may believe modern Greek writers; tho' Chrysostom seems to have an Homily upon it. Every body knows, those modern Greek writers use to place the beginning of the customs of their own time in the most distant ages, to procure them the greater veneration. And I question very much, whether any author can be produc'd, who mentions this festival before the ninth Century. As to Chrysostom's Homily, here refer'd to, besides that Sir Henry Savil suspected it to be none of his, there is not a word in the whole Homily concerning this feast, which is contrary to Chrysostom's custom, when he has any Sermon upon such occasions. And if because he has an Homily upon the meeting of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Bl. Virgin, and Simeon, we may conclude that in his time they kept an Holiday upon this occasion; we may by the same reasoning infer, they kept others for Abraham, for the man that had the palsy mention'd in Matthew, and for another mention'd in John. For concerning these also, he had Homilies.

The feast of the Resurrection was plainly of Apostolical institution. There were great disputes between the eastern and western Churches about the day whereon it should be kept.

That it was very antient, I grant; but yet hardly believe it to have had such an institution. 'Tis not probable, the Apostles, who in delivering the Christian religion to the

* Vide. p. 301. edit. Lat. Off. Eccl. lib. i. c. 40.

† Exercit. ii. sect. 9.

|| Ibid. Hisp. De

world so perfectly agreed with one another, should in this particular so exceedingly differ. Further, that most ancient, bitter, and idle contest between the eastern and western Churches, concerning the time of keeping this feast, shews that Apostolical tradition is not much to be regarded; since both sides pretended to have that for their warrant, tho' the Scripture said not a word about it. But since the Churchmen always keep this festival on a Lord's day, we will not quarrel about it, who think all such days are holy. We go on therefore to somewhat else.

The feast of the Ascension is not particularly mention'd in the oldest writers, being comprehended in the fifty days after Easter, which were all Holidays. One may well wonder, how the Churchmen in this matter imitate the antients. The latter kept Holiday for fifty days together; the former only observe three beside the Lord's days, namely the second, third, and fourth. The latter had no particular regard to Ascension day; and, for ought appears, no more thought of the Ascension on that day, than on any of the rest; but the former celebrate one peculiar day, as a feast in memory of the Ascension. Every one must see how little agreement there is between these things. We agree with our Author, that it was observ'd in *Austin's* time, that is, about the year 400.

Concerning *Pentecost, or Whitsunday*, we will not contend any more than about *Easter*; since that also, always falls on a Lord's day; and we grant a regard was paid to it ever since *Tertullian's* time; so that it is needless to say any thing of our Author's testimonies.

Because the Apostles were constant attendants on our Lord, and advanc'd by him to that high Order, every one of them hath his day assign'd him, to the end we may meditate on his holy example, and endeavour to follow the same steps of piety and virtue. *

Thus, for instance, the *xxviii of October* is assign'd to the holy Apostles *Simon and Jude*. Now this is all that is done on that day more than any other. First the *Collect* is read: "O Almighty God, who hast built thy Church upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the head corner stone, grant us to be join'd together in unity of spirit, by their doctrine, that

" we

" we may be made an holy temple; acceptable unto thee, " through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*" Then are read the eight first Verses of the *Epistle of Jude*, and the eleven last Verses of the xv chap. of *John*. And so the example of *Simon* is propos'd to be meditated on by the people, when he is not so much as nam'd, or any thing said with a peculiar relation to him. But what is said on this festival may as well on any other. I could mention other things in these feasts as little to the purpose; but I had rather our Brethren abroad should learn them from the Liturgy it self. And in my mind, it looks very childish, to pretend to propose severally the examples of those Apostles, concerning whom we know nothing at all in particular. But I proceed to our Author's Margin, where he treats further of this matter.

In the first times there were only festivals in honor of our Lord. Let our Adversaries then own, that we come nearest to the pattern of the first, that is the purest Church; since we have no other festivals but the Lord's days, which are in honor of him: nor let them go on to give us any disturbance, for our imitating the most antient and perfect Church, and rejecting the inventions of the latter and more corrupt times.

Afterwards the Martyrs were piously commemorated. Those pious men, who began this custom, did not apprehend what the consequence would be. Our Author places the beginning of it in the year 170, at the martyrdom of *Polycarp*. Now this in 40 years after was degenerated into gross superstition, as appears by what I have before cited from *Tertullian*: *We make oblations for the dead, and for their martyrdom on a stated day yearly.* This superstition greatly increas'd in the following ages. And there is no reason, why we should judge those customs fit to be retain'd, which so soon became, if they were not in their very beginning, superstitious.

Our Author after tells us, this was done for these reasons: *That we might be incited to the imitation of their godly zeal, and constancy unto death, as Basil speaks, Afc. c. 40.* This I own was the true and only reason of their first institution. However I let the reader know, that *Basil* is not there speaking of the anniversary festivals of the Martyrs, but of their sepulchres, which us'd often to be visited by Christians. But our Author suggests another reason of these feasts: *And likewise, that people by such means*

might be brought off from the profane revels of the Heathen. If their first original be consider'd, I dont think any manner of regard was had to this design. But when the Roman Emperors embrac'd Christianity, and many of their subjects in all parts began to profess it, as a national religion, rather in complaisance to them, than from a conviction of the truth of it, who yet were fond of, or at least not sufficiently averse to their old superstition; then 'tis probable the ecclesiastical governors made use of this institution to bring them off by little and little: which is confirm'd by the testimony of *Theodorit*, before mention'd. There might perhaps be yet another reason for this practice; namely, that in the third Century, they might think these oblations were profitable to the Martyrs, for whom they offer'd them. And why might they not think so of them, as they certainly did of all the rest of the faithful who were departed? That this was *Tertullian's* opinion is plain, not only by his words mention'd before, but by several other places.* In the next Century indeed they thought otherwise of the Martyrs, upon whom they bestow'd many new honors, making them the guardians of places; as I shall shew afterwards. Hence *Austin* rejects praying for the Martyrs, as a great absurdity.† This conjecture will be the more probable, if Mr. *Chillingworth's* words are true: "I see plainly, and with my own eyes, that there are Popes against Popes, Councils against Councils, some Fathers against others, the same Fathers against themselves, the consent of one age against the consent of another age, the Church of one age against the Church of another age."||

John the Baptist, and Stephen, have the same honor done them; one because he was Christ's forerunner, and the other his first Martyr. Concerning both he speaks in the Margin. And of the feast of John the Baptist he says: That 'tis very antient: for Maximus Taurinensis has a Homily upon it, about A.D. 400. Without doubt this is false printed, both in the Latin edition, and the Translation; for in the foregoing Page the Doctor says he flourisht in the year 450. And indeed he is reckon'd to have died in 455, or 456. Now I think it unreasonable to call a thing very ancient, because

because mention'd by an author of his time. And by the same right may many of the Popish festivals be said to be very antient. And truly I can't understand, how he can expect to defend his cause by these middle ages of the Church, in the things about which he owns they were often mistaken.

But he goes on to Stephen, and says : *If his festival was not one of the first, there are Homilies upon him very antient. See Chrysost. and Greg. Naz. Du Pin and Dr. Cave both say, 'tis doubtful, whether those Homilies are Chrysostom's. But if they were, what do they signify to our controversy ? He is often spoken of, and highly commended in sermons both by us, and all those Christians every where, who keep no festival upon his account. Maximus Taurinensis had another Homily upon him, which is also put, but more at large, among Austin's works.* But that our Author may see how little deference we pay to such antiquity, I will tell him of *Gregory Nyssenus*, who not only has a Homily upon him, but expressly mentions his festival in it.

Our Author acknowledges : *The feasts of the Conversion of St. Paul, of St. Mark, and St. Luke, were not kept before the xii or xiii Centuries : which antiquity we despise. But the feast of the Martyrdom of St. Paul he makes much antienter. And that, notwithstanding their regard to antiquity, they never observe. I pass over several things in the Latin edition, which the Translator did not think worth inserting ; and so I shall the feast of the Holy Innocents, for which our Author has produc'd no testimony at all ; and the feast of All Saints, which first sprang from the superstition of the Heathens ; and so I come to that of St. Michael.*

And that the people may know what benefit Christians receive by the ministry of Angels, the feast of St. Michael and all Angels is solemnly observ'd in the Church. Now in order hereto, is read on that day this Collect : " O everlasting God, who hast " ordain'd and constituted the services of Angels and men " in a wonderful order ; mercifully grant, that as thy " holy Angels alway do thee service in heaven, so by thy " appointment they may succor and defend us on earth, " thro' Jesus Christ our Lord. " And for the Epistle is read Rev. vii. from Verse 7 to the 13 : and for the Gospel, are read the ten first Verses of the xviii of Matthew. What par-*

ticular advantage there is in reading those places of Scripture on that day of the year, rather than any other, I can't imagine. Further, since many learned and pious men have thought *Michael* to be no other than Christ, *the Angel of the Covenant*; let our Adversaries consider with what prudence they join him with ordinary Angels, and so give him no more honor than they do them. Our Author does not trace the antiquity of this feast, but contents himself with rejecting the fabulous account the Papists give of the matter, which he makes our Reformers to have despis'd. The reason he alledges, why they, notwithstanding, retain'd it, is not rightly translated, but should be thus: *In reforming the Church they would not be too scrupulous, and therefore retain'd all those indifferent things, which might be any way useful.* Now this is very false. How many feasts of the Martyrs have they rejected, which are not less indifferent, than those retain'd? Anointing is reckon'd by Dr. *Hammond* indifferent. The vulgar use of the sign of the Cross must be reckon'd by our Adversaries of the same nature; or they do very ill to alledge *Tertullian's* testimony, which speaks only of that use of it: The mixture of wine and water in the Lord's Supper, mention'd by *Justin Martyr*, is as much indifferent; and by *Cyprian* is pretended to be of singular use: and yet all these, and many more of the like nature, have they laid aside.

Thus far of the festivals of the Church. It remains that we now treat of her fasts. And here we are told: *The same mean is the rule of their fasts.* And what that mean is, the considerate reader will easily perceive from what has been said already.

Our vigils are only the eves of the feasts of the Apostles according to primitive discipline. This is not true: neither all the feasts of the Apostles, nor they only have *vigils* annex'd to them. For *St. Philip*, and *St. James*, tho' they have but one Holiday allow'd betwixt them, have no *vigil* to go before it. The Conversion of *St. Paul* is likewise without a *vigil*; and so he has less honor done him, according to our Author's notion of the matter, * than *John the Baptist*, whose feast is preceeded with a *vigil*; notwithstanding that our Saviour himself has assur'd us, that *the least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he.* † The primitive discipline he

he here talks of, is not the discipline of the three first, but of some later ages of the Church ; as he shews in the Margin. There he asserts the vigils of the primitive Christians were held in the nature of festivals, whereas the Church of *England's* are fasts : they held it unlawful to fast between *Easter* and *Whitsunday* ; she appoints these vigils as fasts, the eves before *Ascension day*, and *Whitsunday* : they kept their vigils together in their Churches ; she has no such nocturnal assemblies. If the first original of these vigils be inquir'd after, I am of our Author's mind, they are owing to the primitive persecutions. *Vigils*, says he, were *ightly assemblies of Christians by night, in times of persecution, when they durst not meet in the day time.* This is confirm'd by what *Pliny* and *Tertullian* say of those assemblies. Now if this was the first reason of them ; I can't see why they should not have been laid aside, when the reason of them ceas'd. But our Author observes, they practis'd otherwise: *And they were kept up, even in the peaceful times of the Church, on the eves of great festivals.* Our Author was mistaken in thinking these vigils were at first observ'd in a festival manner, whereas they were kept as fasts. And I wonder he should not have perceiv'd this, since it was most for his purpose. But he is not less out of the way, when he pretends they preceeded not only the *Easter* feast, but the great festivals in general. For I dont find that in the most antient times they religioufly observ'd any vigils, but at *Easter*. And it appears from *Tertullian*, these were kept, not as feasts, but fasts.* The Christians of that time thought, they were bound by the command of Christ, *Matth. ix. 15.* to fast all the while, between the time of his Passion and his Resurrection. For they understood his words, as tho' he would have the time, wherein he was taken away from his Disciples by death, kept as an anniversary fast. And with I know not what vain superstition, they expected the return of the Bridegroom, upon the feast of the Resurrection. This fast therefore began on *Good Friday*, the day of his Passion, when they held a general religious fast, as the same author testifies ; which was not ended till *Easter day*.† The same thing further appears from *Epiphanius*, who opposes the vigils (which were become more numerous in his time) and the fasts, to the feasts ; and gives the same reason

son for this fast, which he shews was ended at the Cock crowing on *Easter day*, when the people us'd also to be dismiss'd.* This is further confirm'd by a tradition, which antiently gain'd a great deal of credit ; that the second coming of our Saviour should happen on this very night ; for which reason they kept it with the greater solemnity. I will here alledge two notable testimonies, one of *Laßtantius*, the other of *Jerom*, to shew they were of this opinion : " Then, says *Laßtantius*, shall the heavens open, that the light of the descending God may be seen like lightning thro' the whole world. ---- This is the night which is kept by us with watching, because of the coming of our King and God ; for which there is a double reason, because then he receiv'd a new life after his Passion, and because then he is to receive the kingdom of the whole world." † He describes it indeed in a rhetorical manner, as tho' it had been kept as a feast ; but that it was otherwise observ'd, at least the former part of it, appears by what has been already cited from *Tertullian* and *Epiphanius*, and will yet further appear by this passage of *Jerom* : " Let me say somewhat, that may perhaps be profitable to the reader. 'Tis a tradition of the Jews, that Christ will come at midnight, in conformity to what was done in *Egypt*, viz. when the passover is kept, and the destroyer comes, and the Lord passes over our tabernacles, and our foreheads, like their door posts, are mark'd with the blood of the Lamb. Hence, I suppose, came that Apostolical tradition, that on the *Easter vigils* 'tis not lawful, before midnight, to dismiss the people, who are expecting the coming of Christ ; but after that time is once past, we presume he will not yet come, and so all keep a festival." ‡ Now then, since neither persecution, nor *Tertullian*'s interpretation of our Lord's words, *Matt. ix. 15.* nor this tradition, mention'd by *Laßtantius* and *Jerom*, oblige us to keep these vigils ; why should we retain them ? From what has been said, the passage, refer'd to in *Eusebius*, may be easily understood ; it refers to the *vigil* before *Easter*. I dont here regard the pretended *Ambrose*, who is, in spite of the judgment of the learned Critics, trump'd upon us for the true. But let us hear the rest of what he says on this subject : But

¶ *Expos. fid. Cathol. sect. 22.*† *Instit. lib. vii. de vit. beat., c. 13.*|| *Comment in Matt. xxxv. 6.*

But disorders growing in such assemblies, they were chang'd into fasts preparatory to such festivals ; the old name of vigils being still retain'd.* These disorders were not owing to the vigils, but to persons going to the tombs of the Martyrs to pray. This was done superstitiously, at any time, and gave an opportunity for wanton people to practise great wickedness ; but there could be no danger of this from the vigils, which were kept in full assemblies in the Church. Our Author was here guilty of another grievous mistake, which the Translator gives me no occasion to take notice of. I therefore go on to the other fasts of the Church.

In conformity to which [primitive discipline] we likewise keep Lent, and the four Ember weeks ; that by the one we may be the better qualified to relish the joy of the resurrection ; and may be dispos'd by the other to more importunate prayers for the grace of the Holy Spirit, upon all those who shall be admitted into sacred orders. I shall consider these fasts distinctly. And as to Lent, we grant that in the second Century a fast used to go before Easter ; but utterly deny it was a fast like that of our Churchmen, of forty days. The reason why we dont herein follow their example, is, because we either are utterly ignorant of the true motives, upon which they appointed such a fast ; or those we are acquainted with, seem not to us sufficiently weighty. Nor dare we in the mean while offer to God any worship or service, for which we are not able to render a good reason. Our first Reformers judg'd fasting days were prescrib'd among us, not upon a religious account, but for the advantage of the civil state. They knew the people were commanded to eat fish on certain days, that so other meats might be spar'd, that fishing might be encourag'd, and the number of our mariners increas'd ; and therefore they earnestly exhorted the people to obey these laws. Thus did Latimer, † Hooper, ‡ and the Homilies in Q. Elizabeth's time ; § and the Lords of her Council declare the same thing. * If for such reasons alone we were required to forbear flesh, we should not contend : but when Lent is requir'd upon a religious account, 'tis quite another matter. Nor can our Adversaries agree about the reason of this fast ; for some alledge the example of Christ, and fast forty days in a ludicrous sort of imitation

* Pag. 313. † Serm. iv. upon the Lord's prayer, p. 143. ‡ Serm. vii. upon Jonah. § Homil. of fast. part ii. p. 89. * See Laudal's Life, p. 226, 227.

tion of him ; but others give quite another reason for it. So our Author informs us : *Our learned Bishop Hooper has made it probable, that our Lent is deriv'd from a like custom of the Jews, who went thro' a solemn course of forty days penance before their expiation.*

'Tis, I think, a demonstration, this account of the learned Bishop *Hooper* cannot be true. For if we should suppose the *Jews* kept a forty days fast before the day of expiation, yet the Lent fast cannot be thought to be brought into use in imitation of them ; because then it should have been a fast of forty days from its first original ; which it most certainly was not, nor for several ages after it began to be kept. And if this were the first reason of appointing Lent, 'tis strange no mention, no hint should be given of it by any author, who liv'd near the time when it first began to be observ'd. But besides, if the *Jews* kept such a fast ; yet the primitive Christians, who first set up this custom, would have been so far from imitating them ; that they would the rather, if we may believe *Tertullian*, have abstain'd from such a practice, because they had us'd it. For thus he explains and carps at the opinion of the *Catholics* : " Truly they think those days are in the *Gospel* " appointed for fasting, in which the *Bridegroom* was taken " away, and that these are the only lawful days for *Christian* fasts, the old customs under the *Law* and the *Prophets* being abolish'd ; for where they have a mind, " they understand what that means, *The Law and the Prophets were till John.*" * *Tertullian* speaks of the fast before *Easter*, which was then in use ; but which was not a fast of forty days continuance, as I will shew afterwards more fully. I only take notice, the *Catholics* were so far from an inclination to conform themselves to the *Jewish* fasts, that they rather counted them old abolish'd customs of the *Law*.

I shall now proceed to consider the testimonies our Author refers to ; wherein I shall chuse rather to follow the order wherein the Doctor himself set them down, than that of the *Translator*.

The thing he asserts, and would prove, is : *That this Quadragesimal [that is, forty days] fast has been observ'd ever since the Apostles times.* And for this, the first authority alledg'd

* *De Jejun. c. 2.*

ledg'd is *Eusebius*, *E. H. lib. v. c. 23.* Since the Translator has not set down his words, I shall only give this brief account of them: *Eusebius*, who wrote in the former part of the fourth Century, there gives his own judgment, concerning the controversy there had been between the eastern and western Churches, about the time of keeping *Easter*, and so of putting an end to the fast before it; and shews he thought the custom of these in the *west* was from Apostolical tradition. But 'tis certain, those of the *east* were not less confident, that Apostolical tradition was on their side. By which it appears, what a vain thing that is, which both parties equally pretended to, and by which they were not able to determine this trifling controversy. Who that considers this, will ever much believe them, when they boast of Apostolical tradition; since they could not believe one another. Further, what are these things to his purpose? they shew they had a fast, but not that it was of forty days; for there is not a word of any such thing in the place.

The next passage is the next Chapter in the same Author, and is taken out of a Fragment of a noble Letter of *Irenæus*. I shall translate this testimony, because 'tis full against the practice of the Church of *England*. Thus then the Fragment begins: "There is a controversy not only περὶ ἡμέρας, " about the day, [Dr. *Nichols* thinks he means *Easter day*; Dr. *Grabe* says he intends *the time of the fast*, and his following words carry it clearly for the latter] "but also the very manner of the fast. For some think they ought to fast one day, some two, some more, some forty hours, night and day, συμμετρόσι τὸν ἡμέραν ἀναστάν, making the time of their fast to answer in length." Dr. *N.* put a period after forty; and so would have made this a clear evidence of their practice. But he had no warrant for it, nor was the thing fair. Some bold men have taken that liberty with *Irenæus*'s words; but *Valesius* and Dr. *Grahe* give up that pretence. It must be own'd there is some difficulty in the last expression. Whence *Valesius* would have chang'd ἡμέραν into ῥινέαν. But Dr. *Grabe* disapproves his conjecture, and makes ἡμέρα in both places to signify *time* in general, whom I have therefore follow'd in translating it. But I am apt to think, *Irenæus*, in the word συμμετρόσι, would hint to us the reason why they made their fast just forty hours long. *Tertullian* informs us, they kept that fast, because of the *Bridegroom's* being taken away. For the antient Christians,

as I said, thought Christ commanded his Disciples to fast every year, during the time he was taken away from them, that is, all the while between the time of his Passion and Resurrection. Hence some, computing the time of his being taken away to be forty hours, made their fast just of the same length. If *Irenaeus's* Epistle were perfect, this conjecture might perhaps be confirm'd by it ; as if in the former part of it, he had said any thing concerning the space of time, in which Christ remain'd under the power of death ; or had hinted the same reason, *Tertullian* does, for their keeping the fast ; one or t'other of which it seems probable he had there taken notice of. But since the whole Epistle has not been preserv'd, we cannot be certain hereof. We leave therefore the conjecture to the judgment of the learned. However from *Tertullian's* account we may perceive, what was the occasion of their different customs in observing this fast. For they who fasted one day, may be thought to understand Christ, as requiring them only in general to fast ; they that would have it continu'd to forty hours, reckon'd the whole space of time between his death and resurrection for the absence of the Bridegroom ; others judging the Bridegroom was taken away as soon as he was betray'd or condemn'd, made their fast still longer. And that there was a vast difference all along in the manner of observing this fast, may appear by what *Socrates* and *Sozomen* have related in their Histories.* But that a Quadragesimal fast of forty days was observ'd, as our Author asserts, ever since the *Apostles* days, is so far from being true, that there was no such thing for the first six hundred years. This is evident from the testimony of *Pope Gregory*, who died, A. D. 604. In a Sermon of his, upon the first day of *Lent*, he thus discourses : " From this day to *Easter* is just six weeks, " which contain xlii days. Of these, when the six Sun- " days are subtracted, there remain no more than xxxvi as " days of abstinence. But as the year consists of 365 days, " and we afflict our selves for xxxvi days, we give as it " were the tithe of the year to God, &c." † And I suppose the reader will easily think, that at *Rome* they were as forward in these improvements as any where else ; and that

* *Lib. v. c. 22. Lib. vii. c. 19. vid. etiam Epiph. exp. fidei.* † *Hom. 16. de div. Lect. Evangel. p. 42. comp. Ibid. His. de Off. Eccl. lib. I. c. 26.*

that if they had got no further than xxxvi days there, in ~~xx~~ years, there had been no fast of xl days observ'd in the Church in any more antient times.

And as there was so great a difference in their manner of observing this fast antiently; so there were some who seem to have been of our mind also, who thought there was no necessity for any such fast; as *Dionysius Alexandrinus* informs us: "For neither, says he, do all alike keep these six days of the fast; for some fast all the six, some two, some three, some four, and some none."* And I cannot but think, upon an attentive review of the latter part of the Fragment, which *Eusebius* has preserv'd us of *Irenæus's* Epistle, that this fast had, when he wrote it, but very lately been brought into the *Roman Church*. Let me set down the place: "The Presbyters that govern'd your Church before *Soter*, I mean, *Anicetus*, *Pius*, *Hyginus*, *Telesphorus*, and *Xystus*, neither themselves observ'd this fast, [Dr. *Grabe* here adds in his Translation, *on the same day with the Asiatic Bishops*, for which we thank him; since it shews, he thought there was need of it for his hypothesis, tho' *Irenæus* says no such thing] "nor suffer'd those who belong'd to them to observe it. Nevertheless, they who did not observe it, were at peace with those who came to them from other Churches, which did observe it; altho' the keeping of it was much more contrary [*μᾶλλον* *ἐνάριν*] to those who observ'd it not at all" [This is a clear evidence. They who go upon the other supposition can make no sense of the *μᾶλλον* here, which is plain enough thus understood; and therefore Dr. *Grabe* here only turns it, *valde adversa est*] "and yet never any were rejected for this." All the rest of the Fragment runs exactly in the same stile. So that we may from hence determine, when this fast came first into use in the *Roman Church*, viz, in the Popedom of *Soter*, which began A. D. 173.

The *Apostolical Constitutions* are next refer'd to, lib. v. c. 13. But 'tis manifest, they speak of a fast only of five days, beginning on the Monday, and ending on the Friday, not in the Passion week, but that next before it. And the fast of the Passion week was reckon'd a distinct thing from that of the *Quadragesima*. And whereas the Church of

England

England fasts every Saturday in Lent, this is contrary to the custom mention'd in the Constitutions, and in several of the primitive writers, who attest they us'd to fast but one Saturday in the whole year, namely, that of the Passion week.

Next comes Tertullian, who, as we are told, *De Jejunio*, c. 1. says: *Those days are by the Gospel set apart for fasting, wherein the Bridegroom was taken away.* Which our Author thus explains: *i. e. when Christ retir'd into the desart, and fasted.* There can be nothing more silly, than this interpretation of Tertullian's mind. I dare be confident, if Tertullian has any sense of what is done here below, he would much rather wish to have all his writings burnt, than explain'd in a manner so foolish, and injurious to our Saviour. There is no place in the Gospel, which the Catholics could here have an eye to, beside that which I have had occasion to mention before: *But the days will come, when the Bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then shall they fast.** The Disciples of John the Baptist had ask'd: Why Christ's Disciples did not fast, since they and the Pharisees us'd that practice? Our Author thought, our Saviour answer'd them to this purpose: *My Disciples dont indeed now fast, because I, the Bridegroom, am present with them; but shortly the days will come, when I shall be taken away into the wilderness, and then they shall fast.* But how I beseech you, could Christ say, the days would come, which were already past? If it were true, that the Disciples of Christ fasted while he was in the desart, he would not have told the inquirers, that the days of their fasting were coming, but that they were past, and the question insinuated a false charge. But since no such thing appears by his answer, he meant without all doubt the days wherein he should ascend into heaven, and no more converse with them here on earth. The interpretation of the primitive Christians, tho' it was not exactly true, yet is much preferable to that of our Author. For what he mistakes to have belong'd to the time past, they justly refer'd to the time to come. Hence it came to pass, that they in their anniversary fast, a little before the time of his death, imagin'd the Bridegroom taken from them, and with an idle superstition (pardon the expression) expected him

him to return to them again, at the feast of the Resurrection. Nor do *Tertullian's* words admit of any other sense. Whence *Rigaltius*, who could not believe the Catholics would take such a course, plainly charges him with misrepresenting them. " For who, *says he*, can believe *Tertullian*, when he tells us, the days wherein the Bridegroom was taken away, namely, *Good Friday*, and the Saturday following it, making but 48 hours, were their *Quadragesima*? " * The Catholics therefore thought those two days were by Christ himself appointed for an annual fast. Whence 'tis evident, we cannot be bound to imitate them. They, upon very weak reasons, and mistaken explications of the Scriptures, brought in many things, which should have been quite laid aside, as soon as men came to a better understanding of those sacred writings. I ask now, whether is our Saviour to be thought to have spoken of that fanciful absence, which the antients apprehended; or of that real one, which I have mention'd? If he spake according to their notion, we ought to keep a fast, as they did, not of *XL*, but only of two days: if his words are to be understood in our sense, why should we be bound to follow their example, since we own there was no strength in their reasons? And who in his wits, will not readily say, on the feast of the Resurrection, that the Bridegroom is still taken away? As the primitive Christians thought, this fast was to be observ'd in obedience to Christ's command; so they judg'd all other fasts, concerning which Christ had given no commandment, should be left to the liberty of Christians. But we cannot think we are more oblig'd to observe the fast before *Easter*, than any other; since Christ has not, if his words are rightly understood, any more commanded it. Nor do we herein want the authority of the antients, whose opinion is related by *Tertullian*, and shall be now set down a little more at large, than 'twas when I had occasion before to speak of it. " Truly they [the Catholics] think, those days are set apart in the Gospel for fasting, in which the Bridegroom was taken away; and that those only are the lawful Christian fasts, the old customs of the Law and the Prophets being abolish'd. For when they have a mind, they can tell what that means, *The Law and the*

“ the Prophets were until John. As to the rest they think we
 “ must fast in a different manner, *non ex imperio novae*
 “ *disciplinae*, not by virtue of any command of our religion;
 “ but according to our own free choice, as every one sees
 “ cause from times and circumstances. Which agrees
 “ with the practice of the Apostles, who impos’d no other
 “ yoke of any fast to be observ’d generally by Christians.”*
 We gladly embrace this opinion of the antient Catholics,
 that all fasts, which are not commanded by our holy re-
 ligion, are free, and left to every ones pleasure. And I
 would fain have our Churchmen produce that command of
 our religion, that obliges us to observe this fast of *Lent*,
 or the *Ember weeks*. I am sensible there are some, who,
 by the *nova disciplina*, mention’d by *Tertullian*, understand
 the discipline of the *Montanists*; and think he opposes this
 not to the old discipline of the *Jews*, but to that of our
 Saviour and his Apostles. But which ever sense his words
 are taken in, my argument, with a little variation, will have
 the same force. From what has been said, it may easily
 appear, not only that the fast of the antients was of a dif-
 ferent length from that of the Churchmen, but that it was
 kept upon quite another account. They kept it because
 of the Bridegroom’s being taken away; but the reason of
 the Church’s keeping it, may be learnt from the Collect
 for the first *Sunday in Lent*: “ O Lord, who for our sakes
 “ didst fast forty days and forty nights, give us grace to
 “ use such abstinence, that our flesh being subdu’d to
 “ the Spirit, we may ever obey thy godly motions in
 “ righteousness and true holiness, to thy honor and
 “ glory, &c.

As for what our Author refers to in *Origen*, we can’t tell
 whether it be *Origen’s*, or *Ruffinus’s* testimony; besides that,
 it does not help us to determine, what sort of a *Quadra-
 gesima* it was.

I shall, with the Translator, pass over many other testi-
 monies, which the reader may, if he please, find consider’d
 in the *Latin* edition. I come therefore to the last he
 mentions; which is that of *Socrates*, who treats of this
 matter with great judgment; and shews that nei-
 ther the feast of *Easter*, nor the fast that preceeded it,
 was owing to Apostolical tradition; nor does he
 mention

mention a forty days fast. He shews on the contrary, that in different places they us'd very different customs ; that at *Rome* they fasted three weeks before *Easter*, excepting only *Saturdays* and *Sundays* ; that in *Illyricum, Achaia, and Alexandria*, they fasted six weeks before *Easter* ; that in other places, they began their fast seven weeks before *Easter*, but fasted only three of them, and but five days in each ; and that they all agreed in calling these their fasts *Quadragesima*. Now these customs did not more differ from one another, than they all manifestly do from that of the Church of *England*.

I have said enough, if not too much, of *Lent* : it remains now, that I consider the *Ember weeks*. These, he tells us, were appointed, that we *may be dispos'd by them to more importunate prayers, for the grace of the Holy Spirit upon all those who shall be admitted into sacred Orders*. These *Ember weeks* are the *Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday*, after the first *Sunday in Lent*, after the feast of *Pentecost*, after *September 14*, and after *December 13*. These things were not practis'd in the primitive Church. For the *Lent* fast in those antient times was much shorter ; nor did it begin so long before *Easter*, as to be able to take in these fasts. Nor were any *Saturdays* in the whole year, one only excepted, then kept as fasts, as I have shewn already ; altho' the Church of *Rome* had, indeed, a more peculiar fashion, in *Socrates*'s time ; when they fasted all the *Saturdays* in the year, except those in *Lent*. Concerning the rise of these fasts, our Author says : *That these Ember weeks, or Jejunia quatuor temporum, were of antient observation, appears from Leo the Great's Sermons upon them, about the middle of the fifth Century*. Since there are no footsteps of these fasts in any antient author before *Leo*, I believe they were instituted a little before his time. *Leo* makes the fast of the tenth month to be instituted before his time. “ Our holy Fathers, says he, being divinely inspir'd, appointed the fast of the tenth month, that when they made an end of gathering in the fruits of the earth, a reasonable abstinence might be set apart for God. ”* And he was much in the right, in thinking a fast ought to be observ'd, which was appointed by Fathers divinely inspired. But since those Fathers seem to us neither very antient, nor di-

Q q

vinely

* *Serm. v. De Jejun. decimi meus.*

vinely inspir'd, we dont much regard their authority. Nay we reject that antiquity, which cannot be commended, but to the great detriment of the Reformation. *Leo* is taken notice of by Protestant writers, as a great promoter, if not the first beginner, of the papal tyranny. And I would fain have our Adversaries first defend themselves against the Papists, who argue from his authority, before they attempt to run us down with it. These words of his are indeed remarkable, and he has many the like in his Sermons on the fast of the tenth month: "On Saturday we will keep our vigils in the Church of the blessed Apostle Peter, who will vouchsafe, by his intercession, to help our prayers, fasts, and alms."* *The Ordinations of the Clergy* were perform'd in the antient Church at any time of the year, as there was occasion. If *Gelasius* order'd they should ordain four times in a year, his order was new, and had not been known even to his predecessor, *Leo the Great*.

Our Author has omitted the three *Rogation days*, being the *Monday*, *Tuesday*, and *Wednesday*, before *Holy Thursday*. They were first appointed upon the account of continual earthquakes and tempests at *Vienna*, and the great Church taking fire in that city, which *St. Mamertus* put a stop to by his prayers.† Whereupon he establish'd these days to thank God for his mercy, and to prevent the like calamities for the time to come. I dont see how other nations should be oblig'd to observe them, especially after so many ages. They are contrary to the practice of the primitive Church, which reckon'd all fasting between *Easter* and *Whitsuntide* sinful.

But our Author, at length, brings in somebody thus objecting, against what he has hitherto said in this Chapter concerning both their feasts and fasts: *But God says, Six days shalt thou labour: Therefore the Lord's Day, which succeeded in the room of the Sabbath, is the only day to be kept holy; all the rest are for our worldly affairs.*|| Now this seems to him such an absurdity (as he afterwards calls it) as is most easily confuted. He therefore answers: *What man in his wits ever took this clause for any thing but a permission?* But he may take notice, there have been those, who have understood those words, as carrying in them not only a *permis-*
sion,

* Serm. i.

† *Vid. Du Pin, Nouv. Bibl. tom. v. p. 9.*|| *page 3:4*

tion, but a *precept*, and yet have been thought to be *in their wits*. Nevertheless, that we may not seem ill natur'd, let us suppose they are only expressive of a *permission*. By what right then do our Adversaries take away from us that liberty, which God himself has granted us? God says: *Six days shalt thou labour*. The Churchmen say on the contrary: *Six days thou shalt not labour*. Strange boldness! By their own institutions they would deprive all men of that very liberty, which they allow God has by express command universally granted.

C H A P. XII.

Of Bowing at the Name of Jesus.

OUR Author treats of two things in this Chapter: First, What the Title expresses: Secondly, Bowing towards the Altar.

Concerning the former our opinion is. That all the worship we offer to God ought to be rational. But we can see no reason, why we should rather bow at the name of *Jesus*, than at the name *God*, *Jehovah*, *Christ*, or *Saviour* which is the same with *Jesus*. But our Adversaries have not, as yet, gratify'd our most just request: That they would either from the Holy Scriptures, or the nature of the thing; give us a reason for this worship. And therefore it cannot seem strange, we do not obey their commands.

But let us hear our Author: *The representation which these men make of our extravagant behaviour in this particular, as tho' we were frantic and turbulent in this gesture, is a strain of rude rhetoric, very familiar to them on such occasions. We do reverence to our Lord, at the mentioning of his name, by a very sedate inclination of the body, not making the least noise, or giving the least disturbance to any one.** But who knows not, that the customs of those times, wherein this objection was made, are not to be learnt from the present practice? Our Adversaries have had the advantage to learn by our admonitions, to shew their reverence in this respect more decently, than in former times. Hence all the late

writers on our side, never mention any thing of the scraping of the feet, which is, what the Doctor here particularly refers to. But 'tis plain from Archbishop *Whitgift*, that there was sufficient ground for this objection in former times. For when he is answering that passage of the *Admonition*, which our Author sets down in his Margin, he is so far from denying the truth of the objection, that he defends the custom. He says : " *Kneeling at the name of "Jesus is indifferent.*" * And certainly a whole assembly can't kneel down in the middle of the service without some considerable noise. He says likewise : " *This hindereth no more the word being read, than hawking and spitting hindereth the same being preach'd.*" † By which he in effect owns some noise was made. And truly if every person made as much noise in his bowing, as a person does with hawking and spitting, the disturbance must have been considerable. I dare say, any one would think so, if he were to see a whole congregation hawk and spit together by consent. ||

Our revilers think themselves deficient in good breeding, if they do not make bows to one another in their Meeting-houses, upon sneezing. ‡ Just thus the Papists argue from the respect shewn to the King's picture, that honor is to be paid to the image of Christ. But Bishop *Stillingfleet* answers, that the dispute is about a religious, and not a civil respect. * We might here use the same answer, if his assertion were true. But 'tis indeed false. And tho', I thank God, I have been brought up among the Dissenters from my infancy, yet never before did I hear this asserted to be their custom in their assemblies. Hence our Brethren may judge, what credit this Author deserves, when he talks of our prayers, p. 259. since he is so egregiously mistaken in a thing that is certain. For 'tis well known, that some of our writers have condemn'd this practice, even out of worship, as foolish, superstitious, and heathenish. Nay, the *Westminster Assembly* have declar'd against all such kind of salutations, as our Author charges us with, in the time of religious worship ; nor have we yet departed from their judgment.

If Christ is to be worship'd in our public prayers, why not at the mention of his name, whereby, as by a common token, the whole

* Def. of the Answ. p. 741. † p. 742. ‡ Comt. the 52. Injunction of Q. Elizab. A. 1559. ¶ 2. 217. * Idolatry of the Church of Rome. p. 21.

whole congregation may be at once alarm'd, and excited to offer up their united devotions to God their Saviour? Our Author does not here reflect so much upon us, as upon his own party. For the same reason holds, concerning the other names of our Saviour and of God. Nay the name Jesus, whenever 'tis pronounc'd, ought to stir them up to pay the same reverence; whereas they only bow their heads (as he presently tells us) when they recite his name in the Creed. For thus he goes on: *But 'tis against all reason that we are charg'd in being over officious and troublesom in this way of honoring our Lord.* For when the name of Jesus occurs, either in reading Holy Scripture, or in the prayers of the Liturgy, we seldom take that express and solemn notice of it, as we do, when we pronounce the articles of our faith in the Creed. Who does not see, how disagreeable this is to the argument he just before alledges? Yet, I believe what he says is true, concerning most places. For tho' this custom is more frequently us'd in Cathedral Churches; yet in parish Churches, 'tis, tho' contrary to the command of the Convocation, almost laid aside, except only in saying the Creed. And our Author's excuse seems not, to me, very civil to the Synod, which has otherwise determin'd; as will appear by their own words: "And likewise when in time of divine service the Lord Jesus shall be mention'd, due and lowly reverence shall be done by all persons present, as it hath been accustom'd."*

Put our Adversaries would perhaps be less free with their tongues, if they well consider'd, that together with us, they involve almost all Protestants in the same crime of idolatry.†

But who of us ever charg'd them with idolatry upon this account? Let the reader look back upon the passages which in his Margin he has transcrib'd from the writers of our side. There is not the least mention of the idolatry of this rite. Bowing, indeed, to the Altar is charg'd therewith; but that is a very different case, as we shall see presently. In the mean while let us go on with our Author:

For all who receive the Augustan confession, and many other Churches in Germany, do agree with us to make a low reverence at the naming of Jesus.|| I am wholly ignorant what those

other Churches of Germany should be. But as to the *Lutherans*, I think those words of Mr. John Brentius, a *Lutheran* Divine, deserve to be taken notice of : " When *Paul* says: *In the name of Jesus every knee should bow, &c.* " 'tis not to be understood, as tho' men ought always to bow their bodily knees, when ever his name is mention'd. " This is a childish ceremony, and to be us'd sometimes for " the sake of children." *

Nay the more modest *Calvinists*, tho' they dont approve this ceremony, by their own practice, yet are far from condemning others who use it. And to this purpose *Pareus* is cited in the Margin. But who can help wondering that *Pareus*, so often condemn'd by the Churchmen, and whose Works were publicly burnt by a decree of the University of *Oxford*, should now be reckon'd among the more modest of the *Calvinists*? But thus uncertain and inconstant men use to be, when they weigh things in a false balance, and judge of other mens manners, according as they seem to agree or disagree with their own methods.

I am very well pleas'd, the Doctor acknowledges, the *Apostle's* words, *Philip.* ii. 10. which occasion'd this custom, dont at all relate to it. For if it be owing to mens mistaking that place, since the mistake is now discover'd, I can't think why we should not lay it aside. But our Author is deceiv'd, when he says presently: *But neither we, nor they* [the Foreign Divines] *are so dull as to think, that these words can be rigorously apply'd to this purpose.* † For Dr. *Hammond* seems to follow *Grotius*, and not to dislike that interpretation. Thus Mr. *John Browning*, a man of considerable learning and reputation, contends we must keep close to the letter of this text. ‖ Nor does Dr. *Heylyn* otherwise explain it, alledging *Ambrose*, and others of the antient Fathers, as maintainers of that interpretation. ‡ *Bishop Mountagu's* words also, concerning this place, ought not to be pass'd by: " The Church commends this place " to the people, understood in no other than a literal " sense. So that as often as that most glorious " name, and especially in a holy place, and in divine " service, is pronounc'd by the reader, and heard by the " people, they presently, in token of humility, subjection, " and

* Cited by Mr. *Hickman*. *Apol.* p. 109. † *Vid. Synops. Crit.* in loc. ‖ *Six Serm.* concern. the *Prayers and Fast*s of the *Church*. p. 2. ‡ *Cypr. Engl.* p. 29.

“ and obedience, bow their bodies to an adoring posture, “ and bend their knees, and own him as their Lord. “ Which antient custom the Church of *England* also uses “ in her several parishes, and carefully defends it by an “ ecclesiastical law, the Sectaries in the mean while shew- “ ing their teeth and speaking against it.”* To these I may add Mr. John Swan, who asserts that the Apostle in that place enjoins this ceremony, and endeavours to answer our Author’s reason for the contrary: “ For, says he, “ why may not the Apostle as well speak here, after the “ manner of men, and ascribe knees to Angels, as he does, “ elsewhere, tongues? ”†

We are now come to the other controversy of this Chapter: *Of worshiping towards the Altar.* || And here the Doctor observes, *That no rule of their Church enjoins it.* So far then I think she is to be commended: for I would not have the least shew of idolatry among Protestants. And truly if it were injoin’d, I should think it a sufficient reason to forsake the Churchmen, tho’ there were no other. But if this be not (as it really is not) injoin’d by any rule of the Church; how can Laud, the famous Archbishop, and (as some reckon) Martyr of the Church, be vindicated from the charge of affecting a tyrannical power; since he not only commanded the ceremony, but severely punish’d those who refus’d to use it? But we may see there are Churchmen, who are ready to follow his example. For what else can be the meaning of these words of our Author?

But what if authority had commanded people to observe it? What mighty offence had been in all this? ’Tis no more than a rule to them, that at their coming into the House of God, they shall shew some bodily reverence, in regard of the sanctity of the place, and this towards the Altar; that is looking straight forward (for in most places where this ceremony is us’d, the doors are westward, and bring men in with their faces to the east, that is, toward the Altar.) But because the Church hath not directed them to turn to the right hand, or to the left, or quite backwards, with worse manners still; therefore they must needs be thought to worship tables and carpets, and to commit grosser idolatry than the very Papists. But how shall we be certain of this pretended sanctity of their temples? We know of no inherent holiness

in wood and stones; nor do we apprehend that one place is more holy than another, under the New Testament. Our Adversaries would have every one, when he goes into a Church, tho' there be no body in it, shew reverence, because of the sanctity of the place; which favours of superstition, to say no worse. Besides, if men only bow right forwards as they enter the Church, what need is there of these words, *towards the Altar?* Nay, when they happen to enter the Church, not having their faces towards the Altar, why do they then turn their backs to the assembly, that so they may bow towards the Altar? I should think there is a greater holiness in the Church of God, that is, his people, than in their Altars. And yet I have several times seen this, however *unmannerly*, practis'd among them. Besides, if our Author had no design of imposing upon his reader, why did he not tell us for what reason, not only they who enter the Church, but they also, who come to, or go from the Altar, make their bows. And why may not these excuses, he makes for his party, as well defend the antient Idolaters? Why might not the *Israelites* in like manner have pleaded, they did not worship the *Golden Calf*, or those at *Dan* and *Bethel*, but only God towards them? And that the reason why they bow'd towards them, was only because that coming towards them, *they neither turned to the right hand, nor to the left, or quite backwards, with worse manners still, but bow'd their bodies straight forward?* There are two sorts of idolatry, as we learn from the Scripture: one, which is forbidden in the first Commandment, when a false God (as *Baal*) is worship'd; the other, when the true God is worship'd, but the worship is directed towards any thing, (as the *Golden Calf*) that neither has any holiness in it self, nor is any symbol or token of the divine presence. And this we find is forbidden in the second Commandment. How therefore our Adversaries will be able to clear themselves from all blame in this matter, 'tis their busines to consider. I shall conclude this Chapter with the words of the excellent Archbishop *Usher*: " Altho' the gross idolatry of Popery be taken away from amongst us, yet the corruption cleaveth still to the hearts of many; as may be seen in them that make courtesy to the Chancel, where the high Altar stood.*

C H A P.

* *Body of Divinity*, p. 232.

C H A P. XIII.

Of reading *Apocryphal Books* in the Church.

There is a hot dispute between the Papists and Protestants, about the Canon of the Scripture. The Papists have for several ages commended to the people the Apocryphal Books, as tho' they were of equal authority with those of the Old and New Testament; whereas the Protestants with one consent agree, they are not to be reckon'd Canonical, and have every where, except in *England* and *Ireland*, laid aside the public reading them in the Church. The question is, whether this is not prudently done by our Brethren abroad, and whether the public reading these books, is without any danger prescrib'd here among us? Few of the common people ever look into the Articles of the Church of *England*, to learn what her doctrine is; but what they know of it, is from daily use and custom. So that when the *Apocrypha* is read at certain times, instead of the Holy Scriptures, and the Book of Common Prayer, which is in every ones hands, after setting down the order how the Psalter is appointed to be read, prescribes the course of both the Canonical and Apocryphal Lessons, under this one general title: *The order how the rest of the Holy Scripture is appointed to be read*: they give a handle to the crafty Papists of imposing upon the ignorant sort; nay, and the Churchmen themselves sometimes lead them into a great mistake.

But our Author tells us: *The Church expressly affirms, that the Canonical Books are the only rule of faith.** And for this he appeals to her VI Article. Now it must be own'd that Article is very express in the matter. But the Church is hardly consistent herein with her self; for in her Homilies she seems to speak very differently of the *Apocrypha*. I might mention the frequent quoting the Book of *Wisdom*, just as they wou'd do the Book of *Proverbs*, as tho' it were written indeed by the Wiseman, that is, *Solomon*. This is done nine or ten times in the three parts of the Homily for *Rogation week*. Thus *Baruch* is cited as the *Prophet Baruch*;

* *Pag. 322.*

such ; and his writing is call'd, *The word of the Lord to the Jews.** And the book of *Tobit* is attributed to the Holy Ghost in these express words : “ The same lesson doth the Holy Ghost also teach in sundry places of the Scripture, saying : *Mercifulness and alms giving purgeth from all sins, and delivereth from death, and suffereth not the soul to come into darkness, &c.* ”† Now if the *Apocrypha* is the word of God, and dictated by the Holy Ghost, I must confess I can't imagine why it should not be counted Canonical Scripture, and as much a rule of faith as any part of the Sacred Book. This is doctrine, which I am not Latitudinarian enough to subscribe, as *godly and wholesom, and necessary for these times* ; and which I should never care to read in the Church. And I cannot here upon this occasion but take notice, how very tender the Bishops were in the *Hampton Court Conference* of the honor of those Books ; which shews they had themselves got no good by the Church's order for the public reading them. For when Dr. *Rainolds* objected against them, *Bishop Barlow* tell us : “ The Bishop of *London* shew'd : First, for the antiquity of them, that most of the objections made against those Books, were the *old cavils* of the *Jews*, renew'd by *St. Jerom*, in his time, who was the first that gave them the name of *Apocrypha* ; which opinion, upon *Ruffinus's* challenge, he after a sort disclaim'd, the rather, because a general offence was taken at his speeches in that kind.” First, [rather Secondly] “ for the continuance of them in the Church, out of *Kimedoncius* and *Chemnitius* two modern Divines. The Bishop of *Winton* remember'd the distinction of *St. Jerom*, that these Books are *Canonical*, for information of manners, but not for confirming any matter of faith ; which distinction, he said, must be held for the justifying sundry Councils.” || So that the Bishop of *London* knew of no objections against them, but some *old Jewish cavils* ; and the Bishop of *Winton* allow'd them to be half Canonical. But how they could be canonical for manners, and not for faith, is too mysterious for my understanding. I should be glad to know, whether the *Angel's* teaching young *Tobias* how he might funk away the Devil *Asmodeus*, relates not rather to manners than to faith ;

* Part i. of the Hom. against wilful Rebel. p 221.
of Alms Deeds. † p. 61.

† Part ii. of Hom.

faith ; and whether the Book of Tobit be Canonical to direct our manners in such things ?

Our Author likewise adds, from the Article : *The Apocryphal [Books] are read for example of life, and instruction of manners ; but not to establish any doctrine.* We grant many excellent things are contain'd in those Books ; but there are several wretched lies told in them too ; which many think are more likely to make people laugh, and to corrupt mens manners, when they are read to them, than to promote piety ; altho' the Church affirms : “ Nothing is “ ordain'd to be read, but the pure word of God, the “ Holy Scriptures, or that which is agreeable to the “ same.” *

Tho' she esteems the word of God the best means, whereby to instil piety and virtue into mens hearts ; yet she can never be persuaded that 'tis a sin to read other sort of writings, compos'd by the best of men, and well suited to the edification of the hearers. For if so, then to what purpose should there be any preaching of sermons ? How would the people neglect the best performances of this kind, if they were once persuaded, that it was unlawful for them to hear any thing, but pure, literal Scripture ? Sermons serve to explain the Holy Scriptures, and to inculcate the prescrib'd duties of religion ; and therefore Ministers are bound to preach them, altho' no one takes them to be inspir'd. But 'tis quite another thing, when foolish, absurd, false and wicked things are read instead of the Holy Scripture.

*The sense of the antient Church was the same in this, with that of ours at this day †. Dionysius of Corinth, who liv'd in the second Century, acquaints us, that Clement's Epistle was read, according to antient custom, in the Church of Corinth : || and Eusebius says it was read in his time, in many Churches. ‡ But Justin gives a very different account of the custom of his time : That the writings of the Apostles or Prophets were read, as the time would allow. * But what a weak way of reasoning is this ? The antients read an excellent and pious Epistle of Clement to the people : therefore the conjurations of Tobit, and the forg'd lies of Judith, Susannah, Bell and the Dragon, are to be read to the people instead of Holy Scripture. But take the reason of this*

from

* Pref. to the Comm. Prayer, conc. the Serv. of the Church.

† Page 323.

|| Euseb. lib. iv.

‡ Id. lib. iii.

* Apol. ii.

from the learned Bishop Beveridge: "Both these Epistles, says he, of Clement, are written at the end of that most antient Copy of the Old and New Testament, kept in the King's Library (from whence also, they were first publish'd) in the same hand, and with the same great letters. So that we may probably conjecture these Epistles, at the time and place of writing the said copy, were reckon'd among the Canonical Books, according to the order of this Canon; otherwise, 'tis hard to give an account, why they should be thus bound up together."* Now if this conjecture be true, what wonder was it, an Epistle, which they judg'd to be Canonical, should be read in the Church? But what we blame the Churchmen for, is very different. For those Books which they acknowledge themselves to be Apocryphal, they not only bind up with the Bible, but read them instead thereof.

St. Austin relates how the histories of the Martyrs were read in the African Church, with certain narratives of miracles obtain'd by the Christians Prayers. † Austin in that Chapter speaks not a word of the reading the histories of the Martyrs, altho' the thing is certain enough from other testimonies. The narratives of miracles were indeed read to the people. But the custom began in Austin's time, who first introduc'd it. But these things signify little in our case. For they read them not instead of Canonical Scripture, nor did they read any thing but what they believ'd to be certainly true; whereas our Adversaries read that to the people, which they know is certainly false.

The Books of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobit, Judith, and the Maccabees, are recommended by the Council of Carthage, to be publicly read in the Church. ‡ To the Council of Carthage, I oppose the more antient Council of Laodicea, which forbids the reading any Books in the Church, which are not Canonical; † and reckons up the Canonical Books exactly as we do, saving that it leaves out the Revelation.* And when the Council of Carthage recommends those Books of Wisdom, &c. to be read, under what notion does it recommend them, as Canonical, or Apocryphal? Truly as Canonical. Hear the words of the Canon: "It seems good to us that nothing be read in the Church under

" the

* In App. Can. lxxxv. Vid. Cod. Can. Fecl. Primit. Vindic. lib. ii. c. 9. sect. 12.

† De Civi. Dei. l. b. xxii. c. 8. ‡ C. c. Carthag. Can. ... vii. § Can. lxi.

* Can. lx.

" the name of Holy Scripture, besides the Canonical Writings. Now the Canonical Writings are, &c." and among them those Books are mention'd. Nay, even the Council of Nice, reckon'd *Judith* Canonical, as *Jerom* testifies.* *Cyprian* took the *Maccabees* for such.† The Books of *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and *Maccabees*, contain abundance of profitable things; and *Tobit* has some that are not contemptible; but in each of these there are some mistakes. And unless our Adversaries design to teach people magic, they would act more prudently, if they omitted the vi chapter of *Tobit*. But as to the ill contriv'd Fables of *Judith*, *Susannah*, *Bell* and the *Dragon*, they dont deserve to be read in private.

And *Ruffinus* tells us they were also read in his time, tho' never made of equal authority with Canonical Scripture.|| I own, *Ruffinus* says so, and seems to have been of that opinion; but I much doubt whether this were the common sentiment of that Age. *Jerom*, as I observ'd, makes the Nicene Fathers to have had a different notion of *Judith*. Nor could *Jerom* and *Ruffinus* agree about the Canon of the Scriptures. For *Jerom* rejects the stories of *Susannah*, *Bell* and the *Dragon*, which he several times calls Fables.‡ But *Ruffinus* reckon'd these, or at least *Susannah*, and the *Hymn* of the *Three Children* Canonical. And yet when *Ruffinus* objected against *Jerom*, that he rejected those additions to the Prophecy of *Daniel*;* he was afraid to defend his opinion, tho' he had plainly enough profess'd it before, and therefore most craftily evades what his adversary had urg'd against him:† whence one may well gues, he departed from the receiv'd opinion of his own time. And *Cyril* of *Jerusalem* says, no *Apocryphal* Books were read in the Church, and forbids the private reading of them. I regard the authority of later writers as little in this controversy, as in many others. And therefore I pass by what he says of *Isidorus*, and *Rabanus Maurus*, altho' he is grossly mistaken in the opinion of the former, as will presently appear to any one who looks into his writings.||

From what has been said, I suppose, 'tis sufficiently evident the Doctor has in vain attempted to defend his cause from the practice of the antient Church. But since the opinions

* *Pref. in Judith.* † *Epist. ad Cornel.* ‡ *Ruff. in Symbol.* ± *Pref. i. Dan. c. xiii. in initio.* * *Invest. ii. in Hieron.* † *Vid. Hier. Apol. ii. ¶ Vide Orig. lib. vi. c. 1. Item. Lib. Prooemior.*

opinions of the antient writers differ so much about the Canon of the Scripture, I will dispatch this matter in a few words. Either therefore these Books, which are call'd *Apocryphal*, were at first reckon'd Canonical, and therefore publicly read in the Church ; or else while they were read, tho' not reckon'd at first Canonical, their authority by degrees and insensibly increas'd, till at last they came to be esteem'd as a part of the Canon of Scripture. Our Author may chuse which he pleases. If the former ; the antients are to be commended, who injoin'd the reading all those books which they counted Canonical ; but our Adversaries are to be blam'd, who will not suffer *Solomon's Song*, and other parts of the Holy Scripture, which they own to be Canonical, to be read to the congregation. But what can it signify to us, who unanimously declare those Books are not Canonical ? If on the other hand he chuses the latter ; we hence see those books cannot without great danger be long read in the Church. And the Council of *Carthage*, which the Doctor appeals to, gives this reason for their account of the Canon of the Scripture: That they had receiv'd it from the Fathers, that those books ought to be read in the Church : and therefore being warn'd by their example, we should take great care not to fall into the same evil with them.* For what has been formerly the effect of any course, may be so again. But let us return to the Doctor.

But there is not one Sunday in all the year, on which any of our Lessons are taken out of an *Apocryphal Book*. That distinguishing honor is paid to the Sacred Scripture alone, to be read on these solemn occasions. And because then are the greatest assemblies of Christians, both of learned and unlearned, 'tis wisely order'd, that they should be all instrusted out of the genuine word of God, and that ignorant people should have nothing to take offence at.† I can't see how this will consist with what he says himself. For if the *Apocryphal Books* are therefore read, as he tells us himself in his *Latin edition*, that people may, by the excellent examples, and useful counsels of pious men, which are contain'd therein, be the more earnestly excited to lead a good life ;|| why should not lessons taken out of them be useful on Sundays, when they ought to be as earnestly excited to this, as at any time whatever ? And what offence, I pray, can be taken

taken at the excellent examples and useful counsels of pious men? But see now how little countenance they have herein from the primitive Christians. They us'd to read such kind of writings, as particularly Clement's Epistle, on the Lord's Day, not suspecting any danger therein: * our Adversaries, on the contrary, think they sufficiently guard against what they acknowledge to be a real danger, by reading these books at a time when ignorant people cannot be present. And thus at length we have got their confession, who formerly maintain'd, there was no danger at all in these Apocryphal lessons. Seeing therefore the congregations of our Adversaries are never made up entirely of learned men, but ignorant people are always more or less mix'd with them, those lessons cannot be prudently injoin'd. But let us hear the rest: *The Apocryphal Books are assign'd either to the festivals of Saints, or the common week days, and to the autumn quarter, when harvest work makes country congregations thin. And even the second lesson is always Canonical Scripture.* Which one would think should silence the calumniating tongues of our Adversaries on this head. Our Author was greatly deceiv'd in thinking this a satisfactory answer. For, beside what is already said, there is no necessity for these lessons. Why then should they give men any occasion to take offence? Further, this defence is weak. For in villages, where men live, who employ themselves in harvest work, there are very seldom any assemblies on week days, but this is more usual in cities and market towns; altho' in them also there are many ignorant people. Nay, in many such places men have in autumn little to do. And if our Author has assign'd the true reason of their practice, why is an Apocryphal lesson appointed for *Innocents day, December 28*; a time when men have more leisure than all the year beside?

But the Doctor goes on, and starts an objection, which he saw we might easily make: *But these stories exclude a great part of the Canonical Scripture out of the Church.* But being convinc'd of this truth, and wanting a reason whereby to defend their practice, he has recourse to the fly arts of Rhetoricians. First therefore he saies: *I wonder with what face the objectors can say this?* With a very modest one sure, as we shall see presently. Next he endeavours to elude

* Euseb. E. H. lib. iv. c. 22.

elude the force of the objection, by making a comparison between their custom and ours: *I would undertake, at the hazard of my life, to make it as clear as the sun, that there is more Canonical Scripture read in our Churches (even tho' we should except the Psalms, Epistles and Gospels) in two months, than there is in a whole year in the largest Meetings of our Adversaries.* But even thus he does not untie, but cut the knot. For if these Apocryphal lessons come in the room of the Sacred Scriptures, our argument remains good. How much of the Scripture shall be read at a time in the assembly, is nowhere appointed in the word of God, but is wholly left to the prudence of every Church. Nor have we ever complain'd that the Church's appointed lessons were too short. But we blame our Adversaries for spending frequently that time in these Apocryphal lessons, which might better be employ'd in reading Canonical Scripture. Besides, the comparison is not fairly put: for their morning and evening prayers are instead of family prayer; and therefore, our Adversaries think persons need not use family prayer, when they can attend those in public. The comparison therefore should have been made between what they read in the Church on the one side, and what we read both in the Church and in our families on the other. And when 'tis so put, our Author's assertion will be found to be false. But now if any are not satisfy'd with this answer, our Author has another ready for them, which, as the fullest of all, he has reserv'd for the last. *But to rid our bands of this calumny, that we exclude the Scriptures, let it be remember'd, that almost the whole Bible is read over in our Church once a year, [viz. in those places where there are prayers morning and evening all the year round, which are comparatively very few] a few genealogical or obscurely prophetical Chapters being omitted.* The Translator should have added: Or some others which speak too broadly (according to the custom of those in Asia) of obscene matters, and might cause disorderly motions in unsettled minds.* And here our Adversaries imitate the antients likewise; those I mean, who strain'd at a gnat, and swallow'd a camel. † For, according to the judgment of these men, the Word of God must not be read in a Christian congregation, while the notorious and magical lies of the *Apocrypha* are without

* Pag. 325.

† Matth. xxiii. 24.

without any danger put in the room of it. I suppose *Solomon's Song* is here particularly intended by our Author. This Book, which is so often cited by the Fathers, and upon which they have written commentaries, is never read in the Church of *England's* assemblies, lest the too broad speeches in it should cause disorderly motions in unsettled minds. Who now will wonder, that our Author should reproach us with an *amorous divinity*, * when some of the oracles of the Holy Ghost, written after the manner of those in *Asia*, are reckon'd by him unworthy to be publicly read? And herein perhaps he design'd to gratify some, who would fain have that Book excluded from the Canon of the Scriptures. But how could he tell, the minds of the Jews were better settled than ours? How did he know, this book might with less danger be read to them, than to our country men? A wicked mind has wicked inclinations. I should not scruple to affirm, that lessons taken out of it might be much more useful, than many of their *Apocryphal* ones.

But those parts of the *Apocryphal* writings which our Adversaries most carp at, are not wholly without excuse. Take the most exceptionable piece, *Bel and the Dragon*, and let it pass for fabulous; yet still as a pious allegory, in fashion with the Jews, it may be retain'd.

But yet it seems, the pious allegory of the Holy Spirit, being writ after the fashion of those in *Asia*, ought not to be retain'd. But what our Author would have retain'd, we must reject, if we will hearken to the Apostle. For of the same kind are those *Jewish*, and *old wives fables*, which he requires us to refuse. † And yet these, because *Jewish* forsooth, must now be retain'd; by which argument the reading all the ridiculous fables of the Rabbins may upon occasion be defended. That Book is indeed not only a fable, but a very foolish one, more adapted to provoke the hearers to laughter, than to stir them up to a good conversation. And yet this was first order'd to be a lesson by the wise Synod of 1662, who would rather make themselves ridiculous to all the world, than not offend the Dissenters. I wish our Adversaries would explain the hidden meaning of this pious allegory, that it might be made the more useful.

R r

Nay,

* *Page* 88.† *Tit. i. 14.* *1 Tim. iv. 7.*

Nay, some very learned and wise men, viz. Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Nazianzen, have asserted the truth of the plain matter of fact. *

The three first of these, did not only think the Book to be true, but also Canonical. Wherefore, either their authority proves nothing in this case, or it proves too much. Now, that they all judg'd it Canonical, appears from their constant citing of it as the genuine work of the Prophet Daniel; for they us'd only the Seventies Translation of the Old Testament, having no knowledge of the Hebrew. But our Author was careless in joining Nazianzen with them, who does not speak of *Bell* and the *Dragon*, but of *Bell* and *Dagon*, and alludes to *Isai. xlvi. 1.* and *xxxiii. 9.*

And tho' the History of Susannah be the subjeſt of their scoffs, yet St. Jerom, and Origen, writ Commentaries upon it. † Origen, I grant, writ upon it; but Africanus, who liv'd at the same time, had a much meaner opinion of it. ‖ But 'tis not fairly ſaid, Jerom writ Commentaries upon it. He tranſlated indeed those of Origen, but did not write any himſelf. Hear what he ſays himſelf: "Having explain'd as well as "I could, what is contain'd in the Book of Daniel, accor- "ding to the Hebrew, I will now ſet down briefly what Ori- "gen ſays, in the tenth Book of his *Stromata*, concerning "the fables of Susannah and Bell, and they are his words, "which you will find in their proper places." ‡ And whatever there is in that Commentary, that is not Origen's, but Jerom's, is wholly design'd as a conſutation of the ſtory. So that 'twas not handsome in our Author to hale Jerom, ſo much againſt his inclination, over to his own ſide.

And that moſt antient writer St. Clement quotes her as an admirable pattern of virtue.*

Through the whole Epiftle I find not the leaſt mention made of her. There ſeems to be an omission here in the print. I am apt to ſuſpect the Doctor had ſaid ſomewhat of Judith, which was left out through the carelessness of the printer. And the name *Virago*, which he gives her, ſuits better with Judith than Susannah. And Judith is indeed commended by Clement, in his Epiftle. † Unless the conjecture of Mr. Patrick Young, and another learned man, whose

Notes

* Lib. iv. c. 11. De Idol. Lib. i. epift. 4. & lib. iii. epift. 1. Adv. Jul. Orat. iv.
† Vide Comm. Hieron. ¶ Euseb. H. E. lib. vi. c. 31. ‡ In Dan. xiii. 1.

* Clem. Epift. 1. ad Cor. ¶ Lib. 55.

Notes are publish'd by Mr. *Le Clerc*, in his edition of the Apostolical Fathers, should be here allow'd, who think the whole passage is foisted in from *Clement of Alexandria*. But let us suppose that *Susannah* was quoted by *Clement*. Will he hereby demonstrate, that in those days this Book had its authority in the Church? That it had equal authority with other prophane histories, I will not deny. But he that would prove from *Clement*, that 'twas read in the Church, may, by the same argument, prove they read in the Church the stories of the *Danaides* and of *Dirce*, which he quotes in like manner; * and the writings of the *Sibyls*, which, it appears by an antient author, † were quoted by him; tho' we meet not now with the citation, the Epistle being imperfect. Nay, *Clement* in his second Epistle (if it be his) quotes the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*, || which many others of the Fathers have done. Nor does *Tertullian* disdain to borrow examples from the Gentiles, but proposes *Lucretia*, *Mutius*, *Heraclitus*, *Dido*, &c. to Christians, as patterns for their imitation. ‡ The Fathers did not perceive the fraud of that fable of *Judith*, which no body is now ignorant of. And Mr. *Limborch* very justly says of it: "It seems to be writ by some *Jewish* trifler, who, without any judgment, would needs write a History for the commendation of his own nation." *

In this, as well as other things, the great moderation of our Church is seen, which, not willing to deprive the flock of Christ of any Book which might serve to their edification, hath retain'd several Chapters of the *Apocrypha* to this purpose. If that be your mind, why are not *Clement*, *Hermas*, and several others, read in your Churches, as they were in antient times? But he adds a caution: But yet, lest she should seem to dote on them, as much as the Church of Rome doth, she hath turn'd out of her *Kalendar* all those parts which are grossly erroneous, that the people may not be misled by the reading of them. Who now can deny their great moderation is seen in this matter? Would you have me go to particulars? Why, they leave out *Tobit* v. because it brings in the Angel telling a lie. But Chap. vi, and viii, which are magical, are read; and so is Chap. xii, Vers. 12, 15. *Wijd.* viii. 19, 20. not to mention other places, taken notice of in all Systems of

* *Cap. 6.* † *Resp. ad quest. 74.* inter *Justin. Opera.* || *C. p. ult. Vide Cotol. not. in Loc.* ‡ *Ad Martyr. c. 4.* * *Theol. Christ. lib. i. c. 3. sect. 2.*

Divinity. And thus these men, if they throw any corruptions out of the worship of God, call it *great moderation*, tho' at the same time they retain, perhaps, those that are equally bad.

CHAP XIV.

Of the Church's Homilies, and Ministers Sermons.

HERE is no need of treating largely of the *Homilies of the Church*, which are now but seldom read to the people. The late disuse of these is acknowledg'd, by such as are men of candor among our Adversaries, to be in a great measure owing to our Ministers. For, while they were industrious in their work, they not only provok'd them to diligence by their example, but in a manner forc'd them to preach often, lest they should render themselves contemptible in the eyes of the common people. The Apostle tells us, that a Minister of the Gospel must be *apt to teach*.* Wherefore, we think, they who are not able by their own study to teach the people the Christian faith and life, are to be kept out of the Ministry, as unworthy of it, unless no better can be had. Far be it from us, indeed, to blame our Reformers, for the pains they took in composing Homilies. The most miserable state religion was in at that time, when very few were found, who either could, or would instruct the people in sound doctrine, requir'd some such remedy. Nay, we think the doctrine of the Homilies is, in the main, very good. And tho' we look upon the Holy Scriptures as the only *touchstone*, by which we are to try *doctrines*; yet we cannot but so far agree with Dr. Nichols, as to wish they were more minded by *the people and the younger Clergy*.† For the divinity contain'd in the Homilies seems to us more consonant to the Scriptures, than that of many of our modern Sermons. For, indeed, they often endeavour to refute in their Sermons the doctrine they have subscrib'd in the Homilies and Articles. And yet, as some disagreeable things are to be met with in the Homilies, the Clergy (as it seems to us) are unreasonably requir'd to subscribe them.

I

I proceed now to their Sermons. And here I dont well understand what our Author means, when he reckons earnestness in preaching to be useless and superfluous. When he was before treating of Organs, and instrumental Music, he pretended there was a mighty virtue in them, to tame wild beasts, and to warm and affect, nay, even to ravish and transport men; whereupon he thus concludes: *Now since our souls are so much accustom'd to worldly matters, as to be very cold and slow to the love of God, we have need of such helps as these, to warm our affections, and put them in motion. By these we are dispos'd to be importunate in our prayers for any divine favour, &c.** But now by I know not what alteration it happens, that all these helps are wholly superfluous, and there is no need to use any vehemence and earnestness in speaking, in order to work upon mens affections. Their [the antient orators] great endeavour was to excite the attention, and work upon the passions of the judges, that they might have a perfect understanding of the cause, which otherwise did not concern them. But the things of the Christian religion, which are the subjects of our Sermons, are of such universal concern, and of such weight and moment in themselves, that if they are but clearly and distinctly propounded to mens understandings, they can hardly deny their assent to them. For what grace and beauty can be added to things divine, or who can amplify that which is infinite and eternal? The Christian religion shines brightest in its own native dress, and to paint it, is but to deform it.† This observation, which I have taken notice of before, is a most true and useful one, if there be any in all the Book; and, indeed, it refutes the greater part of it. For, all the *meretricious paint* (as he calls it) of civil honors confer'd upon the Bishops, of Musical instruments, of Garbs, Holidays, and all other ceremonies borrow'd from Pagans, Papists, or Jews, do but deform the Christian religion. But this by the way: for the Doctor goes on: *Life eternal wants nothing to make it desirable; and the least serious thought of everlasting punishment carries that horror in it, that all the figures and flowers of rhetoric are unnecessary to the description of it.* And why should not this be own'd to be true in the business of prayer, wherein we pray that we may obtain eternal life, and escape everlasting punishment? What need of so much ado, to stir mens

Rr 3

affections,

affections, which are mov'd enough of themselves by these important things? If our Author found his parishioners so very prone to think of everlasting concerns, he had an unusual happiness, which very few, if any faithful Ministers ever met with beside. Nay, according to his way of reasoning, Minister's sermons would become useless, since men may think at home of things *divine, infinite, and eternal*. There is a twofold design of sermons, to inform mens minds, and to move their affections; and an earnestness in preaching serves to promote both, as it tends to make the hearers the more attentive to what is said. They are therefore in the wrong, who would have these ornaments of speech laid aside. But let them hear what Bishop *Burnet* says, who is more to be regarded: "Man is a low sort of creature; he does not, nay, nor the greatest part cannot consider things in themselves, without those seasonings that must recommend them to their affections. That a discourse be heard with any *life*, it must be spoken with *some*; and the looks and motions of the eye do carry in them such additions to what is said, that where these do not at all concur, it has not all the force upon them, that otherwise it might have." * He therefore sends preachers to *Tully, Quintilian, &c.* to learn from them the art of speaking. † I cannot here forbear mentioning *Quintilian's* words, concerning the gestures of an orator. "Tis no wonder, says he, if these things, which yet lie in some motion, have so great an effect upon mens minds; since a picture, which is a silent work, and always appears the same, can so make its way to our most inward affections, as that it shall seem sometimes to surpass the force there is in speaking. On the other hand, if the gesture and countenance suit not to the things we are saying, and we speak merrily of melancholy subjects, and affirm any thing with the usual gesture of denying, our words will not only carry no authority with them, but even fail of being believ'd.----The countenance, above all, bears rule. With this we intreat, with this we threaten, with this we are sorrowful, with this we are sad, with this we are bold, with this we are submissive, upon this men depend, " this

“ this they look upon, this they observe, even before
“ we speak, with this we love some, with this we hate
“ others, by this we understand many things, this is
“ many times instead of all words.” *

I will here also add the judgment of Dr. *Edwards* :
“ This is an accomplishment of the Ministers of the Gos-
“ pel, they preach so that their auditors may feel, as well
“ as hear them. Their pronunciation is not careless, fri-
“ gid, and languid ; but lively, fervent, and powerful.
“ For they know [as Mr. *Herbert* saith] that *they procure*
“ *attention by earnestness of speech* ; it being natural to men
“ to think, that where there is much earnestness, there is some-
“ what worth hearing.----- A main requisite in an orator
“ was thought, by one of the eminentest men of that facul-
“ ty, to be *action* ; and I do not see how it can be want-
“ ing in a preacher, who is the choicest of orators. Some
“ action should at least appear in him, some decent car-
“ riage, some grace in delivery ; for this is a proper means
“ of affecting the minds of men. I could never ap-
“ prove of those pulpit men, who stand moveless in that
“ place, as if they were ty'd to the stake ; a sign that
“ preaching is a martyrdom to them.” †

These are the things which we command in a preacher, nor do we desire such, to observe any other directions, than what Bishop *Burnet*, and Dr. *Edwards*, not only lay down in their writings, but also practis'd in their preaching, to the great advantage of their hearers. If there are any, who use an indecent gesture (as a man may err on that hand) I will not undertake to defend them. But they are in a worse mistake, who would have all action laid aside in preaching, and that Ministers should read their sermons with their eyes fix'd upon their notes, without so much as looking, it may be, on the people. Nor do we fear the judgment of our Brethren abroad in this matter.

The Doctor very weakly charges our predecessors with an affected way of preaching. || I grant they preach'd with life and spirit, and with a loud voice, if they had one ; nor will any one in his wits blame them for it. We should thank him for the great commendation he is pleased to give of the present set of Nonconformist Ministers, were it not

* *Initit. Orat. lib. xi. c. 3.* † *The Preacher, part i. p. 183, 184.* ‡ *p. 334.*

manifestly done with a design of loading our ancestors with the greater reproach. There is, indeed, a strange levity and inconstancy to be observ'd in our Adversaries, who, according as they think it will be to their purpose, sometimes, with Bishop Burnet, * make our predecessors to have excell'd us; and sometimes, with our Author, represent us as far surpassing them. Whom are we now to believe? I fear Bishop Burnet's account comes nearest to the truth. But since our Adversaries so highly commend, sometimes our predecessors, and sometimes us of the present generation; let our Brethren judge, upon what design, and by what right they cast them out of their Communion, and shut the door against our return, by their paltry ceremonies, and their, at best, very doubtful subscriptions.

Further, our Author very falsely represents us, as now disesteeming Mr. Baxter, and our other Divines of his time. That reverend person was very excellent in practical divinity, and the most happy and useful way of preaching; that I may say nothing of the extraordinary sharpness and subtilty of his understanding. And, indeed, it would be very shameful in us, if we did not highly value and honor a person, so greatly commended by very considerable men of the Episcopal party, such as, *Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Barrow, Glanvil, Sherlock, &c.* Nay, we reckon him to have been one of the most valuable Divines of our nation, and his own time; than whom, unless we are much mistaken, God has hardly honor'd any one person, since the Reformation, to be a more successful instrument to advance true piety. But 'tis needless to multiply words in his commendation, since his character is well known, not only at home, but to our Brethren abroad, from his most useful writings, translated into many foreign languages. But the incurable wound that most pious person gave the *English Hierarchy, and ceremonics*, can never be forgiven. Hence are these whining complaints. For this reason they make such an outcry, and endeavour to lessen his reputation. And that our Adversaries may not any longer impose upon themselves with this pleasant fancy, we let them know, we esteem *Owen, Baxter, Bates, How, Charnock, Manton, Gilpin*, and many others, whom it would be tedious to reckon up, as some of the most excellent Divines of the last Century. We own

own there were many famous Divines also among the Churchmen; but doubt whether we agree with our Author in naming the persons. But how did our Author know, we take our way of reasoning from the clear method of their *Sharps* and *Tillotsons*?

I say nothing of Archbishop *Sharp*, few of whose writings I have ever seen. Archbishop *Tillotson* is remarkable for an admirable stile, a solid confutation of the *Papists*, a clear and useful handling of the duties of natural religion; and, wherein I wish his example were more follow'd, an excellent moderate temper, which he very seldom fails to discover in his writings. But if a man would have an intire scheme of Christianity, he must not, in my judgment, content himself with his writings alone. Dr. *Edwards* has sufficiently evidenc'd this, by what he has lately said upon that subject. His works are in every *English* reader's hands, and therefore I shall forbear transcribing much from him. I shall only take notice of one place, where he says, unless the Clergy mend their preaching,
" Some are apt to think, that there will be a necessity of
" repairing sometimes to other assemblies, besides those of
" their Church; that persons may have the whole of reli-
" gion taught them." * And neither he, nor the Dissenters, blame Ministers for *pressing moral virtues* in their sermons, provided the other parts of the Christian religion are not omitted. But 'tis no wonder many sermons favour so little of Christianity, when a system of Divinity is very seldom, if ever, read to Students in our Universities: but after four years, spent in the study of Philology and Philosophy, they are sent abroad to undertake the care of parishes, when they have hardly enter'd upon the study of Divinity; or if they continue longer in the Universities, they must study Divinity by themselves, without the assistance of a Tutor. And hence 'tis so common for our Adversaries to contemn and undervalue the Professors of the Universities abroad. †

C H A P.

* Preacher, in the Pref. p. 37.

† *Vid. p. 327. Edit. Lat.*

C H A P. XV.

Of the Faults found with the English Liturgy.

I Have had occasion already, in several places, to speak of the faults of the Liturgy : I shall therefore treat of them but briefly in this place, since my work has already run to too great a length. Our Author mentions three several faults we find with it, which he afterwards distinctly endeavours to excuse. How well he performs the task he undertakes, we shall consider in speaking to each.

The first fault then he speaks of in the Liturgy is : *Because the Lord's Prayer is repeated three or four times in the Service ; this, they say, is like the Popish Opus operatum ; 'tis using vain repetitions in our prayer, and defiling the sacred worship of God with impure superstition.** And to this accusation he thus answers : *But the reason why the Lord's Prayer is so often repeated in the same assembly is, because several distinct Offices are put together, viz. Morning Prayer, the Litany, and the Communion Service, which are sometimes us'd separately ; and for that reason the Church has provided, that we never shou'd break our Saviour's rule in our prayers, but use the form which he hath given us.* †

But this is a sorry excuse. For when two Offices are put together, why may not those things, which are common to both, be left out in one or t'other of them ? Let now any indifferent persons judge, whether when that Prayer is repeated, as 'tis upon some occasions, six times in one assembly, they dont sin against that command of our Saviour : *But when ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the Heathen do ; for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking.* ‖ And if our Adversaries had a mind to put twenty Offices together, the Lord's Prayer might by the same reason be repeated twenty times. But neither is this excuse altogether true. For they always repeat it twice in the single Office of Morning Prayer, as likewise in that of the Communion ; nor is the Litany an office that is ever, as far as I know, said by itself.

The

The second fault the Doctor mentions, is: *Because we pray to be deliver'd from fornication, and all other deadly sin; this, they say, is, with the Papists, to suppose, that there are some venial sins.** His answer here is: *Fornication is call'd a mortal sin, both to shew the heinous nature of it, that it is peculiarly displeasing to God, and pernicious to our own souls; and likewise to correct the Papists, who reckon this among venial sins.* †

Protestant Divines have long ago exploded this distinction, the Papists have coin'd between *mortal* and *venial* sins. And since *death is the wages of every sin*, unless God's pardoning Grace prevent it, there is no reason, why that distinction should be again admitted. Hence the *Presbyterian* Ministers, in the Conference appointed by King *Charles II.* desir'd those words might be alter'd, and fornication might be rather call'd a *heinous*, than a *deadly* Sin. But the *Episcopal* Commissioners made conscience of not gratifying their Brethren in so small a request, altho' *Usher, Williams, Pridgeaux, Ward, Brownrigge, Featly, and Hacket*, who were most of them Bishops, had before given their advice for such an alteration; such a hatred had they, at that time, of peace. And however Dr. *Nichols* here pretends to justify the Church in this particular, yet 'tis plain he did not think we found fault without a cause. For speaking of that conference, upon another occasion, he very honestly tells us: "The Bishops were not very forward to make any alterations, which were proposed by the *Presbyterians*, even in some things as might have deserv'd consideration; refusing them so much as the change of *deadly sin*, into *heinous sin*." || Now we are the rather desirous of this alteration, because we observe several of the Church Ministers do, in their writings, openly abet and defend that distinction.

But I proceed to the third fault. *Because, says he, in the Office of burial, we pray, That when we depart this life, we may rest in Christ, as our hope is, this our brother doth. This, say they, is commonly to lie to the Spirit of God, and to promise the kingdom of Heaven to the children of the Devil.* ‡ But this objection he hopes easily to get over, thus: *According to the rules of Christian charity, we hope for the salvation of every deceased*

* Page 338. † Page 339. ‡ *Comment on the Common Prayer, Pref. p. 9.*

¶ *Page 338.*

deceased person, who dies within the pale of the Church; as thinking, we cannot, without the greatest arrogance, exclude any, in our private judgment, from the common reward of Christians, whom the Church hath not thought fit to exclude by her public censure.*

I am utterly ignorant what those rules of Christianity are, which require us to hope thus concerning men, who were, it may be, notorious for all manner of wickedness. The Spirit of God testifies, that the *unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God.* † How then can we hope, that such are made partakers of the eternal inheritance, provided only they died not under the Church's censure? How many wicked wretches are daily buried, who, as they gave no signs of so much as a death bed repentance, have left us no room for such a hope in their case? To require Ministers to express such a hope, is as wicked, as 'tis absurd. Nay, if we suppose the case to be doubtful, what occasion is there to say any thing about it? But profligate wretches meet with that charity among our Adversaries, which several of the furious High blades refuse to shew to any Dissenters. Nor can it be express'd how great mischief has been done to religion, by the promiscuous use of this form in burying the dead. Men are easily harden'd in their impieties, when they hear such hope is entertain'd of those that liv'd and died like themselves. If it was left to a Minister's discretion, to express this charitable hope of the dead he buries, or not to express it, according as he saw there was reason, it would be quite another case. But since they are requir'd always to say the same, of all those that have been baptiz'd, and did not die excommunicate, or by laying violent hands on themselves, we cannot oblige ourselves to conform to such a custom. But let this matter be judg'd by the words of the Liturgy: " For as much as it hath pleased Almighty God, of his great mercy, to take unto himself the soul of our dear brother here departed, we therefore commit his body to the ground; earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust, in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life, through our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile body, &c:---- Almighty God, with whom live the spirits of them that depart hence in the Lord, and with

“ with whom the souls of the faithful, after they are deliver'd from the burden of the flesh, are in joy and felicity ; we give thee hearty thanks, for that it hath pleased thee to deliver this our brother, out of the miseries of this sinful world, &c.---- We meekly beseech thee, O Father, to raise us from the death of sin, unto the life of righteousness ; that when we shall depart this life, we may rest in him [Christ] as our hope is, this our brother doth.” These are the words to be said of every one that’s buried, and which our author has undertaken to defend ; but which to us appear to be such as would justify our Separation, if we dislik’d nothing else. Nor can our Adversaries agree with one another in this matter. For in the *Savoy Conference*, they refus’d to make any desir’d alterations in the Office, and gave this reason for it : “ We see not why these words may not be said of any person, whom we dare not say is damn’d ; and it were a breach of charity to say so, even of those, whose repentance we do not see : for whether they do not inwardly and heartily repent, even at the last act, who knows ? And that God will not, even then, pardon them upon such repentance, who dares say ? ”* And yet Dr. *Pain*, and many other of their Divines, stiffly deny that any such late repentance can be true, and saving.

So much for the faults of the Liturgy, here mention’d by our Author. From what has been said, *the whole Reform’d world*, to whose judgment he submits the matter in the end of the Chapter, may now decide between us, whether we have not justly found fault with these things, notwithstanding what Dr. *Nichols* has alledg’d to the contrary. The rest of this Chapter is spent in runing over the several parts of the Liturgy ; that so it may appear, forsooth, *how much their Liturgy excels all others, either in the antient, or the present Church.* † But if a man were inclin’d throughly to examine all the parts, and members of this exquisite body of prayers (as our Adversaries esteem it) ’twere easy to shew that each of them has its defects and blemishes. But for the reason I gave before, I shall content my self with only a few brief remarks.

The *Confession*, which our Author so highly extols, is too short and general, and seemis not well adapted to answer

swer the end of confession, that is, to promote the contrition of the heart. And tho' *very heinous particular sins*, of which the assembly has not been guilty, are not to be brought into a public confession; yet there are many offences, which all are chargeable with; and ought therefore to be more particularly insisted on in that part of the Service. The Church of *England* holds the doctrine of original sin; nay more, that *Adam's sin is imputed to all his posterity*, as our Author informs us.* Why then should not original sin be taken into their confession; especially, since it serves to shew the necessity of the mercy of God obtain'd for us by the blood of Christ?

The *alternate reciting of the Psalms* † is no where commanded by the Church, but has crept in by an evil custom. The Minister's part may be easily understood, but the confus'd noise of the people is hardly intelligible. Further, the Psalms they read are not those of the last translation, made from the *Hebrew*; but an old one, agreeable to that of the Seventy, in which some things are improperly, nay, and very badly render'd. But they expect allowances herein, to be made them upon the account of their deference and love to antiquity.

The *repeating the Creed* always at the Communion began not before the middle of the fifth Century, and was the Contrivance of *Peter Fullo*, an Heretic; as *Theodorus Lector* tells us.|| This I take notice of for the sake of those who are Lovers of antiquity; because Dr. *Nichols* has said nothing of the antiquity, or Author of this practice.

The *Litany* is made up of a great many little short prayers, heap'd up together, without any great matter of order.‡ These petitions are pronounc'd, partly by the Minister, and partly by the people, who sometimes divide one short sentence between them. But I will present our Arbitrators with a part of the Litany, that they may the better judge, whether our Adversaries are guilty of those *vain repetitions* condemn'd by our Saviour, or not. " *Min.*
 " *Son of God, we beseech thee to hear us. Answ.*
 " *Son of God, we beseech thee to hear us. Min. O*
 " *Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world;*
 " *Answ. Grant us thy peace. Min. O Lamb of God, that*
 " *takest away the sins of the world; Answ. Have mercy*
 " *upon*

" upon us. *Min.* O Christ, hear us. *Answ.* O Christ, hear us.
 " *Min.* Lord, have mercy upon us. *Answ.* Lord, have mercy
 " upon us. *Min.* Christ, have mercy upon us. *Answ.* Christ,
 " have mercy upon us. *Min.* Lord, have mercy upon us.
 " *Answ.* Lord, have mercy upon us. *Min.* Our Father which
 " art in heaven, &c." In so few words as these, *have mercy*
upon us is seven times repeated; and *hear us* four times,
 tho' it had been repeated above twenty times before, in the
 former part of the same Office. And who can now help *open-*
ing his eyes, and seeing how much this *Liturgy* excels all others,
 either in the antient, or the present Church? We dont at all
 blame the reiterated petitions of a devout soul, that arise
 from a more vehement and extraordinary affection. But,
 to speak the truth, I hardly think this depends upon our
 own pleasure, but proceeds from that Spirit of supplication,
 who acts of his own good pleasure. Altho' we are to endea-
 vor to stir up our souls to the most fervent desires, as
 often as we pray; yet good men experience themselves
 sometimes favour'd with a more than ordinary aid of the
 Spirit in their private devotions: and hence they do
 well to redouble their petitions. But I dont yet under-
 stand, how our advocates for the Liturgy can be certain
 the assembly shall be favour'd with such extraordinary de-
 sires at the precise time, when these repetitions are pre-
 scrib'd, rather than any other, wherein the same or such
 like things are pray'd for by them.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Discipline of the Church of England.

OUR Adversaries are very angry at our complaints of
 their want of ecclesiastical Discipline; altho' some of
 the most considerable men among themselves, acknowledge
 there is too much reason for them. Our Author boldly
 appeals to all impartial judges, whether they ever knew any wiser
 government in the whole Christian world: * notwithstanding, he
 here in the beginning of this Chapter, grants 'tis defective.
 They may, says he, be pleas'd to understand, that our Discipline,
 tho' short of what good men wish for, yet is the best we can have
 in these miserable divisions of the Church. †

Dr.

* *Vide page 347.* † *Page 344.*

Dr. *Whitby* takes notice by the by, that the Church of *England* observes no Church Discipline.* And the Liturgy it self teaches them, once a year, to wish the godly discipline of the primitive Church restor'd. I have also taken notice already, from Bishop *Burnet*, how very corrupt their present Discipline is. And I suppose, 'twill please the reader to hear what the same excellent person's judgment was, concerning that matter, in one of the last works he publish'd.

" *The proviso, say she, that had pass'd in K. Henry the Eighth's time, that continu'd all the Canon law then receiv'd in *England*, 'till a Code of Ecclesiastical laws was prepar'd (which, tho' attempted, and well prepar'd, was never settled) has fix'd among us many gross abuses, beside the dilatory forms of those Courts, which make all proceedings in them both slow and chargeable.* This has in a great measure enervated all Church Discipline. A faint wish, that is read on *Also Wednesday*, intimates a desire of reviving the antient Discipline; yet no progress has been made to render that more effectual. The exemptions settled by the Papal authority do put many parts of this Church in a very disjointed state: while in some places the Laity, and in many others Presbyters exercise episcopal jurisdiction, independent on their Bishops, in contradiction to their principles: while they assert a divine right for settling the government of the Church in Bishops, and yet practise Episcopal authority in the virtue of an act of Parliament, that provisionally confirm'd those Papal invasions of the Episcopal power; which is plainly that, which by a modern name is called *Erasianism*, and is so severely censur'd by some who yet practise it; since whatever is done under the pretence of law, against the divine appointment, can go under no better name, than the highest and worst degree of *Erasianism*. †

But to return to Dr. *Nichols*: What are those miserable divisions of the Church, which hinder the restoring Discipline? Certainly, they are not so much those between them and us, as those among themselves. If all the Episcoparians were agreed, why might they not be able to recover the antient form of Discipline? The pious part of the Clergy, among whom the Doctor doubtless made one, earnestly

* Upon Rom. xiv. 6. † Hist. Refor. part iii. p. 330.

earnestly desire it, and perhaps carefully endeavour it ; but such designs are hinder'd by others, who, not without cause, are afraid of them. If the true ecclesiastical Discipline were once set up, I make no doubt, our controversy would soon be ended. For whensoever our merciful Father shall please, by his Holy Spirit, to stir up the Churchmen, to mend their Discipline ; he will, without question, infuse into them, at the same time, such a Spirit of love and peace, as will effectually put an end to their childish fondness for trifles. Which if once it happens ; what shall be able to prevent our being united ? As to the Dissenters, they neither are, nor can be a hindrance to the restoration of the antient Discipline. 'Tis not long of us, that they can't govern their own Members, hold Synods, lay aside their bad Canons, and make new ones. We greatly long to see that happy day : God grant it may be hasten'd. I confess, they labour under this one inconvenience, that they can make no ecclesiastical laws without the consent of the government ; but that is not owing to us, but to the constitution of their Church. And yet, who can imagine the government would be against so good a thing as the restoring Discipline, if they did but see it were heartily desir'd by the greater part of the Clergy ? But there is too much reason to fear, the Clergy will never move at all in this work, unless the Parliament first take it in hand of their own accord. But our Author goes on :

If all things were compos'd and quiet amongst us, then we could easily apply new laws to the restraining of growing evils. But in our present troublesome circumstances, it is thought by most intelligent persons too rash an attempt to stir the old foundations.

But what if these troublesome circumstances are the punishment of your sin, in neglecting and destroying Church Discipline, and God is hereby calling you to restore it ? If that conjecture is not improbable, how vainly are these troublesome circumstances alledg'd as an excuse ? Certainly, no man should ever do evil, that good may come of it. And if our Adversaries acknowledge the necessity of that Discipline, the want of which they lament, why have they not as yet attempted to set it up ? Why dont they use as much Discipline, as they see we do, notwithstanding these troublesome circumstances ? Why dont they, as well as we, keep Heretics and profligate sinners from their Communion ? They are afraid, it may be, they should come over to us, when they reject them. But if it should prove

so, what hurt would it do the Church? The happiness of the Church depends more upon the holiness, than the number of her members. And why may not we as well fear the same thing? But, indeed, that fear is causeless; for we should admit no such to our Communion, unless they mend their manners.

Our Author hitherto has been owning the defects of their Discipline; which any one would guess, by his words, was in a very wretched and deplorable condition. But now, as tho' he repented of his concession, he pretends their Discipline, with all its faults, is equal to that of any other Church whatever. For thus he discourses in the words that immediately follow: *However, our present state of Discipline deserves so little to be despis'd or charg'd with any flagrant disorder, that 'tis not a jot inferior to the compleatest rules of other Churches, as every impartial judge must needs grant.* He is a great stranger to the foreign Churches, who is not acquainted with the exact order of their Consistories, Classes, and Synods. By these a remedy is presently apply'd to any growing evils, and the good of the Church taken care of; and as soon as any scandal is given, either by mens manners, or opinions, it presently meets with a just censure. But every creature likes its own offspring best. And we have had occasion more than once, to take notice of this vain humour of our Adversaries, who take all opportunities of extolling every thing that belongs to themselves, and never vouchsafe in any thing to come behind other men. We shall presently see what ground our Author had to give his own Church's Discipline the preference, when we go over the several parts of it. But first let us hear what he says:

All England is divided into about ten thousand parishes; over every one of which, there presides a Rector or Vicar, who has authority to preach the word of God, and administer the Sacraments. We are here especially to observe, how these Rectors or Vicars come by their parochial Cures, according to the Discipline of the Church of England. The parishioners in a very few places have that power, which, Cyprian says, belongs chiefly to the people, of chusing worthy Priests, or refusing those that are unworthy. If a new Rector is to be plac'd in a parish, the Patron of the living writes a letter to the Bishop, and recommends what Clergyman he pleases to be put into it. The Bishop cannot refuse the person thus recommended; and so the parishioners, whether they will or

or no, are committed to the care of that Presbyter, chosen by a stranger, and it may be, a notoriously wicked person. It might perhaps seem incredible abroad, if I should assert, that in the Church of *England*, the best reform'd Church, as they themselves boast, in the world, whose *present state of Discipline is not a jot inferior to the compleatest rules of other Churches*, the right of patronage is bought and sold; and that 'tis not reckon'd Simony, nor any crime at all, for a person to buy that right, or the next presentation of a living, provided it be not void at the time. Hence ignorant fellows, if they are but rich, often get the fattest Benefices. And when they have got the livings, they are not bound to take care of the flock themselves; 'tis enough if they leave so troublesome a work to any sorry Curate, who will do it cheapest. Nay, sometimes the Minister shall have the income of two, three, or more parishes, who will not vouchsafe to take the pastoral care of one. Hence our Author us'd a caution in his own expression; making the number of Rectors and Vicars *almost* as great as that of Parishes. We have already heard Bishop *Burnet's* grievous complaint of this matter; out of whom I shall now add a little more. "But what can we say, when we find often the poorest Clerks in the richest livings? whose Incumbents, not content to devour the patrimony of the Church, while they feed themselves, and not the flock out of it, are so scandalously hard in their allowance to their Curates, as if they intended equally to starve both Curate and people.*---- We ought to reflect on those words of the Prophet, and see how far they are applicable to us: *The Priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth, for he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts. But ye are departed out of the way, ye have caused many to stumble at the law. Therefore have I also made you contemptible and base before all the people; according as ye have not kept my ways, but have been partial in my law.*"† Further, they who have procur'd themselves Benefices, may, in a manner, live as they please. Several of our present Bishops, of eminent learning and piety, who would be glad to proceed against vicious Clergymen, and turn them out of their livings, find themselves hind'red by our laws from doing it. Hence our nation abounds with dissolute Clergy-

men, the shame of their country, and the holy function. But let us hear how Bishop Burnet speaks of this matter : “ It may seem a consideration too full of ill nature, of emulation, and of jealousy, if I should urge upon the Clergy the divisions and separation that is form'd among us ; tho' there is a terrible word in the Prophet, that belongs, but too evidently, to this likewise : *The pastors are become brutish, and have not sought the Lord ; therefore they shall not prosper, and all their flocks shall be scatter'd.** If we led such exemplary lives, as became our character ; if we apply'd our selves wholly to the duty of our profession ; if we study'd to outlive, and outlabour those that divide from us ; we might hope, by the blessing of God, so far to overcome their prejudices, and to gain both upon their esteem and affections, that a very small matter might go a great way towards the healing of those wounds, which have so long weaken'd and distract'd us.” † But I proceed to the offices of these Rectors, who, our Author tells us, have *pastoral* (as 'tis in the *Latin*) *authority to administer the Sacraments* : But what kind of pastoral authority can theirs be ; if, as many affirm, the Bishop is the only Pastor of his Diocese ? Befides, how can they be said to have pastoral authority, who have no power to keep notorious sinners from the Sacrament for above fourteen days, unless he will put him into the Spiritual Court, and be at a great charge ? Nay, a man for refusing to give the Sacrament to a wicked wretch, (as in case it be to qualify him for an office) may incur a prodigious penalty. Another part of their office is : *To catechise the children* : Which was formerly, during the tyranny of Archbishop Laud, only to hear them repeat the answers in the Catechism ; for it was not lawful then to give any explication of it. But we are glad our Adversaries are, since that time, considerably alter'd in this respect. They are likewise, *To preach a Sermon on Sundays, if they are licensed thereto*, (for so our Author truly expresses it) as tho' all Presbyters, who administer the Sacraments, had not a power to preach. So much is the method alter'd since the Apostle's days. St. Paul would have only such, as are *apt to teach*, ordain'd Presbyters ; but now, if a man can read Prayers and Homilies, he may be admitted to the office

of

of a Presbyter, tho' he is not capable of preaching. The laws of the Church are certainly too loose in this matter; since a Bishop is allow'd to ordain any person, if he has a presentation to a living, understands *Latin*, and is not scandalous.* The Rectors are not oblig'd to preach more than once on the Lord's Day, and in many parishes they have no afternoon Sermons.† Lastly, they are oblig'd to obey the orders of the Ecclesiastical Courts, and to publish in their congregations the Lay Chancellor's sentences of Excommunication, which are often pass'd upon very frivolous occasions. For they are unworthy, with all their *pastoral authority*, to be judges of the offences committed; nor are they in any thing allow'd to use their own judgment; but are bound, with an implicit faith, to take the sentences of Excommunication, which mercenary men pronounce, to be good, and as such to publish them to the congregation.

The Dr. next treats of the *Parishioners*.|| These within our remembrance were bound by a very severe discipline, to frequent their own parish Churches, altho' they chanc'd to live at a distance from them, and in the neighbourhood of other Churches. All likewise above sixteen years old, be their faith or morals what they will, were requir'd to receive the Lord's Supper. No one could then *buy or sell*, or almost live, if he dislik'd the *English Service*, according to that laudable example, as it was then reckon'd, Rev. xiii. 17. But this Discipline is happily fallen to the ground, tho' to the great regret of our High Churchmen. Nor are the Holidays, here mention'd by our Author, much valu'd, there being very few of the people who keep them.

I shall add nothing concerning the *Bishops*, having largely treated of them already.

The *Archdeacons*, who are meer Presbyters, ought not, according to our Adversaries opinion concerning Bishops, to have any jurisdiction.‡ And indeed I believe 'twas unheard of in the antient Church, that any Presbyter should be call'd an *Archdeacon*. They had not then learnt to speak so improperly. I dont deny that name to have been us'd in the fourth Century. *Jerom* mentions an *Archdeacon*, who belong'd to *John the Bishop of Jerusalem*.* But such then

S f 3

were

* Can. 34. † Can. 45. || Page 345. ‡ Page 346. * Epist. lxi. ad Pamach.

were Deacons, and not Presbyters; as appears by another letter of *Jerom.* “ If, says he, the Deacons chuse one of “ their own number, whom they know to be industrious, “ and call him an *Archdeacon.* *

The Bishops have their *Archbishops* over them, not only against Cyprian’s judgment, who expressly denies any one to be the *Bishop of Bishops*; but against the opinion of many *Episcoparians*. But we need not wonder, that such a number of contrivances should be needful to patch up a Discipline, that varies so much from its first and most perfect institution.

Of the King and his power I have said enough in the First Part, in answer to the *Introduction.* †

Now our Author appeals to all impartial judges, whether they ever knew any wiser government in the whole Christian world? And in like manner I appeal to them, whether they know a worse in the Reform’d world? I wish these vain glorious defenders of the Hierarchy would mind the excellent admonition given them by *Bishop Burnet*: “ ‘Tis “ not our boasting that the Church of *England* is the best “ Reform’d, and the best constituted Church in the whole “ world, that will signify much to convince others: we “ are too much parties to be believ’d in our own cause. “ There was a generation of men that cry’d: *The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord*, as loud as we can cry, “ *The Church of England, the Church of England*; when by “ their sins they were pulling it down, and kindling that “ fire which consum’d it. It will have a better grace “ to see others boast of our Church, from what they ob- “ serve in us, than for us to be crying it up in our words, “ when our deeds do decry it. Our enemies will make “ severe inferences from them; and our pretensions will be “ thought vain and impudent things, as long as our lives “ contradict them.” || Nor will it be foreign to my pur- pose, to present my reader with the complaint of a high Churchman, concerning this matter. “ Discipline, says “ he, is lost, and will not be permitted by the state; “ which by virtue of *Congr. d’ eslire’s, Quare Impedit, Prohibitions, &c.* have made themselves the sole and ultimate “ judges, not only of all Bishops and Churches; but of “ their

“ their Excommunications, and every exercise of their spiritual jurisdiction. * ---- An action lies against the Minister, who shall refuse it [the Sacrament] to them ; tho’ he knows, sees, and hears them, in their conversation and principles, to be never so much unqualify’d. † This is the Discipline of the Church of *England*, so highly commended by some ; which yet many of the Episcoparians themselves blush at, as the disgrace of the Reformation.

But our Author goes on in the praise of their Discipline : *Our Church is not without her good laws for the advancement of piety, and the suppression of ill manners. For, according to our Canons, all spreaders of heretical, corrupt doctrines, are to be excommunicated.* ‖ It would be tedious to give an account of all the several things, for which men are order’d by the Canons to be *ipso facto* excommunicated ; I will however, for the sake of the reader, mention some of them.

“ Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that the form of God’s worship in the Church of *England*, establish’d by law, and contain’d in the Book of Common Prayer and administration of Sacraments, is a corrupt, superstitious, or unlawful worship of God, or containeth any thing in it that is repugnant to the Scriptures : let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restor’d, but by the Bishop of the place, or Archbishop, after his repentence, and public revocation of such his wicked errors. ‡

“ Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that any of the nine and thirty Articles agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation holden at *London*, in the year of our Lord God 1562. for avoiding diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion, are in any part superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe unto : let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, &c.*

“ Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that the rites and ceremonies of the Church of *England* by law establish’d, are wicked, Antichristian, or superstitious ; or such as being commanded by lawful authority, men who are zealously and godly affected, may not with any good con-

* Case of the Regal. & Pontif. p. 166. † Ibid. p. 179.

‡ Can. iv. 1603.

* Can. v.

|| Page 348.

“ science approve them, use them, or as occasion requireth
 “ subscribe unto them: * Whosoever shall hereafter affirm,
 “ that the Government of the Church of *England* under
 “ his Majesty, by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdea-
 “ cons, and the rest that bear office in the same, is Anti-
 “ christian, and repugnant to the word of God: † Who-
 “ soever shall hereafter affirm, that such Ministers as
 “ refuse to subscribe to the form and manner of God’s
 “ worship in the Church of *England*, prescrib’d in the
 “ Communion Book, and their adherents, may truly
 “ take upon them the name of another Church not
 “ establish’d by law, and dare presume to publish it,
 “ that this their pretended Church hath of a long time
 “ groan’d under the burthen of certain grievances impos’d
 “ upon it, and upon the members thereof before mention’d,
 “ by the Church of *England*, and the orders and constitu-
 “ tions therein by law establish’d: || Whosoever shall here-
 “ after affirm or maintain, that there are within this
 “ realm other meetings, assemblies, or congregations, of
 “ the King’s born subjects, than such as by the laws of
 “ this land are held and allow’d, which may rightly chal-
 “ lenge to themselves the name of true and lawful Churches: ‡
 “ Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that ’tis lawful for
 “ any sort of Ministers and Lay persons, or of either of them,
 “ to join together, and make rules, orders or constitutions
 “ in causes ecclesiastical, without the King’s authority, and
 “ shall submit themselves to be rule’d and govern’d by them:”
 All these are by those Canons *ipso facto* excommunicated.

’Tis therefore certain all the Dissenters in *England* are *ipso facto* excommunicated. But we do not much fear their excommunication, now the law has taken off the edge of it; however, we cannot but wonder they should make such heavy complaints of our leaving them, when they have with so many bitter curses cast us out. Further, since Dr. *Nichols* gives many of our Ministers so good a character for their piety, he must of necessity own the Canons of his Church, whereby she excludes them from her communion, to be very unjust. Hence our Brethren abroad may easily see, what the Church’s laws are, and what piety they serve to *advance*, viz. that which is describ’d by the Apostle, *James* iii. 14, 15. under the name of *bitter envying*

ing and strife. But while they treated the Puritans with so great rigor and severity, they dealt most gently and tenderly with those who were led away with the puny, and almost harmless mistakes of the Papists; as we may see by another Canon of the same Synod. " Every Minister being a preacher, and having any popish recusant or recusants in his parish, and thought fit by the Bishop of the Diocese, shall labour diligently with them from time to time, thereby to reclaim them from their errors. And if he be no preacher, or not such a preacher, then he shall procure, if he can possibly, some that are preachers so qualify'd, to take pains with them for that purpose. If he can procure none, then he shall inform the Bishop of the Diocese thereof; who shall not only appoint some neighbouring preacher, or preachers adjoining, to take that labour upon them, but himself also (as his important affairs will permit him) shall use his best endeavours, by instruction, perswasion, and all good means he can devise, to reclaim both them and all other within his Diocese so affected." * I am far from disliking the Canon; but I think we had as much reason as the Papists to expect such gentle usage.

But let us now return to our Author: *If men live in any notorious sin, they are to be kept from the holy Sacrament.* He should have added too from the xxvii Canon: " If any will not kneel in receiving the Sacrament, or are common and notorious depravers of their rites and ceremonies, or any thing contain'd in the Articles. And how they are to be kept from the Sacrament, I shew'd before.

All Persons of a sufficient age, [that is, the age of sixteen] who do not communicate at Easter, shall be cited into the Spiritual Court, to be punish'd for neglecting their Christian duty. This piece of Discipline is now laid aside; nor is any inquiry made into this matter since the Toleration, which deliver'd the Dissenters from the clutches of the Chancellors, Apparitors, &c. And while such Discipline was used, it gave great occasion for profaning the holy Sacrament. For profligate wretches then, out of the fear of punishment, went to the Sacrament, without any care to prepare themselves, and to live according to the rules of our holy religion.

I say

* Can. lxvi.

I say nothing of *Churchwardens*, because they are now, for the reason just mention'd, at little trouble to *return the names of loose and scandalous livers into the Bishop's Court*; where yet, for ought I can understand, the Bishop has not much to do.

Now if the party accused be convicted of the crime before the judge, he is excommunicated, and not admitted to the Sacrament, or any communion in divine offices.* There are now very few examples of this nature, tho' wickedness abounds every where.

Crimes of a very high nature are punished with the greater excommunication, whereby the offender is cut off from commerce with Christians even in temporal affairs. So that the poor creatures must necessarily and miserably perish, if the orders of the Church were universally observ'd in such cases; since no one in the nation might sell them food, raiment, or any convenience whatever.

If the excommunicated person obstinately persists for XL days, the King's writ sends him to prison, where he is to continue till he makes satisfaction for his offence by Penance and humble submission. Our Adversaries herein follow the base example of the Papists, who call in the aid of the secular power, and so inforce their ecclesiastical censures. But this cannot seem strange, since Dr. Nichols confirms for the most part what he says upon this head by the Popish Constitutions, which were made before the Reformation. So that he has very highly applauded the Popish Discipline, as well as that of the Church of *England*. 'Tis indeed the magistrate's part to appoint penalties for whatever is prejudicial to the commonwealth. But to cast men out of the Church, and deliver them to be punish'd by the magistrate, either for frivolous matters, or for such opinions as no way concern the state, is very unjust, and as contrary as any thing can be to the Christian religion, and the mind of our Saviour, who would never have his religion spread by these *Mahometan* methods. Besides, what advantage can be expected by such kind of punishments, but the extorting from offenders an hypocritical profession of repentance? And that is what Pastors should rather discourage, than force men to.

We are so far from disliking the practice of requiring a public declaration of repentance from delinquents, that we hear-

heartily wish it were more frequent; but to have this turn'd into a money busines, seems to me shameful and scandalous. But our Author acknowledges, that so it is in the Church of England: *Persons of a superior rank, whose honor would suffer by a public Penance, are allow'd to ransom themselves from the reproach of it, by a good round sum of money, to be bestow'd either upon the poor, or upon the buildings of the Church.** If the case be as he says, our Adversaries are deservedly tax'd, as guilty of that respect of persons, which the Apostle condemns, *1. Cor. ii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 9.* where Dr. *Hammond* and Dr. *Whitby* tell us, he has respect to *Confistories* for judicature. And by what authority of the primitive Church will they defend themselves in this practice? There is not a syllable of pecuniary punishments in any antient Father. *Ambrose* was ignorant of this cunning device of *commutation of Penance*, who, without regard to the honor of the Emperor *Theodosius*, turn'd him out of the Church, and forc'd him to confess his sin publicly in the Church; if we may believe *Sozomen*, who relates the story.† But the respect to money is, in this case, greater than that to persons. Whence, if a man has ready money to lay down, he may be secure of an easy absolution. Which the Dissenters learnt by experience, in the persecution that raged in the reigns of the two Brothers; when *good round sums of money* were squeez'd out of them, to be bestow'd upon the poor Judges of the Spiritual Courts, who then made haste to be rich. But let us hear the rest:

If there be any fraud or neglect in these things, 'tis owing to the corruption and knavery of mankind, which prevails more or less in all nations, notwithstanding the best laws that can be made to prevent it. Nay, but 'tis owing to the badness of the constitution; insomuch that we must despair of seeing any good Discipline, as long as these ecclesiastical Courts are continued.

But no rational man will conclude from thence, that these are sufficient reasons for men to tear the Church to pieces, and quarrel with one another, as if they would mingle heaven and earth together. What the commonwealth is without putting the laws in execution, the same is the Church without Discipline; and no rational man will set any great value upon such a Church. Nor are they to be accused of Schism, or tearing

tearing the Church in pieces, who in this case separate, but they who utterly ruin all Discipline. Let us hear the furious Author of *The Case of the Regale and the Pontificate*, who thus severely reflects upon his Brethren : “ But if they would “ trust to Christ, and have faith in his promises, and not “ fear to execute the commission he has given to them, in “ all sobriety and modesty, yet with courage and constancy, “ for the good of the souls of men ; and without doing of “ which, they know, they confess, that they cannot dis- “ charge that great trust as they ought to do, nor be true “ to their master, nor to the souls committed to their “ charge, many of whom they see run headlong every day “ to all destruction and perdition, for want of that Disci- “ pline, which they dare not execute, only content them- “ selves to wish every *AshWednesday*, that it were restor’d ; “ send one poor longing wish after it once a year, but “ move neither hand nor foot towards it, &c.”* Who then will find fault with our people for taking more care of their souls ? What rational man will blame our concern to preserve Discipline ? And since the restoration thereof by the friends of the Hierarchy seems a thing to be utterly despair’d of, it would be the prudentest part for all those, whether Ministers or people, who earnestly long for it, to come over to our side.

The CONCLUSION.

OUR Author here, in the Conclusion of his work, lets us know his own opinion of it ; and what he imagin’d many others, not only among the Dissenters, but the Church-men, would judge of it. *I suppose*, says he, *by this time I have said enough in defence of our Church, tho’ far short of what it deserves. Yet I am afraid I have not satisfied many, both of our own, and the contrary part, who are too much under the influence of prejudice.*† Whether he has said enough in defence of his Church, or less than it deserves, is refer’d to the judgment of all men of candour, who shall peruse this our Answer. What the judgment of his own side will prove concerning it, is not my business to inquire. But ’tis worth while to take

* Pref. p. 19.

† Pag. 351.

take notice of the reason he gives, why he thought we should not much approve his performance. I exp it, says he, war from the heated Nonconformists, because I have expos'd the wild freaks of their predecessors, and taken off the foul reproaches which they have cast upon our Church. There is no great reason to wonder, if in the management of this controversy, hard words have been dropt on both sides. I could easily produce, from the writings of the Episcopal side, much more severe expressions, than what have been used by any of our Authors. But to what purpose should I do it? We desire to dispute about the things themselves, and not about mens characters. Hence I have generally pass'd by whatever our Author has cited in his margin from our writers; not because I was ashamed of them, for I have defended the greatest part of their assertions, tho' without taking notice of their words; but because it seen'd to me to signify little in the controversy. But I desire our Brethren would guess from Dr. Nichols, what kind of writings those are, which the High Church have publish'd against us. How is his own book fill'd with calumnies and reproaches, levell'd not only against us, but against our Brethren abroad, whom he has chosen Judges in our controversy? What then may be expected from those, whose censure the Doctor expects upon the account of his moderation and gentleness? He has indeed set out their temper to the life in what he says next: *And I foresee at the same time, that I shall be attack'd in my quarters by some of my own Brethren, because I have not been severe enough upon the books and sermons of the present Nonconformists, but, like a cowardly champion, have trampled upon the ashes of the dead.* They will be ready to say, I should have muster'd up all the invidious or unwary sayings of the present Dissenters, with all the aggravations imaginable, in order to turn the indignation of the Queen and Parliament upon them. Nor shall I easily be forgiven by some, for allowing that there are honest men among Nonconformists, and true lovers of piety; that many of their Preachers are men of great learning; that I applaud and extol some of their sermons; that if there be no other way for their admittance into the Church, rather than lose their joint labours with ours in the vineyard of Christ, I would willingly consent, that some indifferent things, tho' venerable for their great antiquity, should be either laid aside, or left to the choice of the Minister, whether he will use them or not. You see now, Reverend Brethren, the worthy Arbitrators and Judges of our controversy, what spirits we have to deal with. For thus we find

find the far greater part of the Clergy (the more is the pity) are affected toward us. That Dr. *Nichols* is pleas'd to speak so honourably of our present set of Ministers, we esteem a favour; but we take it ill he should load the memory of our predecessors with so many reproaches. We have always an high esteem and veneration for their piety, moderation, and learning. Them we imitate, their example we follow, tho' we are far from coming up to it. That he professes an inclination to peace, is likewise most pleasing to us; for we are all very desirous of peace; nor is any thing so dear to us, that we will not be willing to sacrifice it, provided it be with a safe conscience, for the sake of so valuable a blessing. But I wish a person, who pretends to be such a friend to peace, had not so widely miss'd his aim. He has offer'd no new terms to procure that agreement, which he declares himself earnestly to long for. I wish the pains he has taken to misrepresent the Nonconformists, and to expose them to the contempt of our Brethren abroad, had been rather employ'd in persuading the government seriously to think of some way to heal our breaches; and in advizing his own Brethren to come at length to a temper, and to be desirous of an accommodation. As things go now, we think it very happy, that the learned Mr. *Calderwood's Altare Damascenum* has been lately reprinted abroad, at the instigation of some of our Brethren there, who have greatly oblig'd us by that favour. That one writer, whom, as King *James* foresaw, no man has yet ventur'd to answer, is abundantly sufficient to confute all the arguments of our Adversaries. Wherefore since that book, which was formerly very scarce, is now in every bodies hands, our Brethren may from thence more fully inform themselves concerning our cause; altho' I would hope, that neither this smaller work of mine, wherein I have used such a stile as I was able, but arguments which, unless I am mistaken, want not for strength, will prove wholly useleſs, either to overthrow the reaſons, or confute the calumnies, wherewith Dr. *Nichols* has lately attack'd us.

All that remains, is, that you, our worthy Judges, would now determine between us. As for our part, we do not decline the having our cause heard before any impartial judges, and consequently before you. For tho' by our Adversaries we are despis'd, and loaded with abundance of calumnies and reproaches; yet we make no doubt, that you will have the great and aweful judgment before your eyes, and

and judge without respect of persons, even as you shall also then be judg'd ; and will never condemn those Churches, which endeavour to serve God with pure and safe consciences, according to the direction of his Word. Nay, my Brethren, you ought diligently to lay hold of this opportunity the Episcoparians have given you. Which of you does not bewail the corrupt state of the Church here in our country ? They have now chosen you Arbitrators, and we readily join issue with them. I wish they may at length hearken to you, who have always been deaf both to our intreaties and arguments. Nor ought you to decline to undertake this office, who well understand how great the blessedness of peacemakers is.

And now my prayer is to thee, most merciful Father : Do thou regard this my weak endeavour, and direct it to the profit of thy Church ; consider her most afflicted state, by reason of external enemies, and internal discords ; and pour out at length thy Spirit, who alone is the most rich and plentiful fountain of all truth, purity, peace and concord. Thee, who only canst do it, even thee I earnestly intreat, to calm the passions of our Adversaries, and turn their hearts to the love of peace ; that so we may, as one, worship thee our one common Father, thro' thy Son the one Mediator, by the help of one Holy Spirit, and endeavour to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

P A R T I.

P^{Ag}. 34. line 10. read *tho.* P. 63. l. 38. r. *The next year.* P. 132. line 1. r. *be.*
P. 136. l. 40. r. *he was used.* P. 144. l. 26. r. *72 persons.* P. 167. l. 38. r. *a*
person ordained.

P A R T III.

P. 66. l. 17. r. *seem.* P. 69. l. 8. *dele tog.* P. 204. l. 14. r. *easily.* P. 226.
l. 17. r. *fortieth.* P. 235. l. 8. r. *tho/ē.*

Publish'd by the same Author.

- I. **R**emarks on Dr. Wells's Letters, &c. Wherein the Doctor's Writings against the Dissenters are fully consider'd: In Eight Letters. 8vo.
- II. Some Considerations on the sixth Chapter of the Abridgment of the *London Cases*, containing a Vindication of the Office for Baptism, and particularly of the Sign of the Cross. 8vo.
- III. An Useful Ministry a Valid one: Being a Sermon preach'd at *Exon*, May 5. 1714. at a Meeting of the United Ministers of *Devon* and *Cornwall*. The Fourth Edition. 8vo. Price 6 d.
- IV. Presbyterian Ordination prov'd regular: A Sermon preach'd at an Ordination. The Second Edition. 8vo. Price 6 d.
- V. A Letter to Dr. *Bennet*, occasion'd by his late Treatise concerning the *Nonjurors* Separation. The Second Edition. 8vo. Price 6 d.
- VI. The Curse causeless. A Sermon preach'd at *Exon*. Jan. 30. 1717. The Fifth Edition. 8vo. Price 4 d.

Sold by JOHN CLARK.



